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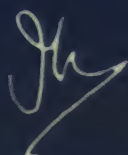
Second Series

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

# Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

Second Series

26

A large, stylized, handwritten signature of Jawaharlal Nehru, rendered in white ink on a dark blue background. The signature is fluid and expressive, with a prominent 'J' and 'N'.A small, stylized, handwritten signature of Jawaharlal Nehru, rendered in white ink on a dark blue background. It is a compact version of the signature seen in the larger block.

"So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote...the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being."

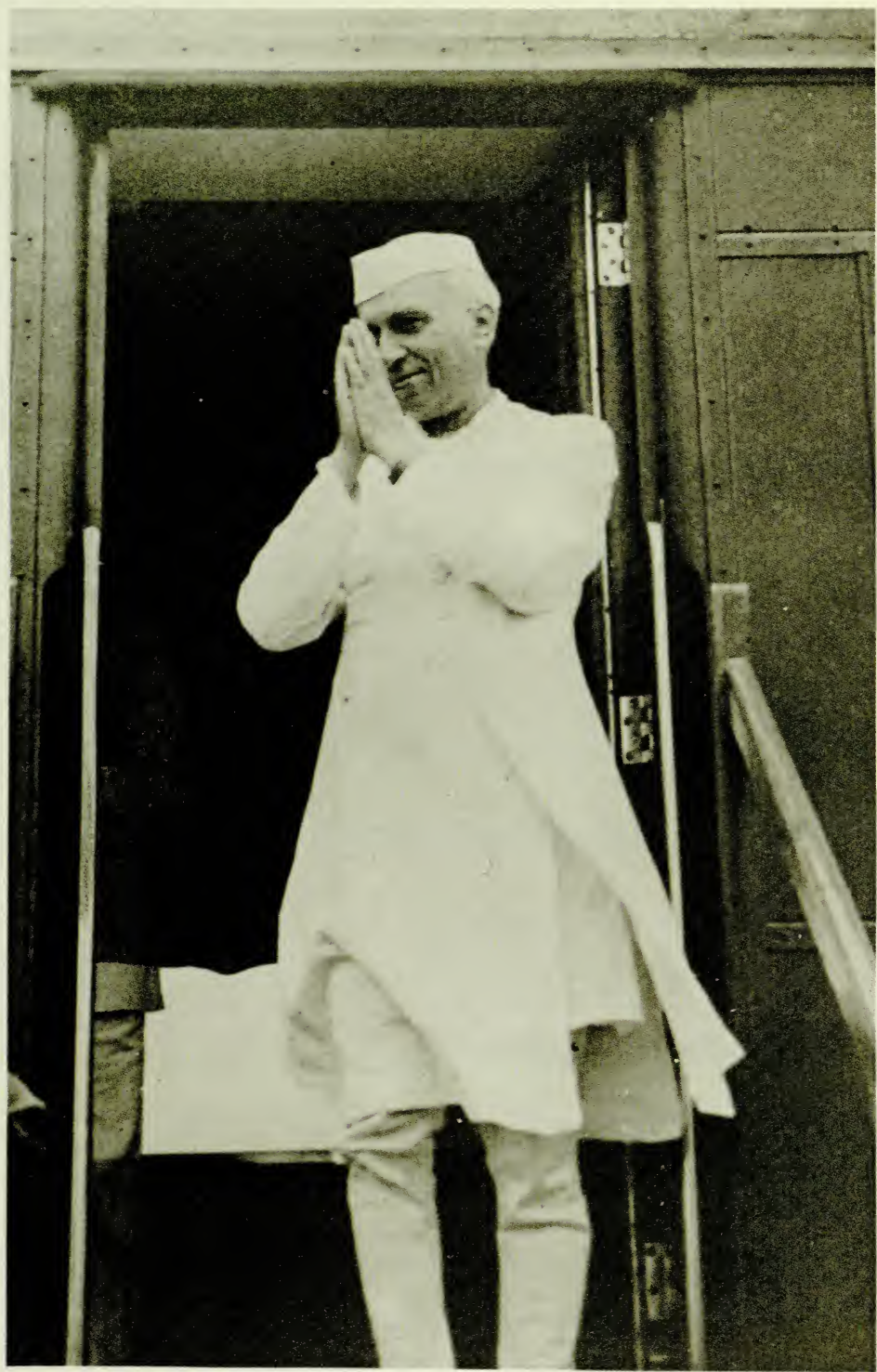
Indira Gandhi







**Selected  
works of  
Jawaharlal  
Nehru**



AT CHUNAR, MIRZAPUR DISTRICT, 12 JULY 1954



# **Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru**

**Second Series**

**Volume Twenty Six**

**(1 June 1954–30 September 1954)**

A Project of the  
Jawaharlal Nehru  
Memorial Fund

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## FOREWORD

Jawaharlal Nehru is one of the key figures of the twentieth century. He symbolised some of the major forces which have transformed our age.

When Jawaharlal Nehru was young, history was still the privilege of the West; the rest of the world lay in deliberate darkness. The impression given was that the vast continents of Asia and Africa existed merely to sustain their masters in Europe and North America. Jawaharlal Nehru's own education in Britain could be interpreted, in a sense, as an attempt to secure for him a place within the pale. His letters of the time are evidence of his sensitivity, his interest in science and international affairs as well as of his pride in India and Asia. But his personality was veiled by his shyness and a facade of nonchalance, and perhaps outwardly there was not much to distinguish him from the ordinary run of men. Gradually there emerged the warm and universal being who became intensely involved with the problems of the poor and the oppressed in all lands. In doing so, Jawaharlal Nehru gave articulation and leadership to millions of people in his own country and in Asia and Africa.

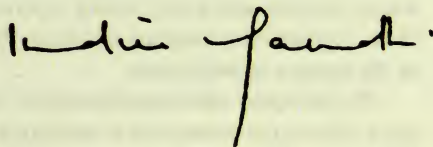
That imperialism was a curse which should be lifted from the brows of men, that poverty was incompatible with civilisation, that nationalism should be poised on a sense of international community and that it was not sufficient to brood on these things when action was urgent and compelling—these were the principles which inspired and gave vitality to Jawaharlal Nehru's activities in the years of India's struggle for freedom and made him not only an intense nationalist but one of the leaders of humanism.

No particular ideological doctrine could claim Jawaharlal Nehru for its own. Long days in jail were spent in reading widely. He drew much from the thought of the East and West and from the philosophies of the past and the present. Never religious in the formal sense, yet he had a deep love for the culture and tradition of his own land. Never a rigid Marxist, yet he was deeply influenced by that theory and was particularly impressed by what he saw in the Soviet Union on his first visit in 1927. However, he realised that the world was too complex, and man had too many facets, to be encompassed by any single or total explanation. He himself was a socialist with an abhorrence of regimentation and a democrat who was anxious to reconcile his faith in civil liberty with the necessity of mitigating economic and social wretchedness. His struggles, both within himself and with the outside world, to adjust such seeming contradictions are what make his life and work significant and fascinating.

As a leader of free India, Jawaharlal Nehru recognised that his country could neither stay out of the world nor divest itself of its own interests in world affairs. But to the extent that it was possible, Jawaharlal Nehru sought to speak objectively

and to be a voice of sanity in the shrill phases of the 'cold war'. Whether his influence helped on certain occasions to maintain peace is for the future historian to assess. What we do know is that for a long stretch of time he commanded an international audience reaching far beyond governments, that he spoke for ordinary, sensitive, thinking men and women around the globe and that his was a constituency which extended far beyond India.

So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote. There is, as is to be expected in the speeches and writings of a man so engrossed in affairs and gifted with expression, much that is ephemeral; this will be omitted. The official letters and memoranda will also not find place here. But it is planned to include everything else and the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Indira Gandhi". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long, sweeping underline that extends to the right.

New Delhi  
18 January 1972

Chairman  
Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund



## EDITORIAL NOTE

The present volume of the *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru* covers the period 1 June to 30 September, 1954. We are in this volume, therefore, located in the middle of the 1950s; a climacteric decade marked by seminal initiatives in the social, political and economic transformation of Indian society; and characterised also by a decisive Indian role in shaping global events and ensuring world peace in a context in which the prospect of a nuclear war haunted humankind more seriously than it had ever done since the horrific devastation wrought in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. Indeed, the period under consideration witnessed a personal triumph for Jawaharlal Nehru, in that he drew upon the novel experience of waging a successful struggle for national liberation within India through non-violent means, as the possible basis of generating a climate of peace, non-violence and economic cooperation in the world polity.

Notwithstanding Jawaharlal Nehru's passionate interest in the world as a forum for the exercise of non-violent power, as spelt out by Mahatma Gandhi, he was conscious of the fact that the resolution of issues pertaining to the reactivation of Indian society; the issues of national unity; of economic regeneration; of political democratisation; of societal equity; were the necessary bases on which initiatives in world affairs could bear fruit. This realisation is powerfully reflected in the first section of the current volume, entitled "General Perspectives", which contains Nehru's speeches before citizen audiences in different parts of the country.

There were some central issues which Nehru voiced before the people that were characteristic of the charismatic leadership which he held out to the Nation. Speaking at a massive rally in Bhopal in June 1954, he raised before the popular classes some of the questions facing the country as it struggled to reactivate the national economy, and purge itself of the social ills which were legacy of the past: partly the colonial past; and partly, also, the pre-colonial past. As Nehru saw it, one of the great weaknesses of Indian society lay in the hierarchical institution of caste, which facilitated the control by those located at the apex of the wealth produced by the common folk, through the sweat of their brow. The most disturbing example of this inequity was the status of the landless agricultural labourers, called Harijans (the people of God) by Mahatma Gandhi, within the country. Unless the caste system, with its relations of subordination and superordination, was eliminated, Nehru argued, there was little doubt that India would not prosper. He stated: "Mahatma Gandhi started an assault on poverty by taking up the question of Harijans. For, when the larger section of society is suppressed and considered unclean, how can that society progress. So long as the notion of social equality is not accepted, how can that society claim external equality with others. But behind the status of

Harijans... was the problem of the caste system. We Hindus must remove the caste system completely and ruthlessly. We must fight against it... for unless this problem is solved by us, we can make no progress in the world."

No less important than the problem of caste was the question of fashioning a democratic India, in which different religious communities found for themselves a place of dignity and enjoyed the freedom to pursue their moral and social beliefs. Yet this freedom of choice in a multi-religious society had to be conjured into existence in a climate in which the State remained secular, and treated citizens committed to different religious discourses in a manner in which no one had any cause for complaint. Such was the notion of secularism which Jawaharlal Nehru had learnt from his mentor, Mahatma Gandhi; and this was the message which he held out to the people of the country, Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs or Christians. Perhaps the most distinctive feature of the secularism advocated by Nehru was the fact that this concept was different from what it meant, normatively or existentially, in the liberal democracies of Western Europe and North America. Nobody was more sensitive than Jawaharlal Nehru to the diversities of beliefs and customs, ethnicities and traditions, that were drawn into the Republic of India, with a population only slightly less than 400 million in the period under review. He posed before the people a crucial question: how could this diversity be held together democratically in a cohesive polity? As Nehru observed: "What is the meaning of nationalism? It means that the citizens of the country have been welded into a single nation. Their views on religion and other things may be different but they belong to one nation and are bound by a common bond of nationalism. They are...citizens of the Republic of India."

If the theme of national unity features often in the dialogue between Jawaharlal Nehru and the people of India, this does not mean that other issues—like those of social and economic development, for instance—were absent in what he had to say in his popular discourse. That two centuries and slightly more of colonial rule, characterised as it was by gross economic exploitation, had reduced the country to a state of abject poverty was a fact which was self-evident. Most of all, the condition of the labouring classes in the cities and the villages was a matter of special concern to Jawaharlal Nehru. The promotion of economic growth, particularly in rural society, therefore, featured prominently in what he had to say to the people of India. At a legislative level, this problem was to be tackled, so Nehru argued, through land reforms, which were designed to break up the concentrations of rural wealth created by the colonial State as support bases for itself. Yet land reforms by themselves were not an adequate answer to a deep rooted problem, resting upon low agricultural productivity, on the one hand, and a burgeoning population, on the other.

When India became independent in 1947, there was a chronic shortage of foodgrains for popular consumption. This obliged the authorities to import foodgrains from countries overseas, at the cost of precious foreign exchange. Over and above land reforms, which were framed with the objective of transferring agricultural property from the control of landlords into the hands of the tillers of the soil, Jawaharlal Nehru initiated a massive programme of community development, which was designed to draw the energies of the



peasant into a rural movement, that would enhance agricultural productivity at the same time as it politicised the rural folk. "So the most urgent priority (after freedom had been won) was to increase the production of food. How could we continue to rely on other countries", Jawaharlal Nehru observed. "(We) started the 'Grow More Food Campaign'." This was, indeed, a grand initiative that in the course of a decade sought to transform the whole of rural India. "It is a revolutionary step we are taking", Nehru stated. "Trying to transform six lakh villages within a period of seven or eight years, is a greater revolution than the big revolutions which have taken place in other countries.... Revolution does not only mean violence and chaos. It also means peaceful social change. We are trying to do that."

While the dialogue between Jawaharlal Nehru and the people of India constitutes an important feature of the present volume, it would be a mistake to imagine that his creative energies were wholly expended in oratorical activity. Indeed, there is in this volume a solid body of documentation on organisational matters: on questions pertaining to the Congress; and on issues concerning governance; to which we would like to draw pointed attention. There has over the years grown a belief that Jawaharlal Nehru, whatever be his other strengths, was not necessarily a gifted organiser, when he turned his attention to the Congress Party, or a specially talented administrator as a Prime Minister. We have only to turn to the immense corpus of biographical literature on Nehru to appreciate the validity of this contention.

As a corrective to this belief, we would like to state that a Prime Minister and Congress President who piloted his Party successfully through three consecutive General Elections, in the largest democracy in the world, could not have been other than an able organiser and a capable administrator, acutely sensitive to issues of strategy as well as of tactics. In support of our assertion, we would draw attention to the notes, letters and memoranda in the present volume (or earlier volumes), that reveal Nehru's proactive stance towards problems within the Congress Party, or vis-a-vis issues relating to the governance of the country.

To take one example. The principles sustaining a party with a mass base, in a rapidly transforming society, were set out with great precision in a letter which Jawaharlal Nehru wrote to the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee. The question which Nehru posed before his colleagues was as follows: How could a nationwide political organisation retain its popularity and electoral base at the same time as it was attempting to bring about a social revolution in the country? His answer to this difficult question was spelt out with rare acumen and sensitivity. "The Congress is passing through a certain difficult phase in its existence..." Nehru stated. "We must always remember that it has been our high privilege to keep in intimate touch with the masses of India and to march with them to freedom.... Our minds and hearts must be inclined towards them (that is, the people) and yet must always hold on to the principles for which we have stood. If, at any time... our principles, while remaining firm, have to be adapted to changing circumstances... then we have to take the good from the old, the good from the new, and above all, hold fast to our anchor."

There is no suggestion here that Jawaharlal Nehru confined himself exclusively to voicing general principles of organisation and governance in the course of his career as a Prime Minister and the organisational chief of the ruling party. Indeed, the letters and memoranda incorporated in the current volume speak eloquently of the minute attention which he paid to concrete issues and specific problems, as they impinged upon the Congress at the national, or regional, or local level. The question of land reform in Rajasthan, a State of the Indian Union created through the integration of erstwhile princely territories, and characterised by substantial concentrations of the landed classes, is a case in point. It illustrates how a former aristocracy, whose members had embraced liberal principles after their absorption into the Republic of India, could find for itself an appropriate place in the Congress Party. Here was an issue of considerable complexity which Nehru handled with great sensitivity, without holding out any concessions that were at variance with the social revolution which he was seeking to introduce in the country.

Much more intractable than the problems of the Congress in Rajasthan, were the discordant notes which reached out to Nehru as the Party President from the troubled State of Bihar. Indeed, although the Congress controlled Bihar without any break for the first two decades after 1947, as early as 1954 (the year under review), various vexatious issues raised their head, which indicated the sort of problems that Bihar, with its high level of politicisation, on the one hand, and the presence of a powerful landed aristocracy, on the other, would pose in the future. In a communication addressed to the Chief Minister of the State, Nehru dwelt at length upon the intricate problems which were in evidence in the region. The issues raised in Nehru's communication were varied and complex: the absence of any organisational élan in the Pradesh Congress; the choice of suitable candidates for elections at the regional or the national level; the hardening of primordial solidarities and their influence in shaping the political process; and, last but not least, the groundswell of discontent among the minorities. This is not to suggest that as President of the Congress, or as the Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru had ready solutions for all the problems which plagued a troubled State of the Indian Union. Instead, what is at issue is the proactive stance which he adopted towards organisational problems, at a time when he was also responsible for the governance of the country. This proactive stance, moreover, was an important factor behind the Congress victories in the three consecutive General Elections conducted after 1947.

While relatively little has been said or written about Jawaharlal Nehru as a political strategist and administrator, his initiatives in the domain of foreign policy have been the theme of a substantial corpus of scholarly literature. Nevertheless, the documents incorporated in the present volume throw novel light upon the principles which guided him in the conduct of international relations; the success which he achieved in creating a pivotal position for India in the world community; and, finally, the astute diplomacy through which he held out to the newly liberated countries of Asia and Africa, a way out of the "cold war" between the United States and the Soviet Union which traumatised humanity in the third quarter and slightly more of the 20th century.



At the very heart of Nehru's initiatives in foreign policy lay the creative adoption of the notion of power visualised by Mahatma Gandhi in the doctrine of *satyagraha*, or soul-force. As we have suggested earlier, as against the Maoist contention that power "flows out of the barrel of a gun", the Mahatma believed that power could be generated through three intimately related concepts: through non-violence and truthful utterance; through the social mobilisation of the people; and through the presentation to the adversary of a cogently argued brief. Jawaharlal's great achievement, as we have already hinted, lay in applying this unique concept of power to the conduct of relations between sovereign nations, large or small, in the world community.

The first striking application by Jawaharlal Nehru of the Gandhian notion of power to international affairs, in the context of the cold war and the nuclear age, was the Sino-Indian Agreement over Tibet that was fashioned out in April 1954. When China and the Western Powers met in Geneva, in the second quarter of 1954, to sort out the fate of the three countries which were collectively designated Indo-China, namely, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, the formal absence of India on the occasion in fact amounted to a palpable presence at the Conference Table. Even though India was not technically present, V.K. Krishna Menon, as the personal emissary of the Prime Minister of India, played an outstanding role behind the scenes in bringing about an understanding between the European Powers and China over Indo-China, which revealed a considerable difference of approach on the issue between the United States and its Nato allies. On his way to Beijing from Geneva after the Conference, Zhou En-lai, the Chinese Prime Minister, broke journey at New Delhi, and spent three days in a wide ranging dialogue with Jawaharlal Nehru, over the issue of Indo-China in particular, and the world situation in general.

The Nehru-Zhou conversations held in New Delhi, in the middle of 1954, mark the emergence of India as a substantial presence in the world scene. These conversations also reflected a signal triumph, in the international arena, for those principles and values which had underpinned the struggle for liberation in India, as it was shaped by Mahatma Gandhi. So far as Indo-China was concerned, Zhou informed Nehru that "we reached two agreements: One was on Vietnam...and the second was on military armistice... (concerning) Laos and Cambodia."

However, as we have already suggested, the Nehru-Zhou dialogue went far beyond the question of Indo-China. Nehru put before the visiting Chinese Prime Minister his concept of an area of peace in the world. This concept not only rejected the noxious principles underlying the cold war and gently yet firmly censored the countries engaged in it. It also sought to create an area of peace; or a group of sovereign nations in West Asia, South Asia, South-East Asia and beyond; which would subscribe to the principles of peace, autonomy and non-interference that had been "enunciated in the treaty signed between India and China over Tibet."

What Nehru held out to Zhou En-lai, was the enlightened concept of a new force in the world order, made up of sovereign nations, that refused to be drawn into pointless ideological struggles, in order to pursue the path of development for their people, who had emerged only recently from centuries

of European domination. As Nehru put it to the Chinese Prime Minister: "If we remove the fear of war and aggression that oppresses people and ensure that each country will have freedom to work its destiny according to its own wishes without interfering with other countries, we shall have served our generation well and laid the foundation of enduring peace in the world. Peace is necessary for the entire world...but in Asia, peace is even more vital and necessary than elsewhere, for we have to build our nations and we want to utilise all our energies in the task of construction and not of destruction." Here, indeed, was the notion of a just world order, where relations between sovereign nations, large and small, weak or strong, were shaped by fairplay and equity rather than by brute force and political manoeuvre.

It is our very pleasant duty, in placing this volume before its readers, to thank various individuals and institutions for their support and help in bringing it out. Shrimati Sonia Gandhi graciously permitted us to consult the papers in her possession referred to as the JN Collection. The Nehru Memorial Museum and Library has, as always, assisted in the publication of this volume by granting access to the papers of Jawaharlal Nehru. The Cabinet Secretariat, the Secretariats of the President and the Prime Minister, the Ministries of External Affairs and Home Affairs, All India Radio and the Press Information Bureau have allowed us to use relevant material in their possession. We wish to acknowledge in particular, the permission given to us by All India Radio to use the tapes of the speeches of Jawaharlal Nehru. Some classified material has necessarily been withheld.

Last but not least, it gives us pleasure in acknowledging the help and support we received from our colleagues in the creation of this volume. Indeed, we are deeply indebted to Shri N. Rajamani, Shri Shyamal Roy, Shri Amrit Tandon and Ms Shantisri Banerji, all of whom rendered scholarly assistance in the collection of archival material and its subsequent organization. We are no less deeply indebted to Ms Malini Rajani, Ms Saroja Anantha Krishnan, and Ms Kulwant Kaur for undertaking the necessary typing work and assisting in the preparation of the index. Without their labour and commitment, this volume, with its rich historical data, could not have been placed before the scholarly community and lay citizens, interested in the life and work of Jawaharlal Nehru.



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## ABBREVIATIONS

AICC	All India Congress Committee
AIR	All India Radio
ANZUS	security treaty signed by Australia, New Zealand and United States
BA	Bachelor of Arts
CGS	Chief of General Staff
CPI	Communist Party of India
CSI	Companion of the Star of India
CSO	Central Statistical Office
CrPC	Criminal Procedure Code
DVC	Damodar Valley Corporation
EDC	European Defence Community
GCSI	Grand Commander of the Star of India
GOI	Government of India
ICS	Indian Civil Service
IPC	Indian Penal Code
KCSI	Knight Commander of the Star of India
MA	Master of Arts
MEA	Ministry of External Affairs
MEDO	Middle East Defence Organisation
MLA	Member of Legislative Assembly
MP	Member of Parliament
MPCC	Madhya Pradesh Congress Committee
MRA	Moral Re-Armament
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NCC	National Cadet Corps
NEF	North East Frontier
NMML	Nehru Memorial Museum and Library



PCC	Provincial / Pradesh Congress Committee
Pepsu	Patiala and East Punjab States Union
PM	Prime Minister
PMS	Prime Minister's Secretariat
PSP	Praja Socialist Party
PTI	Press Trust of India
PWD	Public Works Department
RSS	Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh
SEADO	South-East Asia Defence Organisation
SEATO	South-East Asia Treaty Organisation
SG	Secretary General
TC	Travancore-Cochin
TVA	Tennessee Valley Authority
UCRW	United Council for Relief and Welfare
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
Unesco	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UP	Uttar Pradesh
UPSC	Union Public Service Commission
US/USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WHO	World Health Organisation
WH&S	Works, Housing and Supply, Ministry of

## GENERAL PERSPECTIVES





## 1. Cooperation and National Progress<sup>1</sup>

Sisters and brothers,

We are assembled here in the evening, and it is cool after the heat of the day. I want to talk to you leisurely and put some of my thoughts before you so that we can consider them calmly. I came here last at election time and I had to talk about matters pertaining to elections then.<sup>2</sup> Much heat is generated on such occasions, and it is difficult to pay proper attention to all the problems of the nation. At the moment there are no elections or any other special problem before us. So it is easier to pay attention to other matters. Many of you must have fasted during the day and come here after breaking your fast. I would have liked to come to Bhopal after the month of Ramzan, after the Id, because the people would have been more relaxed. But now in a sense it is an anniversary—the fifth anniversary—of the Bhopal State and this date has significance. That is the reason I have come here today.

On an anniversary one looks back as well as ahead. What has happened in the last seven or eight years in India? What is the situation at present? What is likely to happen in future? What do we have to be prepared for? One is filled with such thoughts. Let us take a look at the world situation today. Or, take a look at Asia. That does not mean that work lies elsewhere in the world. It lies right here in our own country. Our duty lies in putting our house in order and to the extent that we are able to do so, our voice will be heard in the world.

But the problems of the world are so linked with one another that anything that happens in China or Korea or the United States is bound to have repercussions here. If there is a war somewhere in the world, it is bound to affect all the countries, whether we participate in it or not. Therefore let us devote a few minutes to the world situation, especially the Asian world. As you probably know, a Conference is being held in Geneva,<sup>3</sup> a large city in Switzerland. Representatives of the big nations and others are assembled there

1. Speech at a public meeting in Bhopal, 1 June 1954. AIR tapes. NMML. Original in Hindi.
2. Nehru visited Bhopal on 3 December 1951 while campaigning for the Congress Party during the first general elections.
3. An international conference was held at Geneva from 26 April to 21 July 1954 to restore peace in Korea and Indo-China. The chief participants were: the United States, the USSR, Great Britain, France, China, North Korea, South Korea, Vietnam, the Vietminh, Laos and Cambodia.

but the problems before the Conference are basically Asian. The Korean issue will be taken up. Fighting came to a halt in Korea after three years but even now complete peace does not prevail. The second issue is that of Indo-China where fighting continues even now. Both are Asian problems and though we are not directly involved, the outcome is bound to affect us and the rest of the world. A strange phenomenon is that these are largely Asian problems but the Conference is being held in Europe and the decisions are in the hands of other nations. I am not saying this by way of complaint. But it is strange. It is evident that to some extent the old ways of looking at these problems prevail even now. The big nations of the world seem to think that they must control the entire world. But now the problem that arises is that when many countries vie with one another for control, there is conflict. It is obvious that there is a new awakening in Asia and after centuries of European domination, these countries are getting freedom. Even now, all the Asian countries are not free but many of the large ones have managed to shake off foreign rule.

The Asian countries are not likely to tolerate that other countries should have the power to decide their fate any more. I am not making this an issue, but am just mentioning it because the outcome of the Geneva talks will be crucial, for it will mean peace or war in the world. When it is such an important issue, I submit that the problems of Asia should be decided by Asians themselves. The decisions taken at Geneva will be significant. Though they might in no way seal the fate of Asia forever, they could be a crucial step. It is obvious that we desire peace and will work for it. Even if there cannot be peace immediately in the world, it will be a good thing if a step is taken in that direction, especially at the present juncture when there is an apprehension of war in everybody's heart. Although we did not want to get involved in this matter, still we tried to help quietly and threw in our weight on the side of a speedy agreement. We have not presented any resolutions to the Geneva Conference. In fact, we are not an invitee to the Conference. It is not our habit to go uninvited anywhere or to ask for an invitation. Our stature, such as it is, is in no way affected by our being invited or not. So we do not wish to interfere but we are profoundly interested in the outcome and therefore we have tried to make efforts to improve the atmosphere and reduce tension, so that there may be an agreement.

The situation is also extremely critical and delicate in Indo-China. I shall not go into its history just now. It goes back seven or eight years. But if no decision is arrived at at the Conference at Geneva, the result could be extremely bad for the world. We shall not get involved in any war, and will try to keep our country aloof. But if there is a world war fought with new and terrible weapons, like the atom bomb, nobody can hope to emerge completely unscathed. There will be tremendous upheavals and nobody knows what shape the world will be in thereafter. The pattern of wars has changed completely. They have



become far more deadly and dangerous and even those who have these weapons may not be fully aware of how far-reaching the effects are likely to be.

Therefore we have to bear all these things in mind especially when we are considering the problems of India. It is essential to look at them in the world context. In a dangerous situation like this, we cannot relax our efforts, nor can we afford to get absorbed in our petty internal squabbles because if we are caught unprepared, if there is disunity among us, and if we fail to strengthen the nation at this crucial juncture, we shall be led astray and the hard-won freedom may slip away from our hands.

I mentioned freedom. If you look at the map of the world, there are nearly 75 countries—I do not remember exactly—which are free. The maps and books say that they are free. But if you look carefully, in the context of the present situation in the world, you will find that there are not many countries which are truly free. They are free in name only. In fact they are under the control of one of the big powers and go in fear of it. They have to do what they are told. There is no question of opposing the great powers. This is no freedom. Even the bigger powers are tied down in this way. There are very few countries in the world today whom you can call truly free and which enjoy complete freedom of action. At least we have tried to maintain our freedom and, I think, very successfully. India is perhaps among the few countries which can do as they like.

It is obvious that human beings and nations have their limitations. We also have many expectations but that does not mean that we can fulfil all of them. We want to remove poverty from the country, but we cannot do so all at once. There is no magic formula for that. We shall certainly do so, but by working hard and by going ahead step by step. We want that there should be peace in the world but it is not in our power to bring about peace all over the world. We can only make an effort. Similarly we cannot do everything we want. Thousands of obstacles and limitations of circumstances come in the way. But at least we do not abandon what we think is the right policy owing to fear or pressure from some other country.

Look at the map of Asia. All countries of Asia are our friends. We do not wish to have enmity with anyone. It is true that often there is tension between Pakistan and us. There are a number of issues which remain unresolved between our two countries. But we wish to solve them by peaceful methods and to maintain friendly relations with Pakistan as is proper between neighbouring countries. Then there are other countries of East and West Asia—Burma, Indonesia and others in the East, and Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq and the Arab countries like Palestine, Syria and Egypt in the West. We have excellent relations of friendship and amity with all of them. It is not a good thing for me to keep comparing our country with others. There must certainly be a healthy competition between nations and we want everyone to progress. But merely



with a view to understanding the problem, I should like you to look at India and the other countries of Asia and compare the situation obtaining there a few years earlier with the situation obtaining today. If you look at it this way, you will reach the conclusion that in spite of all our faults and weaknesses India has progressed a great deal in the last few years compared to the others and we have advanced in every field, in external as well as internal affairs. We have laid the firm foundations of the edifice of new India. The edifice is already emerging and there is great respect for India in the world today. That respect is not born out of an unthinking, biased love but due to what we have achieved during the last six or seven years and the realisation that India follows some fundamental principles. Even those who do not accept our policy respect us for our firm adherence to our principles.

This is something for you to ponder about. I am speaking very carefully. I am not exaggerating or comparing India with other countries. But it is a fact that the achievements of India during the last six or seven years have had a tremendous impact on the world. While most countries are happy about this, there are some which are not, because they are apprehensive about the strength that a new and prosperous India is likely to possess. Well, I cannot help them. We cannot allow ourselves to become weak to please others.

Yesterday one of our Members of Parliament who had been sent to the United States to be on one of the committees of the United Nations came back after spending six weeks there. He told me that without going out of the country one could not have a real idea of the tremendous advance made by India. We cannot correctly gauge India's impact on the rest of the world. India's voice is heard with respect because it is backed up by sound principles and clear-cut thinking. Our MP came away very impressed by the great respect India is held in abroad. After all, this respect is not born out of fear of our armed strength. We have a small and good army, but it is nothing in the atomic world of today. We have no wealth with which to put pressure on other countries. We are a poor country and the little that we have is being utilised in the country's development. Then why is it that there is respect for India? It is because our policies are considered very sound.

I wanted to put these broad facts before you. It is very easy to feel frustrated by the innumerable problems that face us and to think that India is not making progress or that there are too many evils in our society. It is obvious that there are thousands of evils of all sorts, new and old, in a large country like ours. Which country is free from them? And then, ours is an ancient country and there are bound to be good as well as bad points in having a long past. There is great strength in us; at the same time, a great many useless traditions and customs have accumulated with age which become a great burden. Especially during the last few years since British rule was removed, we have had to face tremendous problems. The first blow was Partition and its aftermath. Pakistan

and North India were rocked with communal riots and violence, and millions of refugees went from one side to another. Please remember that only four or five years have passed since then. You must look at this, or any other problem, for that matter, objectively. I am not prepared to say that Pakistan was more to blame than us, for terrible things happened on both sides. Refugees came to India from Pakistan and vice versa. They were the helpless victims of circumstances. It was a gigantic task to look after 70 or 80 lakh people. Unfortunately, there was a tremendous food shortage in the country at the time, which persisted for years and we had to spend millions of rupees worth of precious foreign exchange on import of rice and wheat and other cereals. The money which could have been used for the development of the country was thus wasted. Then there were thousands of other problems. You must remember that Partition meant dividing everything connected with administration into two. For instance, the armed forces were divided, with one-third going to Pakistan and two-thirds remaining here. The railways, post and telegraphs and some other services were similarly divided. In short, the administrative set-up was divided at all levels and everything became topsy-turvy. Over and above it all, we had to look after millions of refugees. A few days after Independence, war broke out in Kashmir<sup>4</sup> and there were tremendous food shortages in the country. All these things happened together in the first few years of Independence. We were faced with the problem of consolidation and integration of the Princely States. It was our good fortune that we had a stalwart like Sardar Patel<sup>5</sup> who took up this problem and solved it swiftly.

Until a few months ago, it was generally felt, especially by the old British officers, that the matter of the Princely States would create great chaos and go on for years. Therefore there was great surprise when the matter was so speedily brought to an end. There is no doubt about it that the Government of India treated the maharajas and nawabs with great consideration and generosity. As far as the monetary compensation was concerned, we agreed to large privy purses. If the common yardstick was to be applied, there was no real justification for a handful of people being given such large sums of money especially in a

4. A war broke out on 22 October 1947, when Pakistan engineered a massive raid of Kashmir by her tribal people and soldiers of the Pakistan Army.
5. Vallabhbhai Patel (1875-1950); lawyer; participated in the freedom struggle and was jailed several times; became associated with Mahatma Gandhi during the Kheda Satyagraha in 1918; chairman, Ahmedabad Municipal Committee, 1924-28; organised no-tax campaign by the peasants of Bardoli in 1928; President of Gujarat Congress Committee for many years, and of the Indian National Congress in 1931; member, Interim Government, 1946-47; Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Home, States, and Information and Broadcasting, 1947-50; the prime architect behind the integration of the Princely States with the Union of India.



poor country like ours. But taking everything into consideration, we decided that it was better to solve this tremendous problem by peaceful methods, even if we had to pay a higher price for it. So we signed these agreements of merger. We paid a very high price but then peace is invaluable. Once this problem was settled, we grew in strength and could devote our attention to other matters. We could not have done it otherwise. It is possible that we could have saved a few crores of rupees. But in doing that, the atmosphere would have been vitiated by bitterness and our attention would have been diverted. Therefore in my opinion Sardar Patel and we, his colleagues, did a very wise thing. I would say that the princes also conducted themselves wisely and agreed to the proposals quickly and took decisions peacefully, so the merger of more than 600 states took place peacefully. Most of those 600 states were small ones, of just a few villages sometimes, but a few of them were very large, almost equal to small countries, like Hyderabad, Kashmir, Mysore, Travancore and Baroda. So it was not a small matter to have solved such a complex problem in a few months. Hyderabad took a little longer.<sup>6</sup> But in Kashmir, as you know, there were terrible complications and fighting broke out.

I was trying to put a picture of the last few years before you and the terrible difficulties that we had to face. We have been moving forward gradually and have brought the situation under control. Take the food problem, for instance. There is no doubt that we have brought an extremely complicated situation under control. Now, the food situation in the country is very good. We have made alternative arrangements in case unfortunately the crops fail, so that we shall have enough wheat and other grains in stock.

In the meantime we have been paying attention to the real problems of the country, that is, its economic progress. It is an extremely complicated problem. It is easy for people to pass a resolution and demand that this or that should be done, just as students in schools and colleges do when they present their demands. It is easy to make such demands but the burden of meeting them has to be borne by others. There are plenty of people ready to make demands, but whom is a nation to demand from? Can we demand from other countries? It is not right that we should beg of other countries or become dependent on them. We are a free nation. We cannot beg of others. If we have any demands, they will have to be paid for by ourselves. We must produce whatever we need in the country from our own resources and if we cannot do so, there is no one who will rescue us. This is what we often fail to realise because we got into the habit of making demands during the British days or even earlier. The British

6. The Indian Army entered Hyderabad state on 13 September 1948 and after more than four days of fighting the Nizam's forces surrendered on 17 September. On 18 September, the Indian Army entered Hyderabad city.



regarded themselves as the *mai-baap* of Indians. Well, those days are past. The British liked the idea of being presented with demands and would occasionally concede some of them in their bounty. But those times are gone. What was done in those days was wrong for the wealth of the country was accumulated and siphoned away without anything being spent on its development except for occasional disbursement of largess almost like charity. This is what was being done in the past, both in the British ruled areas and in the territories under the control of maharajas and nawabs. They appropriated the wealth of the country, except for sharing a small portion with their favourites, amidst great fanfare about their generosity. This has been the tradition in India. But nobody realised that what was actually spent on the country was a very small part of the wealth accumulated by the government and even that was given not by law but as charity. I do not wish to criticise anyone. This was the old tradition which prevailed everywhere.

So, if we wish to move forward, where are we to get the money except to produce it by our own hard work and from our resources? After all, what is wealth? Currency notes and gold and silver may be symbols of trade. But the real wealth of a nation consists of goods produced in the country, whether it is from land or industries or in a hundred different ways. Gold and silver do not constitute the wealth of a nation. It is essential things like food, clothing or houses or a hundred other things produced in the country which constitute the wealth of a nation. Therefore a nation which produces more is wealthy. A nation does not become wealthy on account of the gold or silver it possesses. The United States is a rich country today because it produces an enormous amount of goods from its land and its industries. It has a great surplus which it can give to others. This is the sign of real wealth. The countries which have to import essential goods are poor and to the extent that we have to get things from outside, we shall remain poor and weak. Therefore if we wish to eradicate poverty from the country, we must make proper arrangements to produce the things we need in the country. There are many advantages in that. For one thing, new avenues of employment open up in the process and people earn more and the wealth of the country does not go out.

The great problem before us after Independence was that though we had gained political freedom, the real problem of the country, namely, poverty, had not been solved. We must find a solution for it. Economic progress is very essential. The problem of raising the standard of living of 36 crore people is a gigantic one. It is not as though it can be solved by providing jobs to a few hundreds or thousands. The problem here concerns 36 crores of people. Government cannot provide employment to all of them. Jobs have to be provided by opening up new avenues of production, for example, from land and from industries. So we adopted the goal of increased production of essential goods in the country and their equitable distribution, so that the wealth did not go to

a few pockets. We want to reduce the disparity between the rich and the poor. It may not be possible to do away with it completely because some are stronger or cleverer than others. Everybody cannot be alike. But the great disparity between the haves and have-nots must be reduced, and everyone must get equal opportunities so that each individual can progress according to his ability and strength—physical and mental—and not be suppressed, as so many are today. If they are given the proper opportunities perhaps they may develop into high class men but the opportunities for education, and so on are not available. Sometimes they do not even get enough to eat. How are the poor things to progress? Therefore one other goal before us should be to provide equal opportunity of education and development to every individual. To begin with, everyone must get enough food, clothing, house to live in and opportunities for education, health-care and so on.

These are ordinary things but they are not available to everyone in India at present. I agree that these are increasing but it is a question of 36 crores of people. As I said, if we produce more in the country, unemployment will be reduced. Unemployment is not a sign of a prosperous country. These are our goals but we cannot solve anything merely by passing resolutions. How are we to go about it? We have democracy—people's rule—in the country. It is important for you to remember this because we have to achieve our objectives within that framework. One way of achieving these goals is to have a military dictatorship in the country in which case there is no need to consult everyone. There are dictatorships in many countries. I do not know but perhaps work gets done faster under such regimes because of fear, though no one is consulted. But we have deliberately not accepted that form of government—whether it is military dictatorship or the dictatorship of a few. We have opted for democracy. There are good points as well as some weaknesses too in this. The weakness is that everything takes time and there are all sorts of checks and balances. This naturally comes in for criticism. But take the Soviet Union and China. Both countries have made tremendous progress. But do you know that not a word of criticism of the government is allowed there? If anyone dares to criticise the government, he stands in great danger.

There is no doubt that during the last twenty or thirty years the Soviet Union has made tremendous progress. We must learn whatever we can from them and we shall undoubtedly do so. But the fundamental problem before us is whether we should choose the method of force and punish people for the slightest criticism. I see that our Communist brethren are very vociferous in this matter but are losing their sense of proportion very fast for what they say has no relevance to India's present problems. I am really amazed. Now, it is a different matter that you may draw the government's attention to problems in your state or district or village for there are innumerable problems before us. You have every right to do so. But the basic thing is either to have democracy



in the country, as we do according to our Constitution, or to change its complexion in such a way that power rests in a handful of people who would run the country by force. That handful may be good, I agree—if they turn out to be bad, it will be more of a disaster. That handful may work with the best of intentions. But in my opinion, even if all this leads to temporary progress, the ultimate result cannot be good.

After all, what do we want? We do not want merely that there should be enough food for everyone, though that is no doubt essential. We want also that everyone should get clothes to wear and houses to live in. But even more important than all this is for every individual to stand on his feet and maintain his self-respect. Only then, in my opinion, can a democracy function effectively, and even if it takes a little longer to get things done, the country will be ultimately much stronger. That is why we have chosen this path and are firmly adhering to it. You must remember what it means. It means, ultimately, having faith in the people of India for the reins of power are in their hands and they can go whichever way they wish. We can only advise them and try to make them understand. But ultimately the reins of power are in their hands. So we have to put our faith in the people of India, in 36 crore human beings. Have you ever heard of such a large number of voters in any other country? There were 17 or 18 crore voters during the last elections and their number has probably increased by one or two crores more by now. This is absolutely unique in the world and it is clearly a matter of great courage to put one's faith in such a large number of human beings because, after all, nobody can say that the entire population of India is intelligent. There are all kinds of people in the country, intelligent and foolish. So it was a matter of great courage to adopt this path at a crucial stage in our history. The Constitution that we have adopted is itself a brave act, though I have no doubt in my mind that we could not do better than to pin our faith upon the people of India. We cannot put our faith in celestial bodies or someone else. The nation which has no faith in itself can expect no help even from God. Therefore we must have faith in the people. If they have the intelligence and the capacity, they will go ahead. If they do not, we are helpless for we cannot keep them going by giving them oxygen. So these are the problems which you must try to understand.

There are innumerable examples of foolishness in all of us in the country. One is the historical foolishness of internal disunity. We were divided over petty issues and often lost our freedom to foreign forces. It is not as if we lost to any mighty force. It was mainly because of internal disunity and the feud and rivalry between the various rulers in the country that the invading forces could defeat us so easily. Two factors were responsible for our weakness—one was internal disunity and the second was the fact that the stream of progress ceased to flow. As it happens when something is stagnant, the freshness evaporates and it loses its strength. If you were to stop the waters of the beautiful



river, the Ganges, from flowing, they will lose their freshness. Similarly, when a society becomes stagnant and loses its power to grow, it becomes weak. You may criticise the British and blame them for our loss of freedom and their excesses. But the fact is that if anybody is to be blamed, it is ourselves for being so useless and stupid that we were bogged down in our petty problems and remained backward while the world was advancing. We have been punished for our weakness and are bound to be punished again if we indulge in it in future.

History points out two things, the first, as I said, is our internal feuds, and the second, our overweening pride and feeling of superiority, which has prevented us from learning anything new. We often closed our minds to the advance being made in the world and so slipped back in every way. It is not always easy to judge things like intelligence and ability. But the fact remains that we became backward and so played into the hands of our enemies. However intelligent we may have been, we could not fight a war with bows and arrows when our enemy had powerful guns. All these guns and other new weapons that are being produced are the offshoot of science. Europe and the United States have laid great stress on science and so they have been able to invent trains and aeroplanes and a thousand other things. I am speaking through a loud-speaker, which is a scientific invention. Radio, wireless, electricity are all scientific inventions and we are surrounded by them. Science has helped the Western countries to make great advance and the invention of modern weapons added greatly to their strength, while we remained backward. In our conceit we paid no attention to science and refused to learn anything new. Take a small thing, for instance, the printing press. Everyone reads books nowadays and yet printing was unknown in this country till the British came and introduced it, whereas it had been known in Europe for centuries before that. Printed books had started coming into India as early as the times of Emperor Akbar<sup>7</sup> but there was not the slightest desire in anyone to print them here. Is it not indeed strange? Just imagine the strength of the printed word for educating the masses and spreading a message. The modern world cannot function without it. But nobody in our country paid any attention to it though half the world was printing books. It was unfortunate that we closed our minds to change in our conceit. That is the biggest sign of foolishness and so we became backward because of our internal disunity and narrow-mindedness.

How did we come to have these weaknesses? It is a long story but, in my opinion, the basic reason is the caste system that has prevailed in our society and has kept us in separate compartments. It is possible that when it was started a couple of thousand years ago, it might have been relevant. But gradually it

7. Jalal-ud-Din Muhammad Akbar (1542-1605); emperor of India, 1556-1605.

became less relevant and more dangerous so much so that it made India weak. Even now, though it is gradually being removed, it still has a hold and unless we succeed in removing it completely, there is no doubt about it that we shall not be able to go very far in the world. Mahatma Gandhi started an assault on it in a way by taking up the question of Harijans. For, when a large section of society is suppressed and considered unclean, how can that society progress? So long as the principle of equality is not fully accepted, how can the society claim equality with others? But behind the question of Harijans, you must remember, was the entire problem of the caste system. We Hindus must uproot the caste system completely and ruthlessly. We must fight against it with all our strength, for unless this problem is solved, we can make no progress in the world.

Each individual is welcome to practise his own religion, whatever it may be. But we must not fragment Indian nationalism by bringing religion into it. Religion has its own place and all religions, Hinduism, Islam, Christianity and others must flourish together. But if we bring religion into our national issues, we shall be lowering the standard of religion as well as politics. If religion enters politics, then it is obvious that politics will become the preserve of one religious group; other religious groups would be left out. And the country will get divided into numerous compartments.

What is the meaning of nationalism? Nationalism means that all the citizens of a country are welded into one nation. Their views on religion and other things may be different but they belong to one nation and are bound by a common bond of nationalism. There are many things which bind us but the main bond is that we are Indians, citizens of the Republic of India. If you wish to go abroad you have to carry a passport and irrespective of your religion and caste, you will be held in respect because you are citizens of the Republic of India. You will not be known by your religion or the fact that you live in Bhopal or Delhi or Bombay or Calcutta. The only thing that is recognised in the world is the fact that you are citizens of India. If, however, we put up religious barriers then there can be no nationalism. It is true that the majority of Indians are Hindus. But please remember that there are millions of Muslims and Christians as well. Besides Buddhists, Jains, Sikhs, Parsis and others have also lived in this country for hundreds or thousands of years. Buddhism, Jainism and Sikhism are indigenous religions. Christianity in India exists in two forms. One is the form which has existed in South India, mostly in places like Travancore, Cochin and Madras, almost from the birth of Christianity, that is, for the last eighteen or nineteen hundred years. It has become part of our soil. Christianity came to India even before it reached the shores of Europe and has settled down and become fully Indianised. The millions of Christians who live in the South are fully Indian. The second time it came with the Portuguese and the British and had political backing. When it came into India the first time, it



was under its own steam and spread gradually over hundreds of years. The second time it was backed up by political power, which was wrong. It was not faith, but the power of the State.

In short, all these religions have flourished in this country for thousands of years. Christianity came thousands of years ago, then Islam came and so did others. The followers of all the religions are citizens of this country and under our Constitution, everyone enjoys equal rights, with the proviso that nobody should interfere with or oppose other religions and people must follow their own religion peacefully. Otherwise there is a conflict. Our Constitution guarantees complete liberty and equal rights to all citizens irrespective of their religion and caste. If you deviate even slightly from this principle then there can be no unity in India, internal feuds will weaken our solidarity and our entire attention will be absorbed in controlling the situation. How can we hope to make any progress? We shall remain poor, as people in the other Asian countries.

All these communal organisations in the country are completely useless. They understand neither history and politics nor the modern world. This very thing has ruined India time and again in the past. I do not understand how anyone in India can fall into these misconceptions. Perhaps it is inevitable when we have such a large population. We must understand how improper this matter is at all times but especially now, when we are at a critical moment in the history of the world. It will once again put us in compartments, increase our narrow-mindedness and prevent us from making progress. We have to move ahead as rapidly as possible. If we slacken even a little, the rest of the world will go ahead and we shall be left behind and be absolutely crushed. When I say we, I do not mean Bhopal, Uttar Pradesh or Madhya Bharat alone but the entire country because all of us are in the same boat and can only go ahead together. It cannot be that one province of India can go ahead or be free while the rest remain backward. That is impossible.

In this context, let me deal with a question that often comes up in people's minds, namely, what the future of Bhopal is likely to be. Is it going to be merged with another state or will it remain separate? I cannot answer this question at the moment. Perhaps there is a strong rumour that I have come here to make some announcement. That is not true. As you know, a Commission has been appointed to go into the matter. When the Commission presents its report, we shall consider it and take a decision then.<sup>8</sup> I have never attached much importance to the boundaries of our various provinces because I have trained my mind always to think of the whole country. These boundaries are

8. As a result of the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission, the Part C State of Bhopal was merged with Madhya Pradesh on 1 November 1956.

purely for administrative purposes and I am not terribly interested in them. The real problem before us is that India and her people should progress and in that context, we must accept whatever internal arrangements become necessary.

I should like to repeat something which I have mentioned earlier too. I get reports from all over India of the progress in the work going on in the rural areas, building of schools and roads, the National Extension Service and Community Projects. From these reports, I am able to form a mental picture of the situation in India. In all this, Bhopal gets a very high place. It is obvious that the State Government has a responsibility in all this and whatever I say is automatically in praise of the Government too. But I want to express my appreciation especially of the people of Bhopal, more so of the youth and the people who live in rural areas who are doing everything. I was happy to have visited one of the camps this morning where college students and villagers were building a school and had already made a road. This is how we must work together in mutual cooperation. *Shramdan* or voluntary labour may not solve all of India's problems, but it is an extremely important thing because it shows the determination and courage of a nation. When there is courage in a nation, it can achieve anything. Therefore *shramdan* is a good thing. I see a new wave of enthusiasm in Bhopal and all over the country.

I can give you a long list of our weaknesses. What are the weaknesses in Bhopal or Uttar Pradesh or anywhere else? What are the things that remain to be tackled? It will be a long list of the good as well as the bad and of omissions and commissions. But ultimately we have to try and judge whether the nation is headed, by balancing both sides. The important thing to be seen is whether a nation has some life in it or not. I feel that our country is definitely showing signs of an awakening and once crores of people shake themselves up, other things follow automatically. We must of course plan for it. We had drawn up a Five Year Plan of which nearly three years have gone by. We are drawing up the Second Plan.

If you like I can give you a long list of the big things that are happening in the country. Just six weeks ago the huge dam in Bhakra-Nangal in the Punjab was completed. The waters will reach over thousands of miles to the deserts of Rajasthan all the way to Bikaner and irrigate wasteland. This is no small matter. Bhakra-Nangal is among the special achievements, not only of India, but of the world. Work on such a large scale has happened in very few places, and to have taken up this task was in itself an act of great courage. Then there is the Damodar Valley and Hirakud, and many others in the South and elsewhere. Look at the size of these schemes and it will become obvious that they take years to complete. Enormous sums of money have to be spent before they start showing results. They show results years later but then they will benefit us for generations to come. Thus they become a foundation of the nation's progress. We have taken up these gigantic tasks which are gradually



being completed. We have put up a fertiliser plant in Sindri.<sup>9</sup> You may perhaps think that a factory means putting together a few machines and building a chimney. If you go to Sindri, you will see what is meant by a factory in the modern world. It is an enormous hive of industry. There are a number of huge buildings of steel and concrete and one feels as if one is in the middle of an Arabian Nights tale. Go to Bangalore where aeroplanes and trains are being built. Railway engines are being made in Chittaranjan and ships in Vishakhapatnam and innumerable other projects are under way.

Having given you a list of all these things, I should say that the real development that is going on is in the rural areas through our Community Projects and the National Extension Service which are fundamental to the nation's progress.

So there is an all-round effort to go ahead. We make mistakes and sometimes stumble and fall. Money is occasionally wasted. I accept all this. But the nation is progressing and the main thing is that the world realizes it. You must keep this picture before you when you feel agitated about small things. You must certainly point out small errors and complain about things which are wrong. I shall not stop you. It is not the tradition in our country to stifle all criticism of the Government as in some other countries where people who do so stand in danger of their very lives. But criticisms must be constructive and based on knowledge of the complete picture and understanding of the modern world.

I have drawn your attention to a number of things. The fundamental need is to realise that the burden and responsibilities of freedom have to be borne by every individual in the country. I cannot do it all by myself without your cooperation. So you must understand the responsibilities that freedom brings. Freedom does not confer rights alone but involves responsibilities too, and this must be properly understood. It means fostering unity in the country and removing all artificial barriers. We must not indulge in the foolish habit of fighting among ourselves in the name of religion and caste. Everyone has the right to practise his own religion without interference from others.

Above all, we must work hard. No nation can progress except by hard work. Whatever policy you may adopt nothing can be done without hard work. The United States and Germany and Japan, the Soviet Union, China and others have adopted different ideologies but progress in every case depends on hard work because there is no other way. We have to increase production in the country and change the face of every city and village. How are we to go about it? It cannot be done by law or by the PWD alone. Ultimately it is the people who have to work hard. The PWD must certainly do their work rapidly and

9. The Sindri Fertiliser Factory in Bihar was inaugurated by Jawaharlal Nehru on 2 March 1952.

efficiently but if millions of people work hard, the face of the nation can change very fast. Nearly three years of the First Five Year Plan have gone by. We are now drawing up the Second Plan. We have taken up the land problem in a big way. First of all, it was necessary to put an end to the zamindari and jagirdari systems. Secondly, it was essential to increase production from land in as many ways as possible. The cooperative movement is very essential. We have drawn the attention of the people to the panchayat system which we consider very important because the more the people participate in administration, the better it will be. They learn to take on the responsibility of running the country. We have had some success in the land issue. In the Second Plan, we shall pay special attention to industries, big and small. Even now we are putting up huge industries. I have not mentioned another very fundamental thing we are doing all over the country—big scientific research institutes and laboratories. These are absolutely essential to progress.

We have now decided to take up heavy industries, like big steel plants, in the public sector. Steel is extremely important for the growth of a modern nation as also electricity. The output of steel and power is the sign of a nation's progress for they are necessary to run industries and a thousand other things. I told you about river valley projects like Bhakra-Nangal, Damodar Valley and Hirakud, which will supply water for irrigation for thousands of miles. They will also produce electricity which will supply power to our industries.

So we are making progress on all fronts. You must understand this picture and put your entire strength behind all these activities. We can progress fast only if the entire nation cooperates and does not give in to despair which some people tend to do very easily. We must remain calm whatever happens and face the most turbulent storms peacefully and harness our energies in the right direction. *Jai Hind*.

## 2. The Dangers of Complacency<sup>1</sup>

Sisters and brothers,

Those of you who can hear my voice, please raise your hands.

We are assembled here on an auspicious occasion and have participated in

1. Speech at a public meeting in Nangal, 8 July 1954. AIR tapes, NMMML. Original in Hindi.



this morning's function.<sup>2</sup> It is a very auspicious day for all of us in India and specially for the Punjab. I would go so far as to say that wherever something is accomplished for the welfare of the people, it benefits the whole world. There may be certain things in which a few people may try to gain something at the cost of others. There can be two opinions about that. But when human beings produce something by the sweat of their brows, it can only do good to everyone and no harm. So it can be said that this great achievement at Bhakra-Nangal is a good thing for the world because it is an accomplishment of peace. In today's world, things often happen which are harmful, there is constant talk of war and threats are hurled at one another. Great arsenals are being built up and armies stand in readiness. Leaders meet in conferences to argue whether there should be peace or war. This is the atmosphere in the world today. In a sense, there are two kinds of things happening in the world—one constructive and the other destructive. Nobody can predict which side will win ultimately. Posterity will provide the answer to that question. So, when there is a conflict between the forces of construction and destruction, any constructive achievement strengthens the cause of peace and is in the interest of the people, thus serving the world. It serves the people on the spot but benefits the entire world too at the same time. So this great task which we have taken up here in Bhakra-Nangal and achieved a tremendous goal—there are others ahead—is a good thing in the larger world context as well as for us. It will no doubt benefit our country but I want you to realize the good that it will do to others too.

This is not the only task that is being accomplished in India today. There are innumerable things happening all over the country. When an individual or a nation pays attention to work, and becomes more and more involved in it, there will be no time for useless quarrels. We are involved in great tasks and have no time to spare for futile arguments and disputes. When a man is idle, he becomes envious of others and this leads to disputes. In a sense, this is true of nations too. This is not the complete answer to the problems of the world but it is certainly one aspect of it. Now we, millions of Indians, are engaged in building a new nation. As you can imagine, it is a great task. We are lavish in our praise of the Bhakra-Nangal project but it is only a small part when seen in the context of the country's problems. There are hundreds of tasks waiting to be done in India. Hundreds of such projects and schemes, both big and small, have to be undertaken if we wish to transform the country.

You must have heard of the Five Year Plan. More than two and a half years of the Plan have gone by. We must now seriously think of the Second Plan because this process will go on. We shall have several advantages in

2. Earlier in the day, Jawaharlal Nehru inaugurated the Bhakra-Nangal canal system at Nangal. For his speech delivered on the occasion, see *post*, pp. 130-143.



drafting the Second Plan. We have learnt from our experience so far and also from our mistakes. We have made many mistakes as is natural in the circumstances. Only those who never do any work make no mistakes because they do nothing. Those who do something are bound to make mistakes, stumble occasionally, and pick themselves up and go on. So we have made many mistakes. Now, it remains to be seen whether we learn from those mistakes or not. If we fail to do so, we shall prove that we are useless. If we learn from our mistakes we shall profit by it and gain in stature. We shall progress that way.

So, as I said, we have several advantages in drawing up the Second Plan. One is the experience that we have gained. Secondly, we have been able to collect more statistical data about the country. We—and I include myself in that—had got into the habit of building castles in the air. We shout slogans and pass resolutions, which is all very well, but ultimately there is a difference between that and doing real work. Slogans may create momentary enthusiasm but it is obvious that they cannot help in the tasks at hand if we divorce ourselves from reality. You have accomplished hundreds of tasks here in Bhakra-Nangal which could not have been done by shouting slogans. It requires intelligence and hard work. The training that we had received during our freedom struggle came in useful. It gave us courage and strength and daring, taught us to work in unity and make sacrifices. These were great things but freedom brought new responsibilities and tasks which could not be accomplished by shouting slogans or passing resolutions. In the beginning, it was rather difficult to turn our attention to the tasks at hand and to understand the changed circumstances. There is no doubt that certain tasks are naturally difficult. If, for instance, we want to build a bridge on this river, a plan will have to be drawn up and engineers will have to be engaged. It cannot be done by shouting slogans. The problem is that even now people think that they can achieve everything by shouting slogans.

We are faced with tremendous problems, the biggest being the economic progress of the people, the removal of poverty and unemployment from the country. These are complex problems involving 350 million human beings. One-fifth of the world's population consists of Indians. You can imagine what a tremendously complicated problem it is to uplift such a huge population. It is not a question of providing employment to a handful. I may be able to give jobs to fifty or a hundred or a thousand people. But I cannot provide government jobs for 350 millions. Government service is not the remedy for the country's ills. Ultimately, what is needed is productive jobs for people which will increase the wealth in the country. The countries where there is such productive labour are rich and the others are poor. Whether people work on land or in factories and other projects, they must produce something. This was the problem which confronted us. It is obvious that the task of uplifting 350 million people cannot

be accomplished by magic or by chanting of some mantras or by consulting astrologers. This kind of foolishness is increasing in the country and sometimes even intelligent people get carried away. I mention this often and would like to tell you again that you should not fall into the error of believing that the stars will do your work for you. It is you and I who have to work, not the stars. It is extremely foolish to put your faith in such things when the people of India have, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, learnt lessons of sacrifice, cooperation, harmony and unity. He brought about communal harmony and national unity and showed us that our safety and freedom lay in unity and the extent to which we work in harmony. We must realize that the people of India, whether they are Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, Buddhists, Jains or Parsis have equal rights in the country and if one section thinks it has more rights than others it is following a wrong and unjust path which is bound to lead to conflict, whether it is people who belong to a particular religion or profession or province or caste. These things cannot be permitted in free India. Every individual must realize this for those who wish to live in such compartments, neither they nor others will be able to remain intact. This is an old disease which has been the cause of the downfall of India for thousands of years—the malady of disunity, disregard for others and total self-absorption. The result was that India fell again and again and was enslaved. This has been the story of India repeatedly in the past.

There has never been a dearth of brave men in our country, nor of intelligent and great men. The only thing we have lacked is unity. We were in the habit of living in separate compartments. There is a long story behind it but one of the main causes of this was the caste system which divided people into narrow compartments and weakened them. Each compartment was hostile to the others and made them vulnerable to foreign invasions. The same thing happened when the British came here. They did not have to fight any great battles in India. They came and occupied the throne of India which they found vacant as the people quarrelling among themselves. It is only when we learnt the lesson of unity under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership that we grew in strength and were able to fight for India's freedom by peaceful methods. We set a great example to the world by fighting for the cause of freedom by peaceful methods. Our nation grew in strength by getting united. People of different religions are welcome to follow them and retain their faith. But in the tasks of the nation, they are one. They are Indians as far as freedom of the nation is concerned. Do you remember that Mahatma Gandhi laid great stress on the uplift of our Harijan brethren? He always said that those who suppressed any of their brethren forfeited their right to freedom. How can we have the right to something if we deny it to others? We must understand that in the new India that we are trying to build, every Indian has an equal right irrespective of his religion and caste. We want everyone to have equal opportunities to grow but we want the



depressed classes to have better opportunities for rapid progress because they have remained backward for so long. This is how we have to work. It is not a question of pulling back those who are advanced. We want to uplift everyone. But it is true that there is great disparity in our society which is not right. It is against the dignity of the nation and society that while people are starving on the one hand, a handful live in great luxury. Leave aside the question of principle. It is not our intention to drag anyone down.

So the greatest problem which confronted India after freedom was the economic question of creating new avenues of employment and of increasing the wealth of the country. As I told you, the problem is so big that it takes time and may not be solved completely in our lifetimes, however hard we may work. But we want to move in that direction and take big steps towards solving it so that some goals may be achieved. The life of a nation goes on without any pause. It is only when a nation becomes stagnant and complacent that it begins to fall. Our ancient books tell us that life is a journey. The nation must keep moving forward constantly, intellectually and physically. The moment it stops, others go ahead and it gets left behind.

If you look at the history of India, you will see that there have been glorious periods during which great souls were born whose lives shine like a beacon even today. Their fame had spread to distant places. Yet, our country has fallen again and again. Why? Take the history of the country in the last few centuries. What do you see? We can see a society, a good society consisting of good people, some of them first-rate men, but a society which had become stagnant and had made no progress at all. It had closed its mind and heart completely to change. There was a time when our countrymen used to travel far and wide. They went to China, Japan, Java and Sumatra and to various parts of Asia carrying India's message. They went to Africa with our culture and arts and civilization, as well as for trade and other purposes. Then came a time when taboos against travelling grew up and people began to say that it destroyed one's religion. Those who crossed the seas stood in danger of becoming outcasts. Taboos against marrying outside the caste grew up. Untouchability came to be accepted. All this is a sign of a weak and lifeless nation, groping its way in the dark. Our people lost the capacity to think for themselves or to progress on their own steam. They became timid, with no courage left. This was the situation in the country when foreigners came and conquered us. This was not surprising because we had lost our spirit of adventure and were content to repeat lessons learnt by rote. There was no doubt that those lessons were of a very high class. But lessons learnt by rote cannot take anyone far. There has to be fresh thinking.

The question that confronted free India was which road to follow. It is a complicated problem for us, and we must understand it fully because there are many people who even now believe in our old ways, which had weakened us



in the past and led to our downfall, created disunity among us and kept us in separate compartments. In their opinion, it is enough to continue to repeat the lessons learnt by rote, whatever changes may have occurred in the rest of the world. You must understand that communalism and provincialism have often led to our downfall in the past. People often forget that their provinces are but a part of India. Your state of Punjab is no doubt a glorious state, but do you think it can cut itself off from the rest of the country and go to the moon? If India progresses, so will the Punjab, and that goes for all the provinces of India. Our destinies are inextricably linked together, whether you live in the Himalayas or in Travancore-Cochin. If there is any trouble in Travancore-Cochin, it is the duty of all of us to help them because the body of India is indivisible. If there is an abscess anywhere in it, the whole body will be racked by fever. This is how we must look at the question of India's unity and foster it to the best of our ability. So please remember this lesson and forget our old weaknesses of communalism and religious feuds and disunity, for they had ruined us enough in the past.

As I mentioned to you, another thing which ruined us in the past was our habit of learning everything by rote without really understanding it. Why is it that the people of Europe and the United States have been so rich while we remained backward? The fact is that the British and Americans could produce wealth because they possessed the skill and the ability to work and could think for themselves while we had become stagnant in mind and lost the will to work. So how can we blame others when the fault lay at our door? Leave aside small things and look at their big achievements. They have invented thousands of new ways of production, machines and new weapons of war. How can we hope to combat their lethal weapons with bows and arrows? It is absurd. What was the secret of their success? It lay in the new and vibrant techniques of modern science which the West discovered three or four centuries ago and has been cherishing and using ever since and which have paid them rich dividends. The new machines and sources of power are all products of modern science. For instance, steam is a familiar thing, but when captured, the energy it produces can be used for driving locomotives and engines. Electricity is yet another source of power, which provides not only light but is used for running heavy machines. The electricity which will be produced in Bhakra-Nangal will supply power to the Punjab, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh and contribute to India's progress.

Printing was unknown in India till the advent of the British though books were being published in Europe for three or four centuries before that. What does it show? It shows how our minds had been imprisoned in narrow grooves which prevented us from looking ahead. We looked backward constantly instead of learning from the progress being made elsewhere. We could only repeat lessons learnt by rote and failed to understand the old and the new world alike.

Why is it that we failed to realize that books were being printed in the world? Books mean spreading of knowledge and printing made them easily available to the people. Before the invention of printing, education was limited to a handful in the world. The reason was that handwritten books were not available in plenty. The moment books began to be printed, more people began to read them.

I have given you one example. I could give you many more examples to show how the countries of Europe and the United States of America progressed because they had keen and enquiring minds. We became backward because of our disunity and our preoccupation with lessons learnt by rote. Then came a new era in which the nation took a new turn and we now face the problem of deciding which road to take after freedom. It is obvious that apart from the need to remember the lesson of unity and discard casteism and our tendency to live in separate compartments, we have to keep a fresh and open mind. We must develop scientific thinking and undertake research here in the country. It is not enough to go to England or America and get a little education and merely copy the West. We cannot undertake large projects like the Bhakra-Nangal by importing machinery. We may certainly import a little when we need them. But it is not proper to be dependent on others. We must make the machinery ourselves and find ways of improving them by our own research. We must not copy others.

So it is essential to advance in science. You may be aware that among the first tasks that we undertook in free India six or seven years ago was to open big national laboratories all over the country—in Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi, Lucknow, Madras, and other places. There are thirteen large ones and many small ones today. They are in a sense the modern temples where knowledge is worshipped, and they will contribute to the progress of the nation. We have established these laboratories because it is from the fertile brains of the people who work there that the future progress of India will emerge. I feel that this is a fundamental task which has been accomplished in the last few years in India. I am happy to tell you that boys and girls of high calibre are working in large numbers in these laboratories. As far as I can remember, there are nearly three thousand people working in them. With the doors of opportunity opening, more and more people have started working. Some research used to be done in the universities but there was not much opportunity. Even now we want that the universities should make great progress. In this connection, I would like to mention one thing more which makes me very unhappy but there seems to be no remedy for it so far. However, we must find a solution. As I said, a number of our young men are making great advance in science. They have brilliant minds which leads me to hope that India will definitely make great progress for the fundamental thing is the brain behind all this. The thing that bothers me is that our brightest young men are lured away to foreign countries by the



desire for wealth. It is obvious that we cannot compete with the advanced countries in the matter of wealth. But it is not a good thing that at a time when India wants every one of her young men and women to serve the nation and help her to progress, people should go away to other countries merely for the sake of money. I am sorry that many of our brilliant young scientists have gone and settled abroad and are making a great name for themselves and for those countries when India needs their services desperately.

I have tried to give you a broad picture of the things which are happening in the country. As I said elsewhere this morning, there is an exciting atmosphere of change and activity in the country. You will realize it if you travelled in the country. The big projects are talked about in the newspapers but I feel that there is yet another kind of activity taking place in the country which is not mentioned as often as it should be. That is the attention that we have paid to the development of rural areas. You must remember that eighty per cent of India's population lives in the villages. Very little attention was paid to them during the days of the British and the urban areas were developed at the cost of the rural areas. We felt that India could not advance unless her villages progressed. One aspect of it was borne upon us forcibly immediately after Independence. As you know, we faced tremendous food shortages after India became free and partition took place. We went through a very critical period, and millions of rupees had to be spent on importing rice and wheat from other countries like the United States, Canada, Australia and Burma. We were importing food into a country where eighty per cent of the population works on land. It was really strange. But we could not very well refuse to import foodgrains because people would have died of starvation. So we imported them in large quantities.

We kept a few goals before us then. One was to increase food production in the country because without self-sufficiency in food, our very foundations would be weak. So we made arrangements to increase food production in the country. We brought more land under cultivation and, more important, made arrangements to increase production on the land already under cultivation. We aimed at increasing the production from 10 maunds to 15 maunds per acre. You must have heard of the "Grow More Food" campaign. In the beginning, people used to make fun of it and say that it was a waste of money and would yield no results. It is obvious that in a huge country like India, whatever work is taken up, there are bound to be mistakes, and a certain amount of waste is likely to occur. But I want to draw your attention to the fact that we won a tremendous victory in our battle against food scarcity. The world was amazed at our achievement and it is no small surprise to us also that we could bring this problem under control. We have imported a little this year also.<sup>3</sup> But, apart

3. In 1954, India imported 8.3 lakh tons of foodgrains valued at Rs 48.53 crores.



from that, we have produced so much in the country that our granaries are fully stocked and, as you know, most of the controls have been removed.<sup>4</sup> The ones that are still in force will be removed shortly. We have made adequate provision to meet any emergency and even if, unfortunately, the crops fail due to failure of monsoon, we have enough food to tide us over the crisis. But what is really reassuring is the rapid increase in the rate of production. Our real achievement does not lie so much in the new land brought under cultivation, though that is also a good thing, but in increasing the production from ten maunds per acre to twelve, thirteen or even fifteen maunds per acre. It is increasing constantly and as far as rice is concerned, the production has gone up from ten to twenty or twenty-five maunds per acre.

So you can imagine that if the average national production of foodgrains goes up one and a half times, as it is happening, it will mean that the wealth of the countryside will have increased one and a half times. It is a tremendous achievement. But I am not content with fifteen maunds per acre. We must increase it to twenty or twenty-five and we have seen that it can be done if an effort is made. We can confidently say that in the matter of food-production, we have won the battle and if, by some misfortune, there is a crisis, we are fully equipped to deal with it.

I referred to the Five Year Plan. You can get an idea from it about what the planners' estimate of foodgrains was two or three years ago. They tried very hard but could not put down on paper that the problem could be solved within three or four years. So the Plan has become quite outdated in this matter for we have gone far beyond its estimates.<sup>5</sup> This is how nations should progress. I was also reminding you of our schemes for rural development like the Community Projects and National Extension Service. They involve training village workers in great numbers in various stages. The work in the first year was not very satisfactory and there were complaints from everyone. But we were laying the foundations and the second year started yielding results. Nearly two and a half years have now passed and I can tell you quite confidently that the work is catching on firmly in the country. The more important thing is that it has caught the imagination of the people wherever these schemes have been taken up. I do not remember exactly but in every province a couple of hundred villages have been selected. We have promised ourselves that within the next seven years or so, the National Extension Service will reach every single village

4. The total food production in the year 1953-54 was 68.4 million tons, that is, 14.4 million tons more than the food production in 1949-50, the peak pre-Plan year. Controls were relaxed in 1953 and a policy of complete decontrol was adopted in 1954.
5. The First Five Year Plan (1951-56) fixed a target of an annual output of 61.6 million tons of foodgrains.

in India. You can imagine what a great pledge this is as there are six lakh villages in India. We want that the National Extension Service should spread to six lakh villages within the next seven years or so, that is, by the time the Second Five Year Plan comes to an end. We do not want merely that an officer should be posted from above though that will be an easy matter. We want the villagers to be trained and to form a chain from the top to the bottom to provide various essential services like teaching and medical care, to all the villages. The defect in the system that has existed so far is that though good decisions are taken at the top, they do not percolate downwards and get implemented. Now we are trying to form a chain so that decisions may get implemented quickly. It cannot be done by the officials at the top. We are trying to prepare the villagers to take on the responsibility. We can aid and advise them. It is a gigantic task to uplift nearly five lakh villages—a lakh may have already been taken up—within seven years. It means taking up nearly 80,000 villages every year. It is a tremendous task but we have the courage and the faith that we can do it successfully. When the National Extension Service spreads to the villages all over India within the next five to seven years it would perhaps be a more revolutionary event achieved by peaceful methods than the great revolutions that we read about in history. Revolution does not mean shedding of blood or violence. Revolution means the changing of a social and economic system as well as the political set-up if necessary. Uplifting a nation is a real revolution. It does not mean wielding the lathi. Even dacoits do that but that does not make them revolutionaries.

So if you look at the map of India, you will see the great tasks which are being undertaken. We are responding to the call of the nation. I admit that many things are happening which are not very good. We must rectify them. Wide disparities persist. Weaknesses persist. But if you look at the entire picture from afar, you see a nation of millions on the march. We are marching towards progress and the picture is very encouraging and infuses fresh hope and strength.

But here we have our own colleagues who criticise us constantly. They are the people who shut their minds and eyes to all change and yet are vociferous in their criticisms. Why do they not go around and see what is happening in the country and realize that India is a nation throbbing with life and, in her march towards progress, making a powerful impact on the world? They are not prepared to see that the entire nation and society is changing. It is the same old defect of ours which is again at work—repeating lessons learnt by rote without understanding what is happening. They keep repeating the old slogans, without realizing the changes that are taking place in the country. They harp constantly on one theme and that is, that India is being ruined, there is nothing but corruption everywhere. It is absurd. Do I not know about corruption in the country? We want to suppress it, bring it under control, root it out, and rightly so. But how can it be done by merely shouting from the roof-tops about it?



We have to make proper arrangements to eradicate corruption. It is meaningless to criticise all the good work that is being done in the country. I feel a little sad because I want that there should be a good opposition to point out the mistakes of the Government. It is dangerous not to have any opposition for we shall become lax. We need outspoken people to keep us alert. We have a Government and an Opposition in the country and we want the Opposition to point out our mistakes so that we shall remain vigilant. But that does not mean that they should criticise everything that is being done here or make a noise without seeing what is being done. Their sole occupation seems to be to take out processions. Why do they not do something constructive instead? But they indulge in all sorts of antics, threatening to break some law or the other. Is this the way for a free country to behave? We seem unable to get over the habits that we had formed under the British rule. Take the Communists, who continue in the same old way. They are somewhat quiet just now, but they keep saying that the country is not really free yet. Now, what can we say about that? How can I make people see if they wish deliberately to be blind? I can say with great confidence that our country is among the few really free nations in the world. India follows her own path without succumbing to any pressure or temptation. You can compare that with the situation in our neighbouring country and how free it is to follow an independent policy. There are many countries all over Asia and Europe who are not free except in name because they are under pressure from one group or the other. In such a situation, India dares to go her own way in spite of pressures and the annoyance of some of the powers. Yet, we follow a policy of peace and friendship with everyone. Nowadays, international politics have changed a great deal. The ambassadors of big powers meet in conference and sit around conference tables, hurling threats and abuses. This is a new culture which India does not even wish to learn.

Pakistan is our neighbour and I concede that there is a heated debate about the various problems between the two countries. But I do not want any bitterness or hostility towards them. We must work on the assumption that ultimately we have to follow a policy of friendship with them, not only because Pakistan was part of India till recently and we wish them to progress but also because any country which fails to do so drags the others down too to some extent. It is dangerous for us if one of our neighbours is not progressing. Please do not think that we shall benefit in any way if the other country remains backward. It is harmful for it pulls us down to some extent. Therefore, we want that Pakistan and all our neighbours in Asia should advance for their progress means in a sense ours and that of the world too. So, to wish that Pakistan should be weakened is foolishness for it not only causes us harm but is also against the code of civilized conduct. I do not wish to name any country. You can see how many countries are under the pressure of other powers and unable to follow an independent line. I am telling you all this because of the frequent



assertions of the Communists that we are not really free. I can only say that the picture of freedom that they have is often a shackled one. There may be some good points in communism but I do not accept it as it does not symbolize freedom for under this system a nation has to toe somebody else's line and is constrained to take orders from another power.

On the other hand, it is equally true that the big powers feel that freedom can be maintained in the world only if their own policies are blindly accepted. The difficulty is that we have a tradition of five or six thousand years and during this period we had kept our eyes open. How are we supposed to close our eyes now? How can we suddenly accept something blindly? We may have been deceived and misled in the past but we have never consented to close our minds. We are prepared to cooperate with everyone if we feel that it is proper. If we do not consider it proper, we shall not accept it, no matter what the pressures may be.

We are interested in building the nation and move forward as rapidly as possible. How can we agree to the destruction of the world and ourselves? If there is a war we shall certainly not participate in it. But even without our participation the world is bound to be destroyed. So we are making every effort to promote peace and friendship in the world and reduce hostility. There are many things that other countries do which we cannot tolerate and yet we do not raise our voice against them. Perhaps we may have been able to do so in the days of our freedom struggle but not any more. It is not that our views are secret. They are quite well known and when the occasion arises, we speak out. But we do not criticize other countries even if we do not like what they are doing. We have seen that in the atmosphere that prevails in the world today, there is such a tendency to abuse and criticize others that automatically the world leans towards war and nobody is willing to think calmly about any problem. Our views are by no means hidden. For instance, colonial regimes are in existence in many parts of the world and there is a great deal of repression and atrocities. Everyone knows about our views and we repeat them on appropriate occasions. But we do not shout out our views from the roof-tops all the time or pass resolutions because looking to the world situation, we do not wish to add to the prevailing cacophony. We make an effort to talk softly and peacefully for in that way we can be more successful. There is a difference in our approach. The responsibility of running independent India has devolved on us, so we have to discharge it in a responsible manner. Irresponsibility will not help for big nations do not function like that. Our colleagues in the other parties keep expressing their views constantly and vociferously about this, that we should use threats and pressures, as though such tactics can work in international affairs. It is their old habit to threaten and pass resolutions, without realizing that to do such things in our own country against the British was one thing and to threaten other countries is quite another. For one thing, it does not

stop with threats. It almost always leads either to an armed attack or something else to fulfil those threats. This is not proper. So we must look at these problems in a responsible way. As I said, I want that the work of our Government and the Congress ought to be criticized but in a proper way. Point out our mistakes by all means. Go around and find out what is happening but you must try to understand the entire picture first. Nations are built by understanding and not by mere talk.

It is absurd to launch an agitation or do satyagraha or go on fasts on the slightest pretext. There have been some arrests in Uttar Pradesh following an agitation launched by the Praja Socialist Party.<sup>6</sup> I shall not express an opinion just now because I do not know the full details. The Government of UP has taken the action after due consideration. But we can argue for or against it and the whole thing may be discussed peacefully—as it is proper in a free country. But to break the law in order to get the new rates revoked is not the way a free country should function. Complaints are made that we are trying to curb their freedom. This is a new concept of freedom, freedom to break laws and to say anything that comes to their mind!

As I said, I shall not go into it. But I want to draw your attention to the manner in which responsible governments ought to function. The Praja Socialist Party in Uttar Pradesh has adopted a method which brought it into conflict with the Government and arrests were made, rightly or wrongly. Now, purely by some coincidence, there are Congress Governments in practically all the states of India so it is easy to malign the Congress. In one state in the South—Travancore-Cochin—the Praja Socialist Party is in power though it is true that it is being supported by the Congress. But Congress is not the ruling party. Just a few days ago, the Praja Socialist Party Government started arresting people and imposed Section 144 there.<sup>7</sup> Now, just as I am not expressing an opinion about Uttar Pradesh, I shall not say anything about the Travancore-Cochin affair either. But I am just trying to show you that our colleagues in

6. The Praja Socialist Party had launched a satyagraha against steep enhancement of irrigation rates in the State and reinforcement of the UP Special Powers Act of 1932, which it described as being ultra vires of the Constitution and an encroachment upon the freedom of expression. More than 1,000 persons, including Rammanohar Lohia, General Secretary of the PSP, were arrested in this connection.
7. On 4 July 1954 three leaders of the Travancore Tamil Nad Congress were arrested at Devikulam for defying a ban on public meetings imposed by the sub-divisional magistrate under section 144 of the CrPC. The three leaders had gone to Devikulam in support of a labour group working in tea and rubber estates there. There was trouble between two labour groups and the police was reported to have tortured some labour leaders.



the Praja Socialist Party who flaunt the flag of civil liberties did the very things which they rant and rave about, when they came to power in one State. This is something to be remembered for it is all very well to criticise a government but the moment you start breaking laws, a government is not worth its salt if it does not try to take action against you.

I have put some of the problems of the nation before you as we are assembled here on this auspicious occasion. We have accomplished a great thing and I want all of you who work here and others who have come from nearby places to benefit from this occasion and try to understand the situation in India and her problems because we have to march together. We need to understand these things and so I have explained all this to you. I congratulate you on the completion of one task. Let us work with renewed vigour and enthusiasm on the next phase and accomplish it successfully. *Jai Hind*.

Please repeat *Jai Hind* with me three times. *Jai Hind, Jai Hind, Jai Hind*.

### 3. Some Key Problems and Their Solution<sup>1</sup>

Sisters and brothers,

When I arrived at my house this morning, I found a couple of hundred people waving red flags.<sup>2</sup> I thought that if out of a population of two and a half lakhs only a couple of hundreds are annoyed with me, it is a very small number. Some people do not seem to realize fully the kind of world that we live in, what India is today and how we have to function in these changing circumstances. It is obvious that there are a thousand things about India which one can take exception to. We do not like them and want to remove them. It is obvious that if we had a magic wand in our hands, we would immediately transform the country. But we do not have a magic wand. That is a good thing because the things that are easily achieved can also be overturned in no time.

We achieved freedom. If we had got it merely by the bounty of the British Government, without any effort or sacrifice on our part, that freedom would

1. Speech at a public meeting in Allahabad, 11 July 1954. AIR tapes. NMML. Original in Hindi.
2. More than 200 members of the local unit of the Praja Socialist Party staged a demonstration outside Anand Bhavan against enhanced irrigation rates, reinforcement of the Special Powers Act and unemployment.



not have done us much good. We would have remained weak and incapable of shouldering the responsibilities that have descended upon us. Freedom, it goes without saying, is a good thing. But it brings great responsibilities with it, just as anything which is good does. If we proved incapable of shouldering those responsibilities, freedom would slip away. Those of you who know even a little bit of Indian history, know how many times there were attacks on the country and freedom slipped away. We must learn some lessons from that.

India is not a small country which can be easily suppressed by another nation. Whenever foreign powers have managed to conquer us, it is either because of our disunity or we had become so backward that we could not face the challenge of a changed world. In short, we were not capable of shouldering the responsibilities which freedom entails. So it slipped away. If we had got our freedom back easily without being worthy of it, that freedom would not have been of much use for it could be snatched away by anyone. Therefore it is a good thing that we had to struggle for years and years, in a sense for fifty or sixty years or more but more particularly the last thirty years, in which millions of people participated and in the process became strong and intellectually alert, and learnt to cooperate with one another which added further to their strength and unity.

We must put our energy into the task of eliminating the nation's weaknesses and ills and of solving the innumerable problems which we are facing today. If we fail to do that, the problems will overwhelm us. On the other hand, if those problems get solved by themselves, without any effort on our part, we shall not be able to change the consequences that may flow from that. A nation has to grow in strength, mentally and physically, in order to solve its problems. The entire process must go hand in hand. Whatever the problems of Allahabad may be, the basic problem concerns the whole country. The fortunes of Allahabad are inextricably linked with the nation's. Allahabad or any city or state of India is not a separate entity. The progress of the various parts depends on the progress of the entire nation. The fortunes of everyone in India, no matter which caste or religion or province they may belong to, are linked to the large national problems. Ever since we got freedom six or seven years ago, a new chapter in our history has opened. New problems have also arisen and I have talked to you about them whenever I have come here.

The most urgent problem is to build a new India which at least in size and population, is among the three or four biggest countries in the world. As a matter of fact, the only other country with a larger population is China. This fact contributes to India's strength in some ways and weakness in others. If a large country is weak it is much more difficult to manage it.

We learnt a great deal during our freedom struggle and the nation gained some strength and experience which have stood us in good stead when great troubles descended upon us at the very moment of freedom. There were

widespread communal riots in the wake of Partition, both in Pakistan and in North India. There were terrible killings and bloodshed. The elements in the country which were opposed to India's freedom were responsible for these riots and we managed to bring the situation under control. By "we" I mean the nation and the people.

There were hundreds of small princely states and principalities at the time of our Independence. You may remember that there were more than six hundred of them, big and small. The biggest of them, Hyderabad, was equal in size to a province and the smallest ones consisted of a few villages, and all of them used to consider themselves independent. They were under the tutelage of the British Government, but when the British left, they did something which could have created great problems for us. They gave these states the right to secede and remain independent if they so wished. It was impossible that there could be hundreds of islands, all independent of the Indian Union. We solved this problem within two or three months which amazed the world.

Then, other problems arose and the most urgent of them all was to ensure stability and unity in the country. On the political map, India was one. But it was not enough. The political unity needed to be strengthened to withstand any shock. Another aspect of this problem was the economic one and the need to put our strength into the task of removing India's poverty and unemployment.

These were all extremely complex and difficult problems which could not be solved by passing laws. If we pass a law saying there should be no poverty or unemployment in India, it will have no impact. Nor can we build a bridge on the Ganges by passing a law. India is a poor country and except for a handful of rich men, the majority of the people are poor. But the country is rich in resources. So what is to be done? You may say that the thing to do is to take away the wealth from a handful of individuals and distribute it among the rest. But it does not lead to progress. It only means that we are distributing poverty in the country. It is true that there should not be great disparities in the country and we must somehow aim at reducing them gradually. But it cannot be done by passing a law. It is only by following a certain course of action over a period of time that it can be done, particularly when we want to make India prosperous. How is that to be done? A country becomes prosperous by producing more goods. The money in the treasury is not the real wealth of a nation. It is the goods which are produced by the people the year round that is the nation's wealth, whether it is agricultural produce or industrial goods. The total production is very low in India in comparison to other countries. It is only when we increase production that the country will become rich. So the problem before us is to increase production in the country and augment the wealth of the nation. Secondly, to have an equitable distribution of that wealth so that it did not remain in the pockets of a few. This is the basic problem.

It is in this connection that we have taken up the Five Year Plans. Two



and a half years have gone by since the First Plan was started. We are now thinking about the Second Plan. Under the First Plan, we have taken up several great river valley projects and begun to build dams on the large rivers which would supply water for irrigation and also produce electricity. Electricity is extremely important to a nation's development for it not only provides light but is used for running industries and innumerable other tasks.

When we got freedom, the most urgent priority was to solve the food problem in the country. There were shortages in the country. We could not allow the people to starve to death as it happened during the great Bengal famine twelve years ago. It is believed that 35 lakhs of people died of starvation in Bengal in 1942-43. That was wartime and no attempt was made to provide food to the starving multitudes. We could not behave like that. So we imported wheat, rice and other foodgrains spending hundreds of crores of rupees. It was a heavy drain on our foreign exchange reserves. But it had to be done, since we were not producing enough for the country's needs.

So the most urgent priority was to increase the production of food. How could we continue to rely on other countries? For one thing, precious foreign exchange had to be used and, secondly, if, for some reason, the imports were stopped, we would be stranded. So we started the "Grow More Food" campaign. You may remember that for two or three years after that, people used to criticize it as a waste of money. It is true that sometimes the money may have been mis-spent. But our effort has paid off and the people are reassured. Until the food production increased and foodgrains were available to the people at reasonable prices, we could not pay attention to anything else. We needed new industries desperately but the fundamental question was of food. Now, as you know, we have been completely victorious in this hard and strenuous battle and the situation is under control. There are reserves of wheat, rice and other foodgrains in the country now so that if unfortunately crops fail, we will have enough to tide over the crisis.

If you look around, you will find that in the matter of self-sufficiency of food, India has succeeded far better than other countries of Europe or Asia. Just a few years ago, people used to criticise us saying that nothing was happening. But we are now getting results. I agree that we have been helped by many factors like good rains. We also brought more land under cultivation. But the real reason was something other than all this. The fact is that the average yield per acre has increased. That is the thing that really counts. Instead of ten maunds, we now produce twelve or thirteen maunds of wheat per acre. Production of rice has doubled and in some places trebled. One of the reasons for India's poverty is that we produce far less per acre than the other countries. Our farmers are extremely hard-working. But they had got into a rut in the method of production and so the production gradually went down. The average yield per acre of wheat was less than ten maunds per acre, whereas it is twenty



or twenty-five maunds in other countries. If our production were to go up to that level, India would become quite wealthy. The heartening thing is that food production has been going up steadily in the last few years. This does not have very much to do with rainfall, etc. Production has gone up because our methods have improved. Prices of foodgrains have come down considerably. I have given you an example of a great victory that we have won which is very reassuring.

Now, it is useless for me to try to congratulate anyone because innumerable people have participated in this effort and it has paid off. But even so, I think, it would not be inappropriate if I said that one of the people responsible for giving the country a proper direction is our Central Minister for Food, Rafi Ahmed Kidwai Sahib.<sup>3</sup> He has worked very hard to bring the situation under control and to establish proper guidelines.

We want to industrialise India and to produce more goods. But ultimately, the bulwark of India's economy is agricultural production. We have paid attention to that first. On the one hand, we took steps to abolish the zamindari and jagirdari system, which had become an anomaly and prevented economic growth. The second thing was the various arrangements we have made to increase production as I told you. Now that we have got the situation well in hand, we can turn our attention to other things.

Industrialization has been one of our priorities right from the beginning. We have taken up the river valley projects, not only to supply water for irrigation, but for the generation of electricity, which is essential for industries. One very good yardstick to measure the progress of a nation is the amount of electricity that is generated in the country. The United States of America generates a vast amount of electricity. The Soviet Union have also increased their production though they have not caught up with the United States. England is also pretty advanced in this respect. All these countries utilize this power for running industries which add to their wealth. We produce very little electricity in India. So we have taken up these river valley projects to generate more electricity. We can then run more industries—heavy industries, cottage industries and other industries—which will increase production immediately in the country.

Apart from this, as you know, we have taken up other projects. A fertilizer factory has been set up at Sindri. You must go there and see it to believe what I am saying. It is not like anything that you have seen around here. The fertilizer plant at Sindri is huge and a city in itself. It makes you feel insignificant to look up at the gigantic buildings and machines. At the same time it gives you

3. (1894-1954); Union Minister for Food and Agriculture, 1952-54; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 1, p. 270.

great strength and confidence to think that we have got all these things under our control.

You must remember that Sindri has helped us greatly in increasing food production in the country. We want to set up more such plants. The problem is to utilize the limited resources at our disposal in a wise manner. It would be easy to spend the few crore rupees that we have to provide some temporary relief or even luxury to the people. But it will lead to difficulties later. It is only when production increases in the country and the per capita income of the people goes up that India will become economically strong. So we have been paying attention to generating more electricity, building canals, setting up industries like the fertilizer factory at Sindri, the locomotive factory at Chittaranjan,<sup>4</sup> ship-building industry at Vishakhapatnam<sup>5</sup> and factories to build aeroplanes<sup>6</sup> and telephones<sup>7</sup> and telecommunications,<sup>8</sup> etc. So we have a great many achievements to our credit.

We have laid the foundations for the future through the Five Year Plans. The First Plan has been changed and added to in the first few months. It will probably be changed some more as we gain experience. It is not a rigid document. We can keep making improvements as we go along. Now, we are getting ready to start drawing up the Second Plan, which will begin in another two and a half years. We will have several advantages for the Second Plan. We do not want it to be imposed from above. It must be drawn up from the village level and gradually spiral to the top. We want that millions of people must participate in the drawing up of this Plan. It should be people's plan, not an official or bureaucratic one.

I was in the Punjab, in Nangal, four or five days ago.<sup>9</sup> You must have heard about Bhakra-Nangal. They are two villages which have become famous throughout India and to some extent in the world because the first and the biggest river valley scheme in India was started there on the Sutlej. Nearly a million people had gathered there from the villages all around. It is the first of our great projects to be nearing completion. It will take another five years to be fully complete. But it has reached a stage where the waters can be utilized. When something like this happens and a dream of years comes true, you can

4. The Chittaranjan Locomotive Works was started in April 1948 with an annual target of building 120 broad gauge steam locomotives and 50 spare boilers.
5. The shipyard at Vishakhapatnam, started by the Scindias, was acquired by the Government on 21 January 1952 to improve its efficiency.
6. The Hindustan Aeronautics Limited at Bangalore.
7. The telephone cable factory at Rupnarayanpur in the Asansol district of West Bengal.
8. The Bharat Electronics Limited at Bangalore.
9. Nehru was in Nangal on 8 July 1954 to inaugurate the Bhakra canals.



imagine the effect it has on one's heart. The picture of a new India unfolds before our eyes, the picture of a strong and powerful India. The waters of the Sutlej will reach not only the fields of the Punjab but also Pepsu and the deserts of Rajasthan and make them green.

The Bhakra-Nangal is a very large project. Then there is the Damodar Valley Project, between Bihar and Bengal, Hirakud, Tungabhadra and many others all over the country. There are projects in practically all the States. I am going to Mirzapur district tomorrow where the Rihand dam is going to be built which will supply water to some areas of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar and also generate electricity. You can see from all this that a new India is taking shape and developing roots. It will blossom gradually and sprout branches and leaves. Everything takes time. We must pay attention to the roots first.

I would like to draw your attention to one thing in particular. I told you that India's strength lies in the development and prosperity of her villages because 80 per cent of India's population lives in the rural areas. So long as the villages are underdeveloped and backward, India can never become strong, no matter how big and beautiful her cities may be. So steps are now being taken, though some efforts had been made earlier too, to promote development in the villages. This is known as the Community Development project which was started about two years ago.<sup>10</sup> We began by selecting 55 blocks of three hundred villages each in the country. That adds up to a very large number. The idea was to promote all round development in these villages. Apart from improvements in agriculture, attention was paid to other aspects of community living like education, health care, building roads and veterinary help. Last year, the programme was expanded, and the National Extension Service scheme was started.<sup>11</sup> It was somewhat different in conception and we are trying to spread it all over the country. Let me give you a broad idea. It is also a village-based organization with ten villages forming a unit. Each unit will have a doctor, teaching supervisor, veterinary surgeon, an agricultural expert, in short, a group of five or six trained people under whom the village workers, who are also trained, will work. We select the village workers from the villages and give them special training for six to nine months. Then they are sent back to their villages. Above the unit of ten villages, there is a panchayat committee consisting of trained people. The idea is to have a strong base for development.

10. The Community Development Programme was launched on 2 October 1952. The total expenditure on the programme was Rs 156.2 crores.

11. The National Extension Service Scheme was formulated in April 1953 and inaugurated in all States on 2 October 1953. It had to run concurrently with the Community Development Programme. The total expenditure on the scheme was Rs 101 crores.



There are six lakh villages in India. It is not an easy task to develop all of them. But we are trying to spread the Community Development Programme rapidly because we have decided that, by the end of the Second Plan, every village in India should be covered. That means that, within the next seven and a half years, there will be a completely new set-up in all the villages of India. That also means that every year, seventy to eighty thousand villages must be taken up if we are to complete the programme in seven and a half years. It is a very big step. It is obvious that the scheme cannot succeed merely by sending doctors and teachers to the villages. It is possible only when the villagers themselves participate and cooperate wholeheartedly. It is very important that they should understand what we are doing because ultimately the burden will fall upon their shoulders.

This is a revolutionary step that we are taking. To try to transform six lakh villages within a period of seven or eight years, is a greater revolution than the big revolutions which have taken place in other countries. If it succeeds, as I hope it will, we would have wrought a great revolution. Revolution does not mean violence and chaos but social change. We are trying to do that. It involves training thousands of village workers. At the moment about six or seven thousand people are being trained. But the number must be increased. We have to open a number of new training centres for them. In a sense, they have to be taught everything concerning village life and, most important of all, to develop community living. It is difficult for me to explain what I mean. It implies learning to live as a community instead of being concerned only with one's narrow self interest. Less than two years have gone by since we started the Community Project and about eight or nine months since the National Extension Scheme began. We did a survey recently and a report has been prepared to see what we have achieved so far and the mistakes that have been made.

People have come from other countries to see what we are doing. Many of them have been severe critics of the Government. But even they have been impressed by the Community Project and the National Extension Service which are transforming the Indian villages. Their reports say that they have never seen anything like this anywhere else. This was a year ago. Since then great progress has been made. The recent survey has further boosted our morale. When we take on something big and complete it successfully, it gives a tremendous boost to our self-confidence and adds to the strength of the entire nation.

We took up the Bhakra-Nangal project which had been thought of twenty years ago. Work has been going on for the last five or six years. It is now nearing completion, which not only fills us with joy but increases confidence in ourselves. Bhakra-Nangal is not a small project. In some respects, it is one of the largest projects in the world. When a nation dares to take up something like this and completes it, it adds to its strength and bolsters self-confidence.

We called in engineers from the United States to advise our engineers because we wanted the work to be first-rate. We should not hesitate to take outside help. Otherwise we will remain second-rate. At the moment, I have been told, 500 engineers are working on the Bhakra project. Out of that, 40 are Americans and their number is gradually decreasing. By the time we take up the next big project, Indian engineers would have gained plenty of experience and we shall not have to call in foreign experts. It was an act of great daring to take up huge schemes like the Bhakra-Nangal or the Damodar Valley and we have succeeded.

Similarly, as I told you, the National Extension Service has succeeded beyond our wildest dream in the last year and a half. We have decided to expand it so that every village in the country is covered within the next seven years. It is a big step and we are taking it because of our faith and confidence in the people of India, as we have seen how hard they work.

I have just given you a few examples. There is much more I can talk to you about what is happening in the country. Almost all of our activities are aimed at laying the foundation of a new India. The results will be apparent only much later. At the moment, we do not benefit very much though our food policy has no doubt produced immediate results. The whole country has benefited. There is plenty of food and the prices have come down. Another thing that we have done is to set up more industries in order to provide more jobs. You will be justified in complaining about the unemployment problem, which is acute not only in Allahabad but all over India. It is one of our biggest problems at the moment. How are we to solve it? It took time even in the great revolutionary countries to solve this problem. They are able to show results only after forty or fifty years of hard labour. I think within the next 25 years we will find India completely transformed.

I want you to look at India from this perspective. The dilemma before a poor country is whether it should try to develop on its own or to go in for foreign aid. We can get some aid in the form of capital or expertise and know-how. There is no harm in learning from the experience of other nations. But so long as a country is dependent on others for development, it cannot become strong. How can any nation progress by leaning on others? Whatever we can get as foreign aid, ultimately we have to learn to stand on our own feet. We will certainly take whatever help we can from other countries. But we must not depend too much on foreign aid for it is not a very good thing in many ways. For one thing, in our present economic condition, foreign aid does more harm than good and engenders a habit in the country of depending on others which is weakening. It is only through self-reliance and learning to stand on one's own feet that a country becomes strong. Therefore it is not proper to rely on foreign aid. Our resources are limited and the population is very large. Where does a country get capital for development from? As I told you, a country



produces some wealth every year in the form of goods, and every year, a certain amount of expenditure has to be incurred to feed and clothe and house the population. If a nation's expenditure equals its income, there is nothing left over for development. If expenditure exceeds income, the country will go bankrupt. It is only when it spends less than its income and saves something that the surplus can be invested for development. The dilemma that a poor country faces is that there is very little surplus, for what it produces is not enough for its needs. The only remedy for this is to put up with some hardships, tighten our belts and save. That surplus can be invested in the nation's development, which in turn will yield a profit, and so it goes on.

Take the other countries, including the Soviet Union, where a great revolution took place. For at least fifteen or twenty years after that the people had to tighten their belts. They were determined to industrialize their country and their resources were limited. So they put up with great hardships and personal sacrifices in order to build a strong economy for the future. It was a strong, centralized government and so they could do this. Twenty years later, the Soviet Union had become highly industrialised.

You must remember that no country can progress by shouting slogans. It requires very hard work and effort. The Soviet Union progressed because the people worked very, very hard. It is not a question of ideology. Take Germany or Japan. They lost in the War and have quickly rebuilt their nations through sheer hard work. The problem that we face is to make the best use of our limited resources and build a nation of educated, trained and skilled human beings. We can do it if we make up our minds to tighten our belts. But we cannot do that beyond a point. On the other hand, if we do not do it at all, the rate of progress slows down. So we have to resort to taxes and what not. People often object to rise in taxes. I am not talking of any particular tax. But you must bear in mind that if we start cutting down on taxes, it will close the avenues of progress. It is a difficult choice.

Very often, there is an uproar about the increase in school or college fees. In my view, a time should come when education will be completely free from top to bottom. But at the moment, we do not have the wherewithal to take this step. We shall do it gradually. I feel that there should be basic schools, what are now known as primary schools, for all children. I do not like the words primary and secondary. I consider all of them as basic schools. There should also be pre-basic schools for the infants, from two upwards. Small children of two and three cannot read and write. But that is an age when good habits can be inculcated in them. In fact, I feel that they should be given meals in schools. The problem is that our resources do not permit that just now. The choice before us is to take up either big projects like Bhakra-Nangal or these social welfare schemes and this poses a great dilemma. We have to postpone some things. But our capacity is increasing. As a consequence of the



building of Bhakra-Nangal, Hirakud and Rihand dams, the country's resources have increased. So we want to force ahead with such projects, which add to our national wealth. Which means we should think more about the future than about the present. If we opt for an easy life now, the future will be bleak.

I want you to understand this basic picture before you launch agitations about anything. There are some fundamental problems before us which need to be solved. Take education, for instance. If we want to build more schools and spread education, it is absolutely impossible for us, at the moment, to reduce the fees. Even an increase of an anna in the fees can enable us to open a thousand new schools. It is up to you to decide whether it is better to have a thousand new schools or to agitate against the raising of the fees by an anna. If you are completely opposed to the raising of the fees, it would in effect mean preventing a thousand schools from being opened. Both things are not possible at the same time.

We have come to the conclusion, and I hope you will agree with us, that we must try to progress on our own steam and not depend on others. If others give help, we shall accept it gratefully but we must learn to be self-reliant. We have floated the National Plan Loan recently for development projects.<sup>12</sup> The Government has floated such loans earlier also.<sup>13</sup> From these we have got about 110 crore rupees which is a large sum. But we want that it should increase because it is a symbol of our self-reliance. That money must come not from a handful of rich men but from the masses. We want people to invest small amounts of a hundred or a couple of hundreds. If millions of people do it, it will become an enormous amount. There are two advantages in doing this. One, nobody has to make any great sacrifice because the capital remains intact and earns interest. Secondly, money becomes available for investment in tasks of development. More than all, millions of people thus become partners in the task of India's development.

I want you to understand the complex times that we live in. As you must be aware, whether we like it or not, India's stature and her responsibilities in the world have increased greatly. There is no doubt about it. Anybody who has

12. On 19 April 1954, the Government of India floated the National Plan Loan, 1964, for an unspecified amount to meet the requirements of the Central and State Governments. As part of this loan a series of Ten-Year Savings Certificates was issued on 19 May 1954. These were sold in denominations of Rs 25 and Rs 50 and the maximum amount an individual could invest was limited to Rs 1,000. If held to maturity, these certificates would yield a simple interest of 4½ per cent per annum free from income-tax.

13. For example, National Savings Certificates, Post Office Savings Bank Deposits and Treasury Savings Deposit Certificates.

travelled abroad will tell you the great regard and respect for India in the world. Generally, nations are respected for their military might or wealth. We have neither. Why then are we respected? We cannot threaten or dominate anyone. We are held in respect because we do not give in to pressure and express our views fearlessly. Since our views are often right, we are gradually beginning to make an impact on other countries.

India played a major role in stopping the fighting in Korea. I am not boasting about India. But when two parties fight and are not prepared to listen to one another, it helps when a third party mediates and sorts out the case calmly. This is what happened in Korea. It is possible that it could happen in Indo-China too.

Korea and Indo-China are not very distant from India even though geographically they may be far. If there is an escalation of war in Indo-China, the situation is so dangerous that it could set the whole world ablaze. We will not participate in such a war. We have repeatedly said so. But, when the whole world is ablaze, it makes no difference whether we participate or not.

You often read of the atom bomb and the hydrogen bomb in the newspapers and it may seem like a joke to you. All kinds of lethal weapons have been discovered and perfected which you may not even have heard of. But the fact is that if there is a nuclear war, half the world will be completely destroyed. Even those who possess these weapons do not understand fully the consequences of using them. Recently, the issue of nuclear tests on the Marshall Islands, which belonged to Japan and had been ceded to the United States after the Second World War, came up before the UN.<sup>14</sup> One nuclear test obliterated one of the islands completely, and though the nearby islands remained intact, the people who lived there suffered all kinds of damage. The residents of the island which was obliterated had been, of course, evacuated.

So the people of the Marshall Islands presented a petition to put a stop to nuclear tests on their soil. I do not know what will be decided. But India's view, which was conveyed to the United Nations, is that it is very wrong to carry on the tests on the islands which had been placed in the trust of the United States. The United States has said that it will pay for the treatment of the radiation victims and what not. But money is not the answer to everything. It is being argued that since the nuclear weapons possess lethal powers and

14. The Atomic Energy Commission and the Department of Defence of the United States had successfully conducted thermonuclear weapon (i.e. hydrogen bomb) tests in the Marshall Islands on 1 March, 26 March and 6 April, 1954. On 14 May 1954, a petition was sent to the United Nations by native leaders in the Marshall Islands asking that all experiments with lethal weapons within this area be immediately stopped.



nobody knows where it may lead, there should be a ban on nuclear tests. The Ramayana and the Mahabharata tell us about dangerous weapons which, once released, wrought tremendous destruction. New weapons are being discovered almost daily. Modern warfare is terrible in its potential for destruction. So an effort is being made to put a ban on nuclear tests. To us it is not only a matter of principles but also of pure self-interest, for nuclear weapons pose a danger to us, to Asia and the whole world. I do not know if we will succeed or not. But people are beginning to understand that the nuclear arms race is wrong. The problem is that so much bitterness has been generated on both sides that neither is prepared to look at the problem objectively. The people of the United States—some, if not all—are bitterly angry with the Soviet Union and China and vice versa and very often anger clouds judgement. You may remember the passage in the Gita about the consequences of anger which prevent thinking and lead man to behave outrageously. Well, if mere individuals lose their self-control in anger, they may harm their neighbours. But when the minds of great leaders and men in positions of power and responsibility let anger cloud their judgement, it could create havoc for the whole world.

As you know, we are not participants in the Geneva Conference. But I requested our colleague, Krishna Menonji,<sup>15</sup> to stop in Geneva for a few days on his way to New York, to meet some of the statesmen who had assembled there, and to explain our policy to them. But when he reached Geneva, he got stuck—because, though India is not attending the Conference, we talk of peace and friendship. So we can talk to everyone and other countries are able to confide in us. This is always a great help in resolving a knotty problem. So Krishna Menon had to stay on for three weeks and I feel that he has been able to help. I do not know what the outcome is going to be. It is possible that without his presence, the Conference would have broken down and war may have been declared.

The Conference will convene once again in a couple of days. The new Prime Minister of France<sup>16</sup> had vowed about twenty days back that if fighting did not stop in Indo-China within a month he would resign from his position. He has expressed himself rather forcefully. Ten days remain and I think that the French Prime Minister will succeed in stopping the fighting. Let us wait and see. We want that war should stop somehow, though that by itself does not solve the problem as we saw in Korea. But it does help people to cool down somewhat and they can look at the problem a little more dispassionately and

15. V.K. Krishna Menon (1896-1974); India's representative in the UN, 1952-62; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 7, p. 15.
16. Pierre Mendes-France took over as the Prime Minister of France on 17 June 1954.



objectively. Moreover, once the fighting stops, it is not easy to start it again. Just two months ago, the world had come almost to the brink of a third world war when there was an apprehension that the superpowers would jump into the fray in Indo-China. It was prevented in the nick of time. Even the warships were standing by in readiness.

This is the kind of dangerous world that we live in today. India's stature has gone up in the world because, as I said, we are able to give calm advice to both sides and are not swayed by undue pressure or greed. Whatever our advice may be, it is given in all sincerity and honesty. Our goal is world peace and the prevention of war. We feel that if war breaks out in any part of the globe and escalates, all our planning, and the hopes we have for the future of India, will be reduced to ashes. If there is a war, nobody knows what its consequences will be. I want you to understand this clearly.

Secondly, you must remember that India's role is getting increasingly bigger. Thirdly, the world feels that of all the countries in Asia, India is making very quick progress and laying firm foundations of a strong economy, in spite of difficulties and the problem of unemployment. What impresses them is the fact that we are trying hard to overcome our problems. It is not possible to solve them immediately. But I have no doubt about it that, in a few years' time, we shall definitely succeed. It is up to us to work hard and go ahead as quickly as possible. I want you to bear all these important factors in mind.

Against this background, we must decide what to do. There are many parties in India. There is the Congress Party, which is in power. Then, there is the Praja Socialist Party, the Communist Party, the Jan Sangh, the Hindu Mahasabha and others. First of all, we must compare the conditions which existed before freedom and what they are now. It is obvious that there have been changes. So it is necessary for us to understand what our policy ought to be in that context. Are we going to continue repeating old lessons learnt by rote? That will not do. If, for instance, you were to repeat the lessons you learnt for the matriculation examination when you appear for BA, you will fail. The problem with our Communist comrades is that they keep repeating the old lessons, no matter what the circumstances are. Communism has a splendid history of more than seventy years since Marx.<sup>17</sup> Great revolutions have taken place. But have you ever paused to consider what Marx wrote nearly 80 or 90 years ago? His works make a powerful impact even today because he was a great intellect and was extremely observant. But the world has changed since he wrote those works. Moreover, Marx had written about conditions obtaining in Europe at that time.

17. Karl Marx (1818-1883); German social philosopher and author of *Das Kapital*; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 1, p. 140.

Things have changed since then. There are great differences between the condition of Europe 90 years ago and Indian conditions today. It is absurd to say that we must blindly accept everything that Marx wrote about economic and political matters 90 years ago, particularly when Marx had no knowledge of conditions which exist in India today. Somehow, it does not appeal to me. As a matter of fact, if you read Marx carefully, you will realize that he has made it amply clear that it is wrong to apply his Marxism blindly to every situation. Conditions differ from country to country. Marx himself admitted this because he was a wise man. He has written in one place that he is bothered most by his so-called disciples who call themselves Communists. This often happens in the case of great men.

Well, it is obvious that Marx's writings contain many observations which clear one's thinking and throw light on a variety of subjects. But if we accept them blindly as we regard the Bible, the Quran or the Vedas, we shall render them useless as well as harm ourselves. Our Communist comrades are full of spirit and can make great sacrifices. But their minds are shackled by some lessons learnt by rote which prevents objective thinking. They can tell you all about what Marx or Lenin<sup>18</sup> have said or any new article which may have appeared on them. But, you will forgive me for saying this, their minds are becoming dogmatic and rigid like the minds of their religious counterparts. No matter how great an intellect an individual may possess, if he repeats lessons by rote, he cannot come up with anything original. The fact is that the Indian Communists have fallen into a rut by accepting blindly the thoughts of an individual writing in a bygone era about conditions very different from our own. The Russian Communists, on the other hand, have changed their policies to suit the changing circumstances again and again during the last twenty-five or thirty years.

In short, the Communist Party's thinking and understanding of conditions in India are so far removed from reality that they can throw no new light on them. It is a serious matter that they are resorting to the tactics of violence and chaos to bring about a change in the system. Everyone will agree that it makes no sense to first break up everything and then rebuild on a clean site. We have to get on with the task of reconstruction now. How can we plant a garden by first cutting down all the trees? Most sensible people would not advocate this. But the Communist leadership believes in wholesale destruction and then to build something new out of the ensuing chaos. As to what is likely to emerge out of chaos and whether anybody will be able to control the situation is

18. (1870-1924); the architect of the Russian Revolution of 1917; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 2, p. 210.



something nobody seems to give any thought to. Somehow, the Communist way of thinking has become so closely identified with that of an alien country of a bygone era that they are unable to appreciate the realities of India. So, as I said, their policy vis-a-vis India has become completely reactionary, though they like to call themselves revolutionaries.

Take the Praja Socialist Party, which is unique in its own way. The Socialist Party was something which one could understand. The Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party also made sense. But the new party which has emerged from the merger of the two is something no one can understand.<sup>19</sup> I would like to tell you quite frankly that, first of all, it is my firm belief that in a democratic system, a strong opposition is very important to guard against government inequities and slackness. Otherwise the government becomes useless. The best of governments tends to become slack unless it is kept on its toes all the time. Therefore, it is a good thing to have a strong opposition in the assemblies and in Parliament. But it should be a responsible opposition, one which understands its duties and responsibilities. Some of my old comrades now belong to the Praja Socialist Party and I have affection and respect for them. But somehow I am unable to understand what their policy is and who their real leaders are. The Party speaks with so many voices that it is difficult to make out what its real thinking is. I am sorry about this because if I could have leanings towards any other party apart from the Congress it could only have been the Praja Socialist Party. Several of my old comrades belong to it now and I would have liked to have kept up a good relationship with their party.

Many things are happening all over the country. Our Community Projects and the Five Year Plans are not Government projects. They belong to the people. We invite the Praja Socialist Party to participate in these great national tasks. They need not abandon their policies. But they have refused to participate in the Five Year Plans. Well, nobody can compel them against their wishes after all. So what is to be done?

At a time when the most urgent priority before us is to build a new India, in which every individual in the country must participate, no matter which party he belongs to and whether he is in the Congress or the Opposition, the Praja Socialist Party cannot think of doing anything constructive. Except for complaining against and carping at the Congress, shouting slogans and staging demonstrations, they do nothing. I have no objection to that. But I feel bad that a good party like this should be wasting talents and energies, mentally and physically. A party's credibility depends on its actions.

19. The agreement on the merger of the Socialist Party and the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party to become the Praja Socialist Party was ratified at a joint meeting of the two parties on 26 September 1952.

I do not like to make comparisons with other countries because I do not wish to criticize anyone. But I would like to mention one thing about our neighbour, Pakistan. Many things have happened in Pakistan which I do not like. But I do not talk about them. I am referring to the policies followed by Pakistan during the last six or seven years. There has been very little talk of development or national reconstruction in Pakistan. On the other hand, anti-India sentiments have been vociferously expressed. What I mean is that all their energies seem to be concentrated on expressing bitterness and anger against India instead of trying to improve conditions in their own country. We want Pakistan to become prosperous. After all, so much is being done in India and innumerable projects are under way to improve conditions in the rural as well as urban areas and to increase production. We are building aeroplanes, ships, military equipment and other things which a country needs. We may make mistakes but India is a nation full of vitality and spirit, a nation on the march. There is no doubt about it. The Community Projects, the National Extension Service and the Five Year Plans are transforming the country from top to bottom. I do not say that Pakistan has done nothing. But their entire attention seems to be concentrated on inciting public opinion against India.

The same thing can be said of the numerous political parties in India for instead of doing something constructive all they seem to be capable of is to criticise and complain. They are not doing themselves any good, particularly in the times that we live in. When the world stands on the brink of war, it is extremely important that we should work together in harmony. It makes me sad to see how some people are misled.

The views of the Praja Socialist Party on foreign policy are so extraordinary that very few of their own members, let alone others, can understand it.<sup>20</sup> India is held in great respect among the great powers. Therefore, we must conduct ourselves with a sense of responsibility and dignity. What impression will the

20. A convention of the PSP held at Betul in June 1953 expressed its conviction that "the politics of spheres of influence" based on "the international caste system" was a permanent threat to world peace and regretted that the GOI accepted this policy and subscribed to the system of three or four powers ruling the world. A conference of the PSP held at Allahabad in December 1953 also deplored India's policy of collaborating with Great Britain which, according to the Party, had "resulted in spasmodic attempts by India at conciliation and peace-making with British support, verbal protests against French colonialism in Tunisia and Indo-China, continuance of foreign pockets on the Indian soil... and a general slackening of the Indian and Asian struggle against imperialism in Africa and other parts of the world." The conference also regretted the failure of the GOI to protest against "Soviet imperialism" in East European States.



Praja Socialist Party make with its childish talk and behaviour? When a couple of hundred youth wave flags in front of my house, do they think I will be petrified? It is really extraordinary. If they had come to me in small groups, I would have met them gladly and tried to understand what they wished to say. It is obvious that they do not want to do anything constructive. They merely want to make a noise, which is intolerable for a responsible, thinking individual. They only succeed in doing harm to themselves because they have no stature left. After all, they can acquire stature only through constructive action and thinking. When there is no thinking or action or policy, what can they hope to achieve?

Now, I come to the third category of parties, the communal parties like the Jan Sangh. Let us leave aside what they say—though most of the time, their utterances are also wrong. The important thing to remember is that they have gathered together all the things which weakened India in the past and led to her downfall and made them part and parcel of their programme. A party platform is usually a mixture of the good and the bad. But, even if you look with a magnifying glass at the Jan Sangh or the Hindu Mahasabha programme, you will be hard put to it to find anything worthwhile because their thinking is all wrong. It is the kind of thinking which has ruined India in the past and will undoubtedly do so again if these parties come to power. Their thinking is wholly reactionary and opposed to all progress in India. It has nothing to do with science and technology or other things which are responsible for the modern age. A good way of judging a party is by looking at its resolutions. If you look at the resolutions passed by the Jan Sangh or the Hindu Mahasabha, do you find anything in them remotely to do with the economic or political problems of India? Their rhetoric is limited to a few things like a demand to march the armies into Pakistan. They themselves will stay safely at home, but want others to launch an attack on Pakistan. They are great experts at giving advice to others. As I tried to explain to you, their thinking has nothing to do with the economic and political problems of the country. They are completely reactionary in their thinking and dangerous to the unity of the country.

Take the issue of cow slaughter which has led to heated debates all over the country. One individual has even declared that he will go on hunger strike. It is becoming a habit with the people in the country who are unable to do anything constructive to go on hunger strike. There is a great agitation against cow slaughter in the country. It is obvious that it is an issue with which most people, particularly Hindus, would have great sympathy. The question is what the agitation really means and how we should go about achieving something we want to. Let us leave aside the religious aspect of the question. I think it is extremely important that cows and other cattle must be well looked after in India. I am convinced that it is very essential for our economic prosperity, and we must make arrangements for it. The fact is that in the last five or six years,

cow slaughter has considerably declined owing to public pressure and various other circumstances. We must take steps to put an end to cow slaughter. Even now, it is banned in most provinces and there are municipal laws against it. But in spite of this, due to economic pressures, cow slaughter does take place, mostly in Bombay and Calcutta, though the majority of the people are opposed to it.

Now, I want you to understand the economic reasons for this. If we were to pass a blanket law banning cow slaughter in the country, believe me, the incidence will go up. If they are not slaughtered the cows will starve to death. I am looking at this not from the religious angle but the purely economic aspect of it and we must take any steps which would improve our economic condition. It is strange that though we talk a great deal about worshipping and respecting the cow, we do not look after our cows well. If you go to Europe or America, you find that the cows are beautiful and healthy and well looked after. You will find this in Switzerland, France, Germany, England, America, Russia. Why? It is not the law which is responsible for this. We too must take steps to bring the situation under control. Agitations cannot take us anywhere because they do not ensure greater protection for the cows. It is only an excuse to demonstrate against the Government and the Congress.

So all these issues are linked together. We do not want to take any steps which will have the opposite results. The communal organizations are not political parties in the real sense. They are merely motley groups of backward looking reactionary elements left over from a bygone age. They are complete misfits in the modern age. They keep repeating old lessons like parrots and very often they make mistakes even in that.

We must be clear about these issues. I do not say that all of you must accept the policies of the Congress blindly. But I do venture to say with confidence that in spite of innumerable mistakes that it may have made, the Congress has done a great deal to bring stability to the country, especially at a dangerous moment of her history. You can compare the history of India during the last seven years since Independence with that of other Asian or European countries. You will find that India has gained a great deal in stature and earned the respect of the world during the last seven years.

Until very recently, our Communist comrades had been denying that India had become free at all and asserting that we were still under pressure from the British and the United States. They seem to be looking at things very selectively. Or perhaps they have been told to say these things. The Praja Socialist Party is always drawing attention to the shortcomings of the Government. But they have nothing to say about our achievements. They talk as if during the last seven years, the Congress Government has brought ruin upon the country. How can such indiscriminate criticism have any credibility? On the one hand, they say that civil liberties have suffered even more than during British rule. I would



humbly suggest that I am prepared to compare India with any country in the world today—you are welcome to compare; then it will become obvious that the civil liberties and freedom which we enjoy are denied to people in most other countries. So it is absurd and meaningless to say such things. The Communists in India raise the question of civil liberties. They have every right to do so. But, as you know, there is not a trace of civil liberty in Communist countries.

I want you to understand that in spite of a thousand mistakes that we may have made and the number of times we have stumbled and fallen, we have managed to progress and raise India's stature in the world. We have laid the foundation of the country's future prosperity. This is one of the reasons we have made an impact on world affairs. The world has seen that we are growing more strong and prosperous. This has made a profound impression on Asia and the world. At the same time, our responsibilities are increasing. We must handle them intelligently and with wisdom because it is not becoming of a great country like ours to be bogged down by petty squabbles.

As I told you, I am going to see the Rihand dam and to Robertsganj, Chunar and Churk where a new railway line has been laid.<sup>21</sup> Mirzapur region has been very unfortunate in the sense that it has been isolated and the people are extremely poor. I am extremely happy that we are doing something in that area by which the people there as well as in adjoining areas of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh will benefit. It always makes me happy to participate in these tasks.

*Jai Hind.*

21. On 12 July, Nehru opened the 50 mile long Chunar-Robertsganj-Churk railway line. Built at an estimated cost of Rs 2.5 crore this line was to serve the construction of the Rihand Dam in Mirzapur district and the Government cement factory at Churk.

#### 4. Towards Prosperity<sup>1</sup>

Mr Chairman, brothers and sisters,

I want to sit and talk to you quietly for a while. I shall do the talking, and you will listen. I have come here after a long interval and cannot say when I shall be able to be here again. I hope all of you can hear me. Those who can hear my voice, please raise your hands. That is good.

As I told you just now, I have come to Mirzapur after a long time, after seventeen years,<sup>2</sup> though this district adjoins my home district of Allahabad—it is barely an hour's drive from there; but somehow I have not been able to make it. In any case, during the last six or seven years I have not been able to go to Allahabad also very often. I may have gone for a day or two, once or twice a year.

Whatever it is, I am happy to have got the opportunity to come here today. As you know, I was at Chunar and Robertsganj and tomorrow I shall visit the Rihand river area. I am happy to see that there is some activity going on in this area which will benefit the entire district. I thank you for the *manpatras* which have been presented to me by the municipality, various traders' organizations and others. There are demands for various things, like a bridge, a degree college and something about a tax. I have absolutely no idea what the tax is all about. Anyhow, the State Government will consider it. As far as the bridge is concerned, it is obvious that it is indeed very essential. A bridge will benefit the people greatly. There is no doubt about it. But the question, as always, is one of priorities. India does not have the resources to do everything all at once. I have come here from a visit to the cement factory in Churk.<sup>3</sup> There is a demand for a bridge on the Sone river in the Rihand area. That is very essential for various reasons.

So it is not a question of merely wanting something but of priorities and that too not of one area but of the whole state. We shall do whatever is possible. There was talk of a degree college. I want to say something about that. It is obvious that I want to make proper arrangements for education from top to bottom in every state and district in the country. But I get a little angry at the mention of degree colleges because they have brought nothing but disrepute.

There is a great deal of talk about changing the pattern of higher education in India. There is great unemployment among university graduates. It is not

1. Speech at a public meeting in Mirzapur, 12 July 1954. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.
2. Nehru visited Mirzapur in December 1937.
3. Nehru visited the factory earlier in the day.



their fault. The fact of the matter is that BA and MA degrees are no longer in demand. A degree used to be considered essential to get into government service. But soon even that will change. Separate examinations will be held for recruitment into government service and will have nothing to do with college degrees. This is the thinking and the recommendation made by the University Commission. This is our confirmed opinion too. To pass an examination and acquire a degree just for employment is harmful from the point of view of education and does not benefit the services either. If degrees were delinked from jobs, the standard of education will improve and you will be in a better state of preparedness for any job that you may take up.

It is all right for people to want degrees. I am not opposed to that. But there is a catch in it, namely, falling of standards. I do not know if the shortcoming is in the students or the teachers. Perhaps it is a combination of many things. The fact is that our educational system has come down from what it was during British rule. We have made some changes. Now, we need something different in free India.

As I pointed out at Chunar, you will find very few unemployed among people with a little knowledge of engineering. I am not referring to very highly trained engineers but junior or assistant engineers and overseers. Even if you send a couple of thousand candidates, they will all get jobs immediately. But you will find great unemployment among the BA and MA degree holders. What does it mean? It means that we are not producing enough of the kind of people we need. We must think of a new system of education. Everyone of us is interested in seeing to it that our young boys and girls should be educated and trained for some useful occupation. Our educational system simply does not equip our students for useful work. We must make some changes.

More than all, I am bothered about basic education for every child in the country at least up to primary school. As you know, we had decided a long time ago to implement Gandhiji's Basic Education Scheme. Some changes were made in it. I regret to say that to this day we have not been able to implement it fully. It is fundamental to our progress. Moreover, it is something which can go hand in hand with training for some useful job. In fact, I want this idea to be extended to college and university education too. Whether it is pre-basic, basic or post-basic, there should be simultaneous physical and mental development. Only then will the youth develop the ability to shoulder great responsibilities.

The fact of the matter is that when a graduate comes to me I am not particularly impressed by his ability until I have interviewed him for myself. I would rather select the individual who has no degree at all and seems more capable.

Anyhow, we have to go into the question of education and find out what kind of people we need to build a new India. I have not come here to talk to

you about the educational system in particular though it is a crucial issue. Everyone wants a new college or university though the old ones are not being run properly. As for your demand for a degree college. I do not know the situation here. But if you take my advice, I would say that you should not bother about degree colleges but set up colleges for technical education. That is what India needs, not BA or MA degree holders. We need engineers and overseers.

I have come here after a long time. During the last seventeen years, there have been great upheavals in India and the world. India became independent after a long struggle. A great war was fought in the world which brought about tremendous changes. Empires fell and a new world emerged. Some old problems were solved but new, more complex ones arose in their place. Soon after the end of the Second World War, there was once more talk of the Third World War breaking out, and till today nobody can predict what may happen.

Such are the times that we live in. I want you to keep all this in mind, the situation in India and the world, because they have an impact on us. It is obvious that our tasks lie in our own country, in the places where we live. Most of you will live and toil in Uttar Pradesh, many in the Mirzapur district. You can, of course, go to any part of the country and work. The doors are always open. But, by and large, the people of Mirzapur district will work right here or elsewhere in Uttar Pradesh. But a free and independent country like ours cannot remain isolated from the world. It cannot evade the responsibilities that devolve upon it, specially a large country like India. So we have got involved in the major issues of international affairs, though we had no desire to. We have said repeatedly that we shall not take part in any wars. We are pursuing the policy of non-alignment and wish to have friendship with all nations. Even so we cannot escape from getting involved in international affairs.

Even as I am talking to you, a conference is taking place in Geneva in Switzerland to discuss an extremely crucial issue. Within the next eight or ten days it will be decided whether there will be an end to the war in Indo-China. If it does not end, it is bound to escalate. If fighting stops as it is hoped, at least the world will get a breathing space to find its feet. It is obvious that we want the fighting to stop so that the warring factions can come to the conference table to arrive at a solution. First, there was the Korean war and now the war in Indo-China. Though we are not directly concerned, these are all Asian countries. Our contacts with them are wider than with European countries and date back to nearly two thousand years. When India lost her freedom, we were cut off from our neighbours. We were thrown into contact with Europe more and more. Now that we are free once again, we have re-established contacts with our neighbours, as is only proper. We are closely concerned with what happens in Indo-China, particularly because of the impact the war may have on the whole of Asia and the world. You must remember that when we talk of war today, it is far different from earlier wars. Warfare in the coming days will



be so terrible because of the weapons of mass death that have been invented. Nobody knows how much of the world will remain unscathed. Mankind may be completely annihilated.

Complex issues face the world and we are drawn into them willy nilly. We want to help. Since we are not aligned with any group, there is greater trust in what we say. We are impartial and express what we feel is just. So, when there is need for a mediator, the eyes of all nations turn to India. It is a great honour that we were chosen to mediate in Korea and entrusted with great powers. All this is because nations which regard one another with distrust have faith in us. On the Indo-China issue, I do not know what role we shall be called upon to play but we cannot shirk this responsibility. How can we shy away when we might help in bringing about peace? That could be irresponsible.

I do not want to talk at great length about India's foreign policy. But I would certainly like to remind you that when you think of India as a whole, or Mirzapur, it should be in the context of what is happening in the world, which is full of danger. Nobody knows what will happen in the near future and when India may be called upon to face a great challenge.

We do not live in a world of peace and quiet. Therefore, we have to be constantly vigilant and fully prepared to the extent possible. We must put all our energy into making India strong because ultimately nations have to stand on their own feet. We cannot progress if we rely on others. Our neighbour, Pakistan, has taken shelter behind a superpower.<sup>4</sup> In our opinion, Pakistan has made mistakes in many ways. But its biggest mistake is to have sought the shelter of another power for it will weaken it. It cannot progress. Many countries are willing to give us arms aid too. But we have always clearly and resolutely declined it because we are firmly convinced that a nation cannot progress except by relying on its own strength. The moment we start relying on others, our freedom will be curtailed and gradually we shall be drawn into things which we do not wish to do. We have seen this happening in other countries. So, at a dangerous juncture like this, we must rely only on ourselves and yet pursue a policy of friendship with all countries. We do not wish to go to war with anyone. There are several complex disputes between India and Pakistan. But there is no thought of war in our minds. We want to arrive at a solution by mutual discussion even if it takes time. There is no greater foolishness than to try to solve our problems by going to war because war solves nothing in the modern world.

4. On 21 February 1954, Pakistan formally asked the US Government for military assistance which the latter agreed to give. President Eisenhower, in his letter of 24 February to Nehru, wrote that US military aid to Pakistan was not directed against India and offered similar assistance to India. Nehru declined the offer on 1 March 1954.

This is the world that we live in. We have to forge ahead quickly. The youth in particular must understand the times that we live in. They seem to think that a revolution means chaos and hooliganism. That is absurd. A revolution means sudden change and upheaval, whether it is political, social or economic. A revolution can be wrought by violence, of course. But it can be done peacefully too. You must have heard about the American Revolution, which took place 175 years ago against the British, and also about the French Revolution, and the Russian and Chinese Revolutions. But have you ever paused to think that India becoming independent under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership is one of the world's greatest revolutions? We struggled peacefully for we did not believe in violence. The people of India united peacefully under one banner and became a great organized force, which ultimately compelled the British Government to accede to our demand. It was a great revolution to have got rid of the 150 year old British rule from the country. It was a political revolution. But it was a peaceful revolution. So people seem to minimize its magnitude, the effort and toil of over fifty years, the sacrifices and hardships borne by millions of people, and the great price that we paid for our Independence.

We must build a strong India. Otherwise in the times that we live in, we shall stumble and expose our freedom to grave dangers. I do not mean to say that there will be an armed invasion. But there are dangers of other kinds. In a world which is in great turmoil and where dangers abound, only the strong nations can protect and defend themselves.

When we got Independence, our political problem was solved in a sense and soon after the internal problem of the merger of Princely States was also resolved. Now, barring a few pockets where colonial rule still persists, as in the French and Portuguese territories, which will be resolved very soon, there are no major internal political problems. We have drawn up a Constitution and established a democratic republic in India.

Now, we are faced with the problems of improving the economic condition of the masses and eradicating poverty. I told you that we do not wish to go to war with anyone. That is not wholly true. We do not wish to go to war with other countries. But we certainly wish to wage a war against India's poverty. It is an extremely difficult task because it is not easy to get rid of the burden of centuries. The condition in which we find ourselves today was not brought about in a day. It has happened over centuries. Conditions had started deteriorating even before the British conquest of India and became worse after that. It is a pretty difficult task to reverse the situation. But it will be done gradually.

I want you to understand what it means to try to uplift millions of people and change the economic condition of the country. Political change means changing the ruler or the administrative system. That is also a difficult task. But to change the economic condition means that millions of people must participate in the task. It cannot be done by the government alone though it



plays a major role by passing new laws and chalking out programmes. But ultimately it is the millions of men and women in the country who have to work hard to change the conditions. Therefore the task is more difficult. It is not enough to pass laws in Delhi or Lucknow. The task before us is to lift up millions of men and women, for unless they progress, India cannot make any headway.

It is not a question of providing government jobs for a few hundreds or thousands. We cannot provide millions of people with jobs. They can progress only by their own effort and hard work. Nearly 80 per cent of our population depends on agriculture for livelihood. So the most urgent priority is to raise their condition. Then there are people working in small cottage industries, which have been famous for centuries. There are many such occupations. All of them together contribute to the economic condition in the country. There are farmers, workers, traders, teachers, engineers, doctors, carpenters, blacksmiths and so on in the country.

The conquest of India by Britain harmed the country in many ways. I am not trying to blame the British. We suffered through our own foolishness. The British came and conquered us because they were stronger, and more powerful and intelligent than us. We were disunited and so they took advantage of it. Now, the strange thing that happened was that within a few decades of the establishment of British rule, most of our cottage industries began to peter out. They had to compete against the modern machines. The people lost their means of livelihood and became impoverished. There were famines and people died of starvation. More and more people came to depend on land. So the burden on the available land increased. Other means of livelihood were not available.

The task before us is to open new avenues of employment and increase agricultural production at the same time. The average yield per acre in our country is extremely low at present compared to the other countries. It is slowly going up. All of you are aware of the steps we have taken to increase food production. Just three or four years ago, we found ourselves in great difficulties. There were grave food shortages in the country. So we had to import shiploads of foodgrains from other countries. It is really strange that in a predominantly agricultural country like ours, we cannot produce enough foodgrains for our own needs.

We have laid stress on agriculture because we would have gone bankrupt if we had to continue importing foodgrains. Our efforts have paid off and, as you know, our food production has gone up tremendously. This has been a great victory for us. We took up the matter on a war footing and the food situation has improved considerably. Instead of ten maunds per acre, now the yield has gone up to 12 or 13 maunds. Even this slight increase adds up to a great deal in a large country like India. We shall continue our efforts in this direction. As I told you, we were importing millions of tonnes of foodgrains

just three or four years ago and now we do not have to import anything except for some quantities to fulfil old agreements. We do not need to import foodgrains any longer. This means greater freedom of action. In spite of that, we continue our efforts to increase food production. You must have seen that the prices of foodgrains have fallen.

This has been a great victory for us. We now have to pay attention to other areas of development and make efforts to open new avenues of employment. We want to reduce unemployment and increase production of wealth in the country. Wealth means new goods produced from land and industries and our crafts. You must not think that gold and silver alone constitute wealth. They are mere tools of trade. You cannot eat gold and silver. Whatever people produce by their effort and hard work constitutes wealth. Money lending does not produce new wealth. It merely transfers wealth from one pocket to another.

We have to find ways and means of producing wealth. We do not have unlimited resources. India is a poor country. We have to improve our economic condition gradually. So we have decided to adopt planning. You must have heard about the First Five Year Plan. Two and a half years have gone by since it was started and work is going on all over the country. The Rihand Dam, which I am going to visit tomorrow, is a part of this Plan. Recently, I had gone to the Punjab to perform a very auspicious task. A huge dam is going to be built on the Sutlej river to provide water for irrigation and to produce electricity. It may sound very simple. But if you go there, you will realize what a difficult task it is to build a dam in the mountains. You may be able to gauge the magnitude of the task when I tell you that an estimated 150 crores of rupees are going to be spent on it. It is a huge sum. Already, more than half of that amount has been spent. It is a great feat of engineering and requires daring to take up such a gigantic project.

The first fruits of our labour were made available to us a week ago. The work is not yet complete, but the waters of the Sutlej will soon flow into thousands of acres of land in the Punjab, Pepsu and the deserts of Rajasthan through canals and make them green. It will be a very big step. In many ways, this is our first great success though we have also taken up other tasks successfully since Independence. When an individual or a nation takes up a big task and completes it successfully, its strength and confidence increase. We learn from our experience. The 500 engineers who are working on this project have gained new experience and will be able to take on such tasks with greater ease in the future. In short, we are taking up big projects all over the country, in Madras, Bombay, Calcutta, Vishakhapatnam, Bangalore and elsewhere. It is a long list.

We have taken another important step. We have seen that the West has advanced so greatly because they have harnessed science to their cause. The modern world is entirely a product of science. I came here from Robertsganj,



from Churk, by a helicopter which is a small aircraft. Whether it is aircraft, railways or industries, they are all products of science. Unless we progress in the field of science we shall remain backward. We shall lag behind in everything including military strength. It is as simple as that. The atom bomb is a product of science. Science has good as well as evil uses. It is after all a source of knowledge. It is necessary to increase our knowledge of science. The fact is that India fell in the past because we had closed our eyes to science and progress. We kept repeating old lessons learnt by rote and lost our capacity to learn anything new. Other countries advanced and we lost our independence. Now that we are free once again, we must guard against our old mistakes and weaknesses.

First of all, there should be unity in the country. There was great disunity in the past, which weakened us. We must always remember that India does not belong to any one religion, caste or province. There are many religions, castes and provinces in India. It is a vast country from the Himalayas to Kanyakumari near Ceylon, 2,000 miles long and 1,800 miles broad. All kinds of people live here. If you roam the country with me, you will be amazed at the myriad facts of India. Yet, underlying all the diversity, there is a great unity. A nation like ours can exist only when we are considerate and tolerant towards one another and do not feel that India belongs to any one section of the people. We have to pay special attention to national unity, which is fundamental to our very existence. There are some people in India who never learn and constantly foment disunity in the name of religion or caste or something else. You must understand that these are obstacles to our progress. We fell in the past precisely because of these fissiparous tendencies.

There are various religions in India. The majority are Hindus, it is true; but there are millions of Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Parsis, Buddhists and Jains as well. Other religions flourish near the Burma border which you may not even have heard of. All these people are citizens of India and have a complete right to participate in national tasks. They have as much right in this country as you and I do. If there is merit and ability in our boys and girls, they have the right to aspire to the highest positions in the land. The doors are open for any one of you to become the Prime Minister or the President or occupy any other position.

India is a nation on the march and thousands of new avenues are opening up. We want that all doors of opportunity should be open to every individual, particularly the children, in the country. After that, each one can progress as far as his ability permits. Anyone who looks down upon any section of society or people of a religion is a traitor to the country. In the new India that we are building, everyone must have equal rights. Each individual is free to follow his own religion. But no one has the right to criticize other religions or look down upon them. Such sentiments lead to disunity.

What are the communalist parties in India, like the Hindu Mahasabha and the Jan Sangh, doing? There are great tasks of nation building awaiting us. But all their talk is of war, war with Pakistan or with the Muslims or someone else. It is really strange that their minds should be so closed that they have lost their capacity to think. It is extremely dangerous because in their ignorance and narrow-mindedness they are advocating the very things which were responsible for India losing her independence.

I am sure all of you want, as I do, that now that India is free once again, we must progress and become affluent and become a nation which follows noble ideals and principles. We must not give up the principles taught to us by Mahatma Gandhi. But in order to do this it is essential that we should keep narrow-mindedness and communalism as far away as possible. They are extremely dangerous.

There are two or three fundamental principles that we must always hold on to even if there are changes in other policies. One, there must be complete secularism and religious equality in India. Everyone must be free to follow his own religion. But it is most improper to break up the country by spreading communal disharmony. It is against our principles and ideals.

Two, we must try to reduce the disparity between the haves and the have nots, the rich and the poor. It cannot be done at once. There is no magic formula. But we want to progress gradually in that direction and bring about a feeling of equality. It is not that we wish to drag anyone down. We want the entire nation to have a better standard of living. We want to uplift the people socially and economically. But ultimately all this is possible only through the hard work of the people. It cannot be done by law or some magic formula. Yes, it is true that laws can pave the way.

Three, whatever we do, we must do it peacefully. I say this because there are some parties which are constantly fomenting disunity and drawing attention of the people to petty disputes. I was amazed at the behaviour of the students last year in Lucknow, Allahabad and some other places.<sup>5</sup> I wondered what sort of a country I lived in because there are very few things which have upset me as much as the incidents of last year. It was not the behaviour of sensible, intelligent human beings. The students seemed to have taken leave of their senses. I began to think that if the reins of the country were to pass into the hands of such people, India would indeed be ruined. If they are so utterly useless as to be incapable of keeping a control over themselves, how could they control India's destiny? You demand that there should be a degree college or a university. If this is what students learn there, I say that all the colleges and universities should be closed down. We want to produce human beings who are strong enough to carry the country's burdens, not merely to take out

5. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 23, p. 125.



processions shouting slogans or demand that they should be passed even if their marks are low. They go on hunger strikes for such things. Is it some kind of a joke? The students who indulged in such behaviour last year were old enough to know better.<sup>6</sup> I have not forgotten the incidents of last year because it is a great blot on the entire educational system in Uttar Pradesh and on the students. It has not been cleansed even now. We must try to understand where we are going and how to prepare ourselves for the future.

I have come to you after seventeen years. I hope I shall be able to come again though I do not know if it will be possible. After all, I am not very young any more. There are a few years left to me to do something and I shall undoubtedly do as much as I can. But, ultimately, we all pass on. This is the evening of my life. India has showered me with great honour and love. I do not know how many people in the world have been given love and honour in the same abundant measure that the people of India have given me. How can I ever repay it? I have been put in positions of great honour. Even the post of the Prime Minister of the country is not greater than the love that the people of India have showered on me. There is nothing more that I aspire to achieve except that in the little time that is left to me I may work hard to make the dreams that I have dreamt for so long come true. We struggled for long years for freedom and ultimately succeeded. It was not exactly what we had wanted. But India became completely independent. So an old, old dream of ours had come true. It is not often given to all nations to see such great dreams come true.

Now that we have reached one goal we have embarked on another journey towards economic prosperity of the masses. This is an even more difficult task. We have drawn up ambitious plans and it gladdens the heart to see one's dreams gradually come true. Recently I was in Bhakra-Nangal. That is one great dream come true. Thousands of people, men, women and children, and mainly small farmers, had flocked there from miles around. They turned the occasion into a huge festival because for them it was a dream of years come true. The people from Rajasthan, who had also come there, had tears in their eyes because the Bhakra waters would turn their arid deserts into flowering fields now.

All these things fill one's heart with hope and courage. I see such achievements all around me. We make mistakes and often stumble and fall. But it takes great courage and large-heartedness to take on such big burdens. Mere enthusiasm is not enough. We need experience and skill. People like

6. In July 1953, the students of the Lucknow University started an agitation demanding that the new constitution of the University Union be referred to the general body of students. Fourteen students were expelled in this connection. Two of the expelled students went on a hunger strike on 21 October 1953. In support of those two students, some other students went on relay hunger strikes at the residence of each member of the University executive council.

Pantji<sup>7</sup> and myself will continue to work as long as we can. But our days are numbered. Soon the reins will pass into the hands of the younger generation of boys and girls who are in schools and colleges today. They have to be prepared for that eventuality. How can they hope to discharge their duties so long as they continue to indulge in hooliganism and uncivilized behaviour, as they did in Lucknow and Allahabad? India is a great country which needs men of stature to run it. Small, narrow-minded men cannot run a country like India. We have to prepare ourselves for the great tasks ahead. The country needs millions of people, not merely a handful of leaders, to take on the mantle of leadership in their own areas, in every single village.

Well, we have taken up all these big tasks. But the one thing that I want to draw your attention to in particular is the Community Projects and the National Extension Service, which are primarily aimed at the rural areas. There are six lakh villages in India. The rural areas fell into neglect and decay during the days of British rule. The wealth of the villages was drained away to the cities. The villages became backward and impoverished. Therefore, it is our duty to pay more attention to the rural areas because so long as six hundred thousand villages remain backward, India cannot progress. A few cities like Delhi, Bombay and Calcutta, with their huge palaces and buildings, cannot make India prosperous.

So, for the last year and a half, we have taken up Community Projects. We are going ahead slowly and gradually gaining experience. We have to gauge how effective these schemes are and also how far they find favour with the people. After all, the work has to be done by the people. A handful of officials cannot do it. We are now convinced that Community Projects are succeeding very well and the people are in favour of them by and large. I would not claim that they have succeeded everywhere. But in most places the people have taken to them with enthusiasm.

This is a great achievement. We have decided to go ahead rapidly with these schemes and extend them to every single village in India within the next seven or eight years. That means covering nearly 80,000 villages a year. Now, who is to do this? An official from the top cannot do it all by himself. We need skilled, trained personnel at every level. We need village workers. We are selecting them for a six months' crash training course. There are also other categories of workers above the village workers. We train thousands of them. Those who are willing to work hard and learn can easily get jobs. But we need trained human beings. It does not matter if you do not know a word of English. What is essential is special training. We are interested in getting the job done, not in parading degrees. Thousands of young men can get involved in this

7. Govind Ballabh Pant (1887-1961); Chief Minister of UP, 1946-55; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 3, p. 106.



work. It is not the work of any one party. We invite the whole of India to participate in it. Millions of people are going to be trained and sent to the rural areas to work in the villages and train others. This is how India can march ahead rapidly.

We have to tackle this problem from two or three different angles. One, we have to go on with the big projects like the Bhakra and Rihand Dams, the Damodar Valley project or the Sindri fertiliser plant. The fertiliser plant has contributed a great deal to increase food production in the country. Then we are building ships at Vishakhapatnam and railway engines and carriages at Chittaranjan. Innumerable projects like this are being taken up all over the country.

On the other hand, as I told you, we have set up huge scientific laboratories for they are indispensable to our progress. At the moment nearly 3,000 young men and women are working in these laboratories. This is the first time that they have had an opportunity to do original research. Some work goes on at the universities. Apart from that there are these 3,000 young people working at the national laboratories. They are doing excellent work and many of them are people of such calibre that often other countries have an eye on them to lure them away. I regret to say that they have succeeded in luring away some good people from India by offering them five times the salary that we can afford. We can only afford to pay a pittance. The Western countries are rich and so they have successfully lured away some of our able young people. We do not like it very much. It is not proper that people should go away to serve in other countries for greed of money. It is also true that we could not give them the proper facilities for work and research. So it is our fault too. But you can see that new avenues are opening up everywhere.

These are two things. The third is that our programmes aim at rural uplift and development through Community Projects and National Extension Service. Millions of people will be absorbed in them. These are three major areas in which we are progressing.

Two and a half years have gone by since the First Five Year Plan began. We must start thinking about the Second Plan now. We want it to be a more ambitious Plan and so we must pay greater attention to all the details. We have gained more experience now. So we want that the panchayats and other institutions right from the grass-roots level must come up with suggestions. We want to draw up the Second Plan with advice and guidance from them.

The First Plan aimed at laying the foundations of progress and consolidating our freedom. In my opinion, we have succeeded in that. It is true that we have not gone very far. I am prepared to accept that. I myself want that the pace of progress should be accelerated. But whatever we did has been done properly. For one thing, it was a great achievement for us to have solved the food problem even if we had not done anything else. Other big projects have also been taken

up. We should accelerate our pace if we can. In any case, we have laid the foundations.

During the Second Plan we want to progress faster, particularly in industrializing the country. We shall continue to pay attention to increasing food production. But now we want to produce the necessary consumer goods within the country. That will also provide more jobs.

As I pointed out, all these tasks have to be done by the people, not by Government or the Congress alone. I am the Congress President and proud of the fact because it is a grand organisation which has served India well during the last fifty or sixty years. It led the country to freedom. But I am also the Prime Minister of India and in that capacity all the parties in the country are the same for me. As the President of the Congress, I am a full-fledged Congressman. But I want everyone in the country to participate in the Five Year Plans. We have invited all the parties to join in.

We have established a new institution called the Bharat Sevak Samaj,<sup>8</sup> which is not a political party. Its doors are open to everyone. But the other parties have refused to join. It is obvious that we cannot forcibly drag anyone in if they do not wish to join. We regret that they do not wish to come in. I have no objection to the opposition parties criticizing the Government. It is their right to do so. But I do object to their trying to foment disunity in the country. Let them voice their criticisms peacefully in their speeches or writings. There should be a proper way of doing these things. But it does not seem quite right to me that they should oppose national tasks. What we are doing today is not being done by the Congress or the Government alone but by millions of people. It is wrong to stand in their way for in a sense it obstructs India's progress. By opposing national programmes, the opposition parties are opposing millions of human beings. This is not proper for any party. The opposition parties have become so narrow-minded that they are unable to progress in any direction.

I do not know what the Communist Party wants. First of all they want to break up the entire existing socio-economic organisation in the country so that they can start from a clean slate. That is, at least the next 15 or 20 years will be lost in revising everything before they can do anything. Well, I cannot accept this. Moreover, the Communist Party looks more to other countries and tends to dance to their tune. We must certainly learn from others and I have no doubt about it that there are very good points in them. We must learn from the United States, England, the Soviet Union, China and others. We can undoubtedly learn from them in a spirit of friendship.

8. Started in October 1952, the Bharat Sevak Samaj was a non-political voluntary organisation to mobilize people's support and participation in the execution of the national Plans.



As you know, the Prime Minister of China visited India recently<sup>9</sup> and was accorded a warm welcome by the Indian people as was befitting to a neighbour of ours. China is a very large country. As you know, we follow a different economic system from China. But we can learn many things from China. Recently, we have sent two of our engineers to China to see how they work there and to learn what we can from them. We have also sent two or three of our railway engineers to the Soviet Union to learn the work. Many of our people are in England and the United States for training. We want to learn from everyone. But we must evolve a path of our own.

As you may be aware, we have been trying for the last four years to get China admitted into the United Nations because we feel that to keep China out is a loss to the United Nations and the world. How can one free and independent nation of the world be kept out? At the moment, China is represented by someone who has nothing to do with China. It is the government of the island of Formosa which represents China in the UN. If you were to ask me, in my opinion the root cause of the troubles in Korea and East Asia during the last three or four years is the fact that China has been kept out of the UN. It is an outright injustice and completely wrong. It shows that we are turning a blind eye to reality. But that will not make China disappear. It is a vast country, larger than India in size.

The entire policy of the Western countries, and, especially of the United States, has gone awry because they have refused to face reality. If the West is going to admit only the nations of its choice into the UN, then it would not be a true world body. It will be an organization of their allies. It is most improper and extremely dangerous. I have great respect for American statesmen and leaders. But I am amazed when they stand up and declare that they will not tolerate the entry of China into the United Nations.<sup>10</sup> One representative has even gone so far as to say that if China is admitted his country will leave the UN.<sup>11</sup> I cannot understand how international politics can be conducted in this manner particularly when a grave danger of war threatens all around.

As I was saying, I have been sorely disappointed with the Communist

9. Chou En-lai visited India from 25 to 28 June 1954.

10. President Eisenhower, at a press conference on 7 July 1954, said that he was completely opposed to the admission of China to the United Nations and 95 per cent of the US population would take the same stand. The Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, at a press conference on 8 July 1954, declared that the record of the Chinese Communist regime was such that it was clearly not qualified to be seated in the UN and if the question ever came before the Security Council, the USA might use the veto to keep China out of the UN.

11. On 1 July 1954, the Republican Senator William F. Knowland declared that if China were admitted, he would immediately resign his position as majority leader in the Senate and campaign for the withdrawal of the United States from the UN.

Party and the Praja Socialist Party. I had hoped that they would work with us as comrades and even in opposition they would pose a healthy challenge. In politics, as in everything else, complacency engenders weakness. There should be tension, challenge and opposition for that makes for a sharper mental and physical reaction.

During the thirty or forty years that we worked under Mahatma Gandhi, India grew in strength not by shouting slogans but by challenging the might of the British empire again and again, in spite of ups and downs. Such challenges make the people strong. Therefore, I want our opposition parties to be strong so that the Congress can remain alert and not lapse into complacency. But it should be the right kind of opposition. I find that instead of challenging the Congress in a big way, the attention of the opposition parties is constantly fixed on petty issues. I am amazed at their irresponsible behaviour. I cannot understand how they would shoulder responsibility if they were entrusted with some important task.

Then there are the communalist parties, each singing a different tune and talking about a Hindu *rashtra* and what not.<sup>12</sup> The difficulty is that, first of all, they do not understand politics very well, and, secondly, they are not in favour of the path that India is taking towards social equality and justice. But they cannot come out openly against these things. So they resort to religion just as the Muslim League used to do in the past. By inciting the Muslims in the name of Islam, the Muslim League ultimately succeeded in dividing India into two, and Pakistan came into being. Now the Hindu Mahasabha and the Jan Sangh want to incite the Hindus in the name of religion. If they succeed they will turn the whole country upside down because the majority of the people in India are Hindus. That would be extremely dangerous because their outlook is extremely outdated. They have practically no views on the most pressing issues before us. They want that the Hindus should become stronger. It would be a very good thing if Hindus became strong. I would welcome it. But at the same time I want the Muslims, the Sikhs, the Christians and other communities to be strong too, so that India becomes a strong nation. Otherwise, it would mean civil war. How can we progress if our thinking is so backward?

The policy and outlook of the communalists is one of confrontation and has no bearing on the present-day social and economic problems. They are a curious anomaly representing some bygone age. They cannot fit into the modern world. Therefore, they try to use religion for their purposes. You must try to understand the kind of issues they raise. They talk about cow slaughter and get signatures on petitions and what not. Some citizens of Allahabad have declared that they will go on hunger strike. It is true that the majority of the Hindus are

12. The All India Hindu Mahasabha and the Ram Rajya Parishad adhered to the idea of a Hindu State.



concerned over this issue. It is pretty obvious. Now, let us leave aside the religious aspect of it for the time being and look at the matter dispassionately. I do not consider myself a very religious person in the strict sense of the word but can I be blind to realities. My one and only religion has been to serve India and to uplift the people. That is enough for me.

Leaving aside the religious aspect, it is extremely important that we should look after our cattle and particularly the cows. I am talking about the economic aspect. A great deal of damage has been done by neglecting our cattle. Moreover, though we worship the cows in India, their condition is pitiable. If you were to go to Europe or the United States, you will find that their cows are strong and healthy and extremely well looked after though nobody worships the cow. Is it not strange that in a land where the cow is worshipped, it should be so sadly neglected and go about half starved? There is a demand to ban cow slaughter in India by law as though by passing a law the problem can be solved. It is my firm conviction that if we pass such a law the incidence of cow slaughter will increase. That must be prevented. I am convinced that the innumerable cows will be left to starve and die. I do not want that. I want that our cows should be strong and healthy and arrangements be made to look after them well. But it will not be what these people suggest.

In Bombay, the State Government has established a separate milk colony called the Aarey Milk Colony outside the city. It is an excellent arrangement. There is a beautiful park where the cows and buffaloes are kept in hygienic, healthy surroundings and the milk is supplied to the city of Bombay. Now, this is what I call real service of the cow as well as the people. There are so many among you with a great deal of money. Why do you not invest it in such useful things? It is not enough to open a *pinjra pol* to keep lame cows and buffaloes. I am convinced that those who talk vociferously about banning cow slaughter are not really bothered about the welfare of the cows. Their main concern is to do something in opposition to the Congress Government. Since they cannot find any issue in the political or economic fields, they raise the bogie of religion. Let them come up with something sensible.

I want you to think about these things carefully. This is a critical juncture in India's history. We have become independent after long years of slavery. We have to consolidate that freedom. The least bit of complacency or slackness can lead to the loss of that freedom. But even apart from that, as I told you, the world is in a dangerous flux today. On the other hand, we are faced with problems internally too. Yet we are gradually laying the foundations of a strong new India. It gives us fresh hope to see our dreams gradually come true.

I want you to weigh all these things in the balance and participate in the task of nation building because it requires the cooperation of millions. It cannot be done by the Government alone. It is the work of every village panchayat, every city, street and municipality. But you must look at these things in the

larger context of the international situation. We can progress only when India as a whole progresses. Otherwise, all of us will be left behind.

I have placed some of my thoughts before you. Ideas come crowding into my mind and I want to share them with the people wherever I go. We must understand one another and march together in step. In this new journey that we have embarked upon after Independence, we have to take along all the 36 crores of people. It is not enough for a handful of human beings to go ahead. We are all together in a great big caravan. So it is extremely important that we should understand these questions and march together in unison. *Jai Hind*.

The national anthem will be sung now. Please remain silent. Before that, please say *Jai Hind* with me three times. *Jai Hind, Jai Hind, Jai Hind*.

## 5. Economic Growth and the Solving of Poverty<sup>1</sup>

Brothers and sisters,

Lal Bahadurji<sup>2</sup> has told you about the new school and I am happy that it is coming up here.<sup>3</sup> It will be a good thing for the children of this place because they will learn new things here. I shall happily lay the foundation stone for the building. But the fact is that I have not come here only to lay a foundation stone but because it has given me an opportunity to meet all of you again. I did not want to miss this opportunity. I live in Delhi, far away from here, and am immersed in work all the time. India is a large country extending from the Himalayas to the tip of Ceylon almost, and looking after such a huge country leaves me no time to come home. The whole of India is my home now. So it is difficult to visit any one particular corner of it very often.

I have come here this time for yet another purpose. You may have heard about the new railway line which has been laid in the Mirzapur district.

1. Speech at a public meeting in Handia, near Allahabad, 13 July 1954. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.
2. Lal Bahadur Shastri (1904-1966); Union Minister for Railways, 1952-56; he succeeded Nehru as Prime Minister ten years later; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 5, p. 164.
3. Nehru laid the foundation-stone of a technical school at Handia. The school was to start three-month training courses for school and college students during their summer vacations in battery charging, gas-welding, smithery, toy-making, carpentry and other cottage industries. After the vacations, the training classes were scheduled to be held in the evenings to enable students to attend them after their regular classes.



Secondly, a dam is going to be built on the Rihand river beyond Mirzapur. When the dam is built, it will become a huge storehouse of water, surrounded by the hills. That water can be used for irrigation through canals and also to generate electricity, which will make many things possible, like small industries. This is a very important project. So I came to see the progress that is being made. Since I was so close to Allahabad, I wanted to meet the people here. I thought of Handia first and so I am here. I have come to you many times and every time by a different mode of transport. This time, as you saw, I have come by a new kind of aircraft, a helicopter, which is like an *udankhatola*. It does not need much space to land or take off.

As I sit here with you, I can see the helicopter on one side, which is completely new, an elephant and horses along the canal on the other. The world keeps changing, but our relationship continues to be intact. We must be clear in our minds about the steps we have to take to improve our condition. For many, many years, I used to talk to you about freedom and what we had to do to win it. We did all that and finally got freedom. Since then, new tasks and responsibilities have descended upon us. The most important task is, of course, to improve the living standards of the people and to bring about stability in order to hold on to our freedom because if we are not careful and vigilant all the time, freedom can slip away. Therefore, we must become strong as a nation and that, apart from other things, depends on the strength and prosperity and unity of the people. When the people are well off, and capable of working together in harmony, it makes for great strength. Disunity, on the other hand, weakens the country.

These are some of the tasks before us now. They are even bigger than the task of getting freedom. You can imagine how difficult it is to make a huge country like ours, with a population of 35, 36 or 37 crores, prosperous. It is not a question of a few individuals or a village or two. There are six lakh villages in India and innumerable cities. It is a pretty difficult task to make all of them prosperous. But it has to be done because we fought for freedom and got it, not merely to record it on paper, but to pave the way for progress of the people. There are always different kinds of jobs to be done in a country. But, as you know, the majority of the people in India live on land. Therefore, the most urgent problem to be tackled is to improve agriculture and take steps to look after the farmers, to provide education and health care for their children, and to pass good land legislation. As you know, we took steps to abolish the zamindari and jagirdari systems. For the most part this work has been done. Only some patches remain but they too will go.

Now we have to concentrate our energies on changing the condition in our villages. We want that agriculture should improve and production must increase. We also want to build schools, hospitals and training centres for the young in every village. We want that different avenues of work should open up in the

villages so that the problem of unemployment is reduced. Unemployment leads to people going off to the cities, where the situation is even worse. So we must increase production in the country. When we talk about removing India's poverty, what do we mean by that? It cannot be done by counting beads or consulting the astrologers. There is no magic formula for this. It can be done only through hard work, intelligent hard work. Why is it that though you work so hard, the production in other countries is double or three times as much as what you do? It is not as if our farmers are less hard working. We must try to learn new methods to improve agriculture and increase production from land. That is the only way in which the farmers and the entire country can benefit. Even if the production can be doubled, it will create an enormous amount of wealth in the country. Gold and silver are not real wealth. Real wealth is what we produce from land and industries, big industries or cottage industries—in short, new goods which are produced in the country. The more we produce, the greater the surplus to be invested in the tasks of development. If you go to the Government in Delhi or in Uttar Pradesh for financial aid, you must know where that money comes from. The Government does not get it from some other country. It has to come from people's pockets in the form of land revenue or taxes and so on. It is that money which is invested in various national tasks. The Government can spend only as much as it gets from the people.

So the most urgent problem before us is to increase production of wealth in the country in order to eradicate poverty. The only way to do that is by increasing production in various ways, building new industries, big, medium and small, as well as cottage industries. Even the slightest increase in the per capita income makes a big difference to the country. The faster we do all these things, the better the condition of the people will become and the more resources the Government will have to invest in the tasks of development.

I have given you a broad idea of what we have to do. The problem cannot be solved by providing jobs to a handful of people because there are millions of people who have to be looked after. How can anyone provide millions of jobs? The people will have to learn to stand on their own feet. So the Government and the people must cooperate, pass appropriate laws and work hard to transform the country.

You may have heard about the big projects which have been taken up all over the country during the last five or six years. As I told you just now, I had gone to visit the site of the dam being built on the Rihand river. When it is completed, we shall not have to depend on the monsoons for irrigation. Moreover, we shall also be able to produce more electricity. You may wonder why electricity is important. You can see the advantages of electricity all around you. Providing light is only a minor aspect of the use of electricity. As a matter of fact, electricity is a most powerful thing. It can kill a person instantaneously, like the weapons you read about in the Mahabharata and the



Ramayana. If we can bring it under control, it can also do the work of a thousand men and increase our capacity for production enormously. It can be used to run huge factories. In the West, electricity is used in the homes for practically everything, cooking, cleaning, washing dishes and clothes and what not. Well, it is not necessary for us to do all that. But we can do many things with electricity. It is cheap too, if it is produced in vast quantities. So we have taken up various hydro-electric projects in order to generate more electric power. There are great rivers which flow down from the Himalayas in mighty torrents. The turbines are propelled by the momentum of the flowing waters and the friction generates electricity, which is then transmitted through wires. When the Rihand dam is completed, all the villages in Allahabad district will get electricity. You will then see the advantages of electricity, apart from the light it provides.

I was in the Punjab recently. A great project is coming up there also on the Sutlej. The waters will provide irrigation to fields for miles all around, in the Punjab and the deserts of Rajasthan, and there will be greenery everywhere. The deserts will bloom.

Then, as you know, we are also setting up huge factories. We need fertilizers in vast quantities to increase production. We have set up a huge fertilizer factory at Sindri. You must go and see it some time. It produces 28,000 maunds of fertilizers a day. Then, there are factories, which build ships, aeroplanes and other essential goods which we used to import from other countries in the past. It is much more economical to make them ourselves. Secondly, it creates more employment for the people and our money remains in the country. If we have to import essential goods, we become dependent on others.

At the same time, as you may have heard, a year and a half ago we started the Community Projects and the National Extension Service in the rural areas. They are gradually spreading all over the country. We selected an area of a hundred to three hundred villages for one project. We want this scheme to spread to the whole country. One of the most important features in this programme is the cooperation of the local people, because ultimately it is they who have to do the work. We select a few workers from each village and train them for six months. There are other officials above them who are trained and they supervise the village workers. The project aims at providing veterinary services, education, health care, roads, houses, etc. At the moment, I think about ten thousand villages have been covered under this scheme. That is a very large number. But there are six lakh villages in India. We want that within the next five to seven years no single village should be left out.

You must have heard about the Five Year Plans. We cannot do everything at once. So we have set targets for what we must do in five years. We have to lay strong foundations before we can build the edifice. Two and a half years have gone by since the First Plan was started. We have already started preparing

for the Second Plan, which we want to draw up in consultation with the people and their panchayats from the grass roots level. We want to know what the people want and what they themselves will do so that we can draw up the Plan accordingly. We want that by the end of the Second Plan, the Community Projects and the National Extension Service should spread to the whole country. It is an ambitious Plan because it involves training millions of workers. We are training people from the villages and sending them back to teach the others. The people are backward as they are unaware of the new things happening in the world. We must learn these new things. So we are training about seven thousand young men who will then go to the villages and train millions of villagers. All this takes time. We are taking up seventy or eighty thousand villages every year and hope to cover all the villages in India in seven years' time.

Now, I would like to tell you about some of the big projects we have started. One is, as I said, setting up of factories to produce essential commodities like fertilizers and railway carriages. Secondly, we need more steel. So we have put up huge plants to increase production of steel. Steel is necessary for many things. Then, we have started river valley projects to provide water for irrigation and production of electricity. Great advances have taken place in the world in science and technology, which we must also learn. There is no magic about an aircraft though it may seem strange to you because you have seen it for the first time. But anybody can learn how to make these things. Our boys and girls can go to schools and colleges and learn science and technology. We have been left behind in these fields. Therefore, apart from the ordinary college education, we must encourage students to go in for scientific education. We have opened huge national laboratories, where practical research and training are undertaken. Book learning is not enough. It must go hand in hand with practical training. Farmers, carpenters and blacksmiths are good at their work. They must now be taught new and modern methods of working with machines and the use of electricity. Production will then increase several times.

This is how we are making efforts for the all-round development of the country. We are trying to transform the rural areas through new administrative arrangements and schemes. The idea is to open new avenues of employment and increase the wealth of the nation. But you must always remember that it is up to you to do the work. There will be people to advise and help you. We shall train people from the villages. With your cooperation, we can transform the whole country. But it is a gigantic task and takes a long time. However, if we succeed in doing it in eight to ten years, it will be a revolutionary achievement. You often hear people talking about revolutions. A revolution does not necessarily mean violence and chaos. It means change, changing a social system and the economic condition of the people through hard work. This is what we are trying to do.



The country underwent a big political change when it achieved Independence. That was a revolutionary event. Now we are trying to bring about another revolution to lift up the masses, remove their poverty and provide better standard of living for them through their own effort. It is a big task and will take time. We may not be able to complete it even in ten years. But once the process starts, it will go on on its own momentum. The moment the people become slack, there will be no progress.

Why did India fall in the past? It is because the people stopped looking ahead. The rich became idle and ease-loving, living off the labours of others. The masses too became stagnant. A nation is like a flowing river and the moment the people dissociate themselves from the mainstream, they become stagnant and stale. A people or a society on the move remain fresh and strong. The moment they stop progressing and begin to look back over their shoulders, they become weak. This has happened again and again during the last thousands of years. We became weak and backward while other countries went ahead. Now that we have been given yet another opportunity, we must seize upon it with both hands to catch up with the others and, if possible, outstrip them. How is that to be done? It can be done only through hard work and intelligent planning, by maintaining unity and cooperation among ourselves. One of our biggest vices is disunity. Everyone is bent upon pulling down others so that nobody can progress. This is extremely foolish. Unity gives strength and is very essential for progress in the rural and the urban areas.

You must bear in mind that India is a very large country, extending from the Himalayas in the North to the Southern tip. There are a number of provinces, languages, religions, castes, and so on in the country. But in spite of tremendous diversities, we are all citizens of India. You cannot say that the people of Bengal are not Indians. Though they speak Bengali and we in North India speak Hindi and the people in the South speak Tamil or Telugu, all of us belong to India. Similarly, people follow different religions. The majority of them are, of course, Hindus. But there are a large number of Muslims and Christians in India. The Christians have lived here for the last two thousand years. Christianity was not brought here by the British. It came to India long before it went to Europe. Then there are Buddhists, Jains, Sikhs, Parsis, etc., in the country. All of them are Indians, not foreigners, enjoying the same rights. You must remember this because there are some people who incite others in the name of religion or caste and what not. Internal strife is extremely harmful to the country's unity, for it weakens us. Gandhiji had laid great stress on unity and harmony among the people. As you know, he succeeded in uniting the whole country under the banner of the Congress. People of all religions and castes were welcome in the party and the Congress became a powerful instrument through which we got freedom. Now we need the same kind of unity and stability to accomplish other great national tasks.

Just as the religions, castes and languages of our people are different, the climate in which they live is different too, with some areas being extremely cold and others very, very hot. If you go to the Himalayas or Kashmir, Kumaon or Garhwal, or go on a pilgrimage to Kedarnath, Badrinath or Amarnath, you can see snow on the mountain tops. It is extremely cold in these areas. Ladakh is also very, very cold. You cannot exist there without warm, lined woollen shoes and coats. But if you go to the South, there is no winter there at all. It is always hot and so you do not need too many clothes. So you find great diversities in India and together we make up this great nation.

We got freedom because the whole country fought for it together. Similarly, we can progress as a nation only as a whole and not separately, province by province. If all of us do not pull our weight, we shall slip back. It is not possible for Allahabad or Uttar Pradesh to progress on its own. All of us will have to march hand in hand. It is true that each one of us must work in our own areas, in our district or province. But you must always put the country's interests above narrow parochial ones, and think of yourself as one of millions of your countrymen working side by side for the progress of India. You must also bear in mind that, again and again, in the past, we have been betrayed by our own weakness of disunity and lost our freedom. We cannot fall into that trap again.

The most urgent task before us since we got freedom has been to work towards the economic freedom and prosperity of the masses. I have told you about the various steps that we have taken in this direction. You may remember that three or four years ago, the prices of foodgrains were soaring in the country because of shortages and we had to import millions of tonnes of foodgrains from other countries at an enormous cost. It was a great drain on our foreign exchange reserves. So we decided that the first thing we must do is to make India self-sufficient in food so that we do not have to import foodgrains. It was difficult to do this in a hurry. But, as you know, that task is nearly over. We have succeeded in what we set out to do. We can now face any crisis and there will be no food shortages in the country. Our godowns are bursting with wheat and rice. Even if the monsoons fail, we have enough to tide us over for some time. But we expect good crops this year. After the shortages that we faced in the past, this has been a great achievement for India. We must now overcome the other problems which beset the country. Each successful step contributes to greater strength and prosperity. But everything requires careful planning. With limited resources at our disposal, we have to be clear about our priorities. We do not want to get too much foreign aid. We must be self-reliant. The capital at our disposal is what comes from the people's pockets and we have to plan carefully what we spend it on. Whatever we do must benefit the masses and, more important than that, it must benefit them for generations to come.



These are some of the big tasks that we face. I hope that you will try to understand where your duty lies. Very often we find that our colleagues and comrades of long years' standing are led astray and, instead of helping us, have made it their profession to oppose the Government. Opposition in itself is not a bad thing and if anyone says that the rate of progress should increase, we agree with it. But nobody has the right to sit at home and criticize without doing anything constructive when there are thousands of tasks waiting to be done. The Five Year Plans belong to the whole country. It is absurd for any party to say that they will not help.<sup>4</sup> There are various aspects of planning and everyone can help in his own way. So it is not proper that anyone should sit idle and criticize others who are doing something. Then, there are others who incite people in the name of religion as though they have a monopoly on it. They have nothing to say about political or economic issues. Their only aim is to incite simple people in the name of religion. They suddenly come out in large numbers during elections and go about in search of votes.

As you know, during the last election, another candidate<sup>5</sup> stood from this constituency. I respect that gentleman from Jhansi. He is a good man and had every right to stand for election. But he brought up the issue of cow slaughter at the time of the polls, knowing fully well the effect it would have on the Hindus. Some people seem to think that if a law is passed by Parliament banning cow slaughter, it will immediately come to a stop. If all our problems could be solved by passing laws, our task would be so easy. We could then pass a law that there should be no poverty. But in reality poverty can be removed only by hard work and effort. This is true of everything.

So we must think of constructive action. We respect and worship the cow in India. But there is no doubt about it that they are very badly looked after in this country. If you go to any of the western countries, you will find that their cattle are very healthy and well looked after. They yield four times as much milk as our cows do. The people in those countries do not worship the cows but look after them very well. It is strange that we talk so much about cow worship and at the same time starve them. Is this not something worth thinking

4. For example, the National Executive of the Praja Socialist Party said in a resolution on 23 November 1952 that the Five Year Plan could not be called a National Plan since it embodied only the policies and outlook of the Congress Party and Government, and at no stage had the other political parties or the people of the country been associated with the drawing up of the Plan. Besides, the Plan suffered from lack of definite social direction and Government had also failed to create "a socially conscious, honest and efficient administration" for the implementation of the Plan. The Party, however, said that it would assist the people in exercising their initiative in those spheres of the Plan where they had some opportunity to do so, and in fighting bureaucratisation, nepotism and favouritism.

5. Prabhu Dutt Brahmachari.

about? It is not a question of passing laws for that will not make the cows better cared for. There is no point in banning cow slaughter until we make arrangements to look after our cattle.

You will find that the Government of Bombay have taken up a very good scheme. They have removed the cattle from all parts of the city, where they used to spread dirt and disease, to an area outside and set up a huge park for them. They are kept in clean and healthy surroundings. The owners have been allotted space to keep their cows and the milk is supplied to the whole of Bombay at cheap rates. Now, this is what I call intelligent planning. It cannot be done by passing resolutions. If this scheme could be implemented in all the cities of India, the problem will be solved to a very large extent. Apart from the religious aspect, it is extremely important that we should look after our cattle well because they are our national wealth. Who are the people responsible for cow slaughter in the big cities? It is the poor, who trade them for cash. That problem can be solved not by passing laws but by making arrangements for looking after the cows. Otherwise they will be left to roam in the streets and to die of hunger and starvation. There are frequent quarrels between Hindus and Muslims over this issue. The British used to kill cows all the time, but the Hindus never challenged them. Now there are any number of people ready to incite others over petty issues. The fact is that cow slaughter has become very much less during the last six or seven years. Export of beef has also been banned. But the important thing is to look after the cattle. They should be cared for like our own children. We must make arrangements to keep our cattle in clean and healthy surroundings and for grazing. This will ensure good milk supply for children which is not available today.

The people of India often ignore the important problems and harp on petty issues which divert attention. But we should go ahead, as I said, with our task which is to ensure the all-round development of the country. What can be a greater or more challenging task than this? Everyone of us in India, irrespective of sex, caste, religion and province, must participate in it. We can do our bit wherever we are. If everyone in India could do some of the things which some villagers of Uttar Pradesh have done on their own, India will become prosperous in no time.

Well, I have given you a general idea of what is happening in the country. Big things are happening in the world and you must try to understand them. There is talk of war. War in the nuclear age can lead to total extinction. Our effort has always been to do everything to avert war. We want peace in India and in the whole world and we are constantly making efforts to ensure it. This is one of the reasons India is held in high esteem, because the common people all over the world are not in favour of war. When they see that we are making great efforts in this direction, they respect us and listen to our views.

Now I shall go on to Allahabad in my helicopter and from there to Delhi



tomorrow morning. I shall now inaugurate your school building. Please keep sitting till that is done.

Now, please say *Jai Hind* with me thrice. *Jai Hind, Jai Hind, Jai Hind.*

## 6. Intimations of the Future<sup>1</sup>

Sisters and brothers,

I have come to Beawar after nine years. I have had the opportunity to visit Ajmer twice or thrice. But I could not come to your town. So I am happy to be able to come here even for a short while. In a little while I shall go by train to Delhi. We were in Ajmer for the last five days. We were not there for sight-seeing but to attend the meeting of the All India Congress Committee which was held there. People from different parts of India were assembled there to discuss the situation in the country. Several resolutions were passed as you must have seen from the newspapers.

You can judge an organisation from the kind of problems and issues that it is preoccupied with. If you read the resolutions which were passed at Ajmer, you will have an idea of the picture of India we have before us. The AICC meeting was concerned with national issues, not the local problems of Ajmer or Beawar. There are innumerable little problems everywhere. But the most crucial issue concerns the whole of India. Our various regions can progress only if India progresses as a nation. Otherwise, no matter what we do, we shall get nowhere.

We fought for and won freedom under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership by a peaceful non-violent struggle. It was a unique phenomenon in the history of the world. Generally national struggles for freedom are accompanied by great violence and bloodshed, and the memory of the trials and tribulations lingers on for a long time. The manner in which we the people of India won freedom has proved that great issues can be resolved in a civilized manner. Once the problem was resolved there was no enmity between India and England. We were two free countries.

When India got Independence, the entire country became free, not just some of its provinces. Similarly, each region progresses when the entire nation

1. Speech at a public meeting in Beawar, Rajasthan, 27 July 1954. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.

progresses. You may remember that, immediately after freedom, we were faced with the problem of the Princely States. It was impossible to allow pockets of Princely rule to exist in India. So we solved that problem quickly and all the Princely States were merged into the Indian Union. We came to friendly agreements with the ex-rulers. They showed great common sense. Their right to rule was taken away because we had people's rule. But we gave them enormous sums of money as privy purses. In this way, we managed to solve a great problem by peaceful methods. Sardar Patel, one of our great leaders, played a major role at that time in resolving the problem with great speed. Everyone was surprised that such a knotty problem was solved peacefully. India has set a great example to the world by being able to solve difficult problems in a civilized manner, without chaos or violence. This is quite unique, particularly in this world of ours which is beset with problems.

There is constant talk of war in the world. Another war could lead to the destruction of mankind. There are other difficult international and national problems. For instance, there are often clashes between mill owners and workers because their interests are at variance. This leads to tension. The clash of interest of capitalists and workers is a worldwide phenomenon. Various methods have been adopted to resolve this problem which often results in violence and chaos.

Then there is the problem of landowners and peasants. What constitutes profit for one means loss to the other. We took up this problem too. In spite of the growth of industries, India is a predominantly agricultural country. Eighty per cent of the population subsists on land. India's progress depends on the progress of the farmer. At the time of Independence, large tracts of land were owned by the zamindars, talukdars and jagirdars, which was not right. We came to the conclusion that those who tilled the soil should own the land. This is an issue that has involved great bloodshed and revolutions throughout history. But we succeeded in solving it more or less peacefully. We have not resolved it fully but eighty per cent is over. It has been virtually solved in my province of Uttar Pradesh, where there were big zamindars and talukdars. They have been pensioned off. All this has been done by mutual agreement. I agree that the problem has not yet been solved completely and other problems keep cropping up. But thinking is going on about what to do.

As you know, there were big zamindaris in Rajasthan. They were abolished by mutual agreement and without bitterness. As you can imagine, if problems are sought to be solved violently, even if the outcome is as desired, there is often great loss of wealth and other losses. The worst of it is that it leaves an aftermath of bitterness and enmity among the people. From whatever little we have learnt from Mahatma Gandhi, we have at least been able to solve our major problems by peaceful methods. This has helped us in the long run. For instance, if we had tried to abolish the zamindari system in Rajasthan by violent means, the peasants might have won in the end but would have had to pay an



enormous price in terms of hardship and losses. The peaceful method is better. That does not mean that we should give up any of our principles. We must stick to our principles and try to arrive at a mutual agreement. We had thrown our entire strength into the freedom struggle. We had to toil hard and pay an enormous price in blood, sweat, tears and sacrifice. But to the extent that we did so the people of India gained in strength. We became an organized force under the Congress and were able successfully to challenge the might of the British empire.

Now, there are other, greater problems before us. But the method that we have followed so far is best suited to deal with them as well. What are the major problems that we confront? There are some international issues in which other nations are also involved. But, essentially, our problems are internal ones. I do not want to say very much about the international problems except in passing because they are bound to affect India in the long run. For instance, if a major war were to break out in any part of the world, even if we are not involved directly, we cannot escape from the consequences of such a war. Nobody in the world can remain unaffected. You must have heard about the atom bomb and other deadly weapons which have been invented. What would happen if one of them were to fall on Beawar? I assure you that you need not have any fear that such a thing would happen. But you can understand the psychology of the nations which live constantly under the shadow of the atomic threat. One atom bomb can reduce the city of Beawar and the area for miles around to rubble. Not a single construction will be left standing and no living being would be spared. The atom bomb is a toy compared to the more deadly hydrogen bomb. These weapons are bound to be used if there is a war. What will happen then to the world? It will lie in ruins and vast numbers of people will be burnt to death. Those who are spared will die of hunger. There will be complete destruction. Even if India does not go to war, we cannot escape the consequences. Therefore, it is necessary for us to play a role in international affairs, the role of a peace maker. We want peace in the world. We are a poor nation with no powerful armies. We cannot influence the others with our military might as the rich nations of the world can. Yet India's voice is held in great respect in the world because we do not belong to any group. Nor do we wish to fight with anyone or use threats and coercion. We stand for peace and we hold on to our views without bowing down to pressures from others. When the great nations of the world are full of suspicion and fear of one another, we are able to help in our own humble way to prevent the outbreak of war. You must be aware of the war going on in Indo-China. India has been specially chosen to act as a mediator.

We are entangled in the affairs of the world because when a nation becomes independent, it has to take its place on the world stage. So long as the British ruled us, it is they who represented India. They had declared that we were at

war with Germany during the Second World War without even consulting us. We were not responsible for the conduct of foreign affairs then. But now that we are an independent nation, we must play a role in international affairs.

However, it is ultimately our internal problems which are crucial and even international issues have to be viewed in that context. As you know, the weak have no place in this world. India will be respected only to the extent that she is strong. It is obvious that our task was by no means over with the coming of Independence. Freedom was but one goal. It cut the shackles which had bound us during the British rule. With Independence, we have got the reins of power and decision-making in our hands. It is now up to us to decide where we want to go and how far.

The very first task before us was to do battle with the terrible poverty, backwardness and unemployment that persists in our country. Large numbers of our people do not get the basic necessities of life, like two square meals a day, enough clothes to wear, and houses to live in. Most of our villages have gone to rack and ruin. Children do not get facilities for education or health care. These are problems of great magnitude. India is a very large country with a population of 36 crores, which constitutes one-fifth of the world's population. It is a gigantic task to try to uplift one-fifth of the world's population. A great amount of resources are necessary. India is a poor country with very limited resources. It is obvious that we could not have got the money from outside except in a very small way. Ultimately, we have to raise the resources ourselves.

The crucial problem that confronts us is how a poor country with very meagre resources can raise the money to achieve progress on its own steam. This is a very major problem. When I say money or wealth, I do not mean gold, silver or currency notes, which are all tools of trade, but essential consumer goods and the new wealth that is produced from land or industries and village crafts. Whatever a blacksmith, carpenter or artisan produces constitutes new wealth. Transferring of wealth from one pocket to another does not create new wealth. The countries which produce more are wealthy. The United States is so wealthy because it produces a great deal from land and from industries with the help of modern machines.

Even in India, there are places like the village that I am coming from,<sup>2</sup> where the average yield per acre of land has increased from eight or ten maunds to eleven or twelve maunds, which is a 25 per cent increase. This is a big step in the country's progress, bigger than many other things which get all the fanfare of publicity.

In short, producing new wealth means increasing production from land and industries, heavy, medium and small. The more we produce the greater

2. On his way to Beawar from Ajmer, Nehru visited the village of Kalesra.



will be our capacity to undertake other tasks. We want to set up new industries in the country. But where is the money to come from? We can go only so far as the country's resources permit. If a nation spends all that it earns, it has nothing left over for progress. If the nation's expenditure exceeds income, the country will go bankrupt. It is only when a nation is able to save something that development is possible. The savings can be utilized to build new schools, roads, industries or whatever the country needs. So we must save as much as we can, and the more we earn, the greater will be our savings.

After all, where does the money in the treasury come from? It is not a bottomless coffer from which money can be drawn to meet all the demands that people make. Ultimately, the money in the treasury comes from people's pockets in the form of taxes. There are only two ways of raising funds. One is through taxation and the other by floating loans. But loans have to be repaid.

You must have heard of the new scheme of National Loan. We do not want the money for ordinary day-to-day expenditure but for development. It is very important that people must subscribe as much as they can because the more money we raise, the more tasks of development we can undertake. It is the duty of every one of you to participate, not only the rich people but even people of ordinary means. They can subscribe small amounts, even a hundred, fifty or twenty-five rupees. The advantage lies in the fact that your capital remains intact and you earn interest on it while development becomes possible. So far, I think, about a hundred and ten or fifteen crore rupees have been collected. But it is not enough. We want millions of people to contribute and participate in the task of national development. You must think about this. Every trader, farmer and landowner must contribute something and participate in the great task of nation building.

For the task of getting rid of our poverty, apart from resources, we need trained personnel. What does 'trained personnel' mean? As you know, there is a great deal of unemployment today among university graduates. But an overseer or engineer has no difficulty in getting a job. That is because the task of nation building in which we are engaged needs skilled and trained people. Whether we build bridges or roads, tunnels and buildings, what we need is engineers, not BAs or MAs. There is no place for ordinary graduates in the tasks of nation building. Therefore, we must change the educational system to suit our needs.

We must build a new India peacefully and by democratic methods, not by coercion or force. We want to improve the standard of living of the masses gradually. There is no magic formula. It cannot be done by counting beads or chanting mantras and consulting astrologers. It is only foolish people who go to astrologers. Please understand that clearly. If a nation could progress by consulting astrologers, we should have gone very far by now. A nation's progress depends on the hard work and effort of the people. Whether you take the

United States, the Soviet Union, Japan or China, you will find that all of them have progressed because of their hard work and cooperation.

We have gone about this great task of nation building by utilizing our scarce resources to the maximum. That is why we drew up the Five Year Plans. Without planning, precious resources would have been wasted in futile activities. You should try to understand the Five Year Plan. Then we have taken up the Community Projects and the National Extension Service for the development of the rural areas. They are spreading very rapidly in the villages. This year 50,000 villages with a population of three and a half crores have been covered so far. We are trying to take up fifty or sixty thousand villages every year under the National Extension programme. You can imagine how rapidly the rural areas are changing. We want that every single village in India should be covered within seven years. If we succeed in this task, as I hope we will, it would be an unparalleled revolution in the history of the world. We would have transformed the rural areas peacefully without violence or chaos. We in the Government will certainly help. But, ultimately, it is the people in the villages who have to work hard to uplift themselves.

As you know, Beawar is an industrial centre, though a small one, compared to Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Kanpur, Ahmedabad, Sholapur and others, where new industries are coming up. You will forgive me if I point out that textile mills and industries of this kind are child's play in the modern world and are not of great significance. Nowadays industries of a different kind are coming up. These are called heavy industries, which are the fountainheads of other industries. Earlier, rich capitalists used to import the machinery from England or the United States and set up an industry. But a nation does not progress very far in this way. We are trying to build machine-making industries. The Sindri Fertilizer Factory is bigger than all the mills of Beawar put together. The steel plants are also huge.

Yours is only one of the places which face the problems of clash of interest between the capitalists and the workers. The question is how to solve these problems. We want more industries to come up because more people can get employment. I cannot give you a magic formula to solve these problems. But two or three things are quite obvious. One, the workers' unions must be strong and help one another. Two, they must not waste their energy in wrong methods. It weakens them and often brings them into disrepute. There should be an organized strength, which can use opportunities to advantage. But by following wrong methods they can come to great harm. In the present day in India, they must not be given any opportunity to misuse their powers.

We are trying to devise ways and means of solving these problems by mutual agreements. Our goal is to have all the major industries in India in the public sector so that the profits may percolate to the people. We want to expand the public sector gradually. We do not wish to cause too many upheavals. At



the moment our task is to increase production in the country. If we slow down the machinery of production by too many upheavals it will be harmful. That is why we do not touch the old existing industries except to ensure that the shortcomings are overcome.

These are some of our goals and methods, which, I feel, are proper because disunity and fissiparous tendencies are always just below the surface in India. People quarrel in the name of religion, language, province and caste. The Hindu Mahasabha and the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh are like the old Muslim League and other communalist organizations, which can only harm the nation and the people.

Then, there are other parties, like the Communist Party, with very high ideals and principles. I have no quarrel with them on principles. But I do not like their belief in violence and chaos. As far as I can see, they believe that the more disunity there is in the country, the better; ultimately, something may emerge out of the chaos. But one thing is clear. Violence cannot help the workers very much. Some good may come of it incidentally. But the Communists want to create chaos in the hope that the present social system will break up, allowing them to start with a clean state.

The fact of the matter is that their party does not command much strength in the country. If they were stronger, I have no doubt about it that they would ruin the country. They believe in spreading violence and chaos. There would have been a civil war and terrible bloodshed and nobody would know where it would all lead to. But there could be no progress for the next twenty years or so. Desperate attempts would be made to drag and crush one another down and all kinds of undesirable elements would join the fray.

Right at the beginning I spoke about the manner in which India is going about in the world. We got freedom by peaceful, organized methods. Then we solved the problems of the merger of the Princely States and the abolition of the zamindari system peacefully. We shall continue to solve our other problems too in the same way. It is our goal to bring about greater equality in the country and to bridge the gap between the haves and the have-nots. We want that everyone in the country should enjoy equal rights and opportunities for progress and be ensured of the basic necessities of life, like food, clothing, health care, education, shelter and employment. Everyone cannot be exactly alike. But there should be equality of opportunity for all. The stronger, more intelligent ones may go ahead faster. That is a different matter. But there should be equal opportunities for everyone, men and women. There are fifty thousand or more people listening to me here. I want to tell the young boys and girls here that if they have the ambition and the drive, the doors are open for every one of them to aspire to be the President or Prime Minister of India irrespective of their caste or religion. Even if they are what we in our foolishness call lower castes, or *adivasis*, if they have the mental ability, all doors are open to them. These

high posts are not reserved for the upper castes or people of any one religion. Whether they are Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, or Christians, all citizens of India have equal rights and all doors of opportunity are open to them. But we want to go about it peacefully. Violence and chaos will bring ruin, I want to explain our policies and goals to you. We are weak mortals but we try to follow the path shown by Mahatma Gandhi.

I should like to say a few words about the progress we have made during the last six or seven years since we got Independence. There is no magic formula which could have transformed the country. But I would like to point out very humbly that we have achieved a great deal in the last few years and succeeded in making the country stronger. There has been considerable progress. We may not have anything spectacular to show but we have managed to lay strong foundations of the edifice of a new India through the Five Year Plan. As you know, we have solved the great problem of food shortages in the country. We had to import millions of tonnes of foodgrains from outside. But now we have enough foodgrains in the country to feed even the rapidly growing population. The prices of foodgrains have fallen. This is a big achievement and gives us great confidence.

We are in a position to lay greater emphasis on industrialization. I am coming here from the Punjab where the Bhakra-Nangal dam will provide water for irrigation to lands hundreds of miles around. Electric power will open up new avenues of employment in the rural areas. Small village industries will flourish. Electricity will help agricultural production too.

These are all basic things. We have set up national laboratories because science is fundamental to the modern world. The nation which lags behind in science is useless. We are living in the nuclear age and must grasp modern science and technology. Thousands of our bright young people are working in these laboratories.

We have tried to lay the foundations of future progress in various ways, and I feel that we have succeeded. We have brought the problem of food under control, abolished the zamindari and jagirdari systems and now the Community Development Projects and the National Extension Service are spreading rapidly in the rural areas. The time has now come to draw up the Second Five Year Plan with the help of the entire nation. There are two years to go but we have to start thinking about it from now. We are laying greater stress on industrialization.

However, behind all these things, there are three or four crucial matters which should be borne in mind. We belong to India, not merely to Ajmer or Uttar Pradesh or Bengal. We have to build a new India, and not remain like frogs in a well in our own little corners. We must always keep the larger national perspective in mind for our lives are inextricably bound together with India's destiny. Secondly, everyone in India is equal and part of a large family,



irrespective of religion and caste. There must be no disparity. We must uplift the downtrodden and the poor and bring about greater equality. There are always innumerable people trying to incite others in wrongful ways. Thirdly, we must work for our goals peacefully, by democratic methods and organization. Fourthly, we must work hard. There is no time for relaxation. We must bear some of these things in mind if we want India to progress.

I hope you will think about these things. I should like you to read and understand the resolutions passed by the AICC in Ajmer. They talk about a nation which is on the march without bitterness or enmity towards anyone or begging from others. We want to be self-reliant and stand on our feet. That is the only way a nation can progress. We want friendship with everyone. But ultimately we must have confidence in ourselves and progress on our own steam. *Jai Hind*.

## 7. Taking Progress to Hill Areas<sup>1</sup>

Raizada Hansrajji,<sup>2</sup> sisters and brothers,

I have come to Dalhousie after a very long time. I think it is twenty-nine years ago that I was here last.<sup>3</sup> I have come today because, for one thing, the call of the mountains is always ringing in my ears. I restrain myself with great difficulty from rushing to them. Secondly, I was drawn by the memory of my visit 29 years ago when my father<sup>4</sup> and the rest of the family were with me. We had gone to Chamba also from here for a few days.<sup>5</sup> The memory of those days is still vivid in my mind. These are two things which have drawn me here. The third and perhaps the most compelling is Raizada Hansrajji, who has pulled me all the way here. He has been asking me to come here for the last two years and more, reminding me of the last occasion when I was here. He was with us on that visit too. We had stayed with him. He has been feeling rather upset that the old grandeur of Dalhousie has vanished and a silence now pervades

1. Speech at a public meeting in Dalhousie, 4 August 1954. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.
2. Hansraj (1869-1958); Member, Rajya Sabha, 1953-58; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 8, p. 180.
3. Nehru, along with his family, visited Dalhousie in June 1925.
4. Motilal Nehru.
5. They were in Chamba from 17 to 19 June 1925.

the place. It is his dear wish to bring the old sparkle back to Dalhousie. Well, I agree with that sentiment whole-heartedly because there are very few places in India comparable to Dalhousie in beauty and salubriousness of climate. It is true that it is not a luxurious resort. In any case, I am not interested in encouraging those tendencies in India.

Although as I said, I have been keen to come here, but the fact is that if Raizadaji had not pressured me into it, I might not have made it this time. His affection and persistence have defeated me and drawn me to this place. I am very happy to be here. What can I say in praise of Dalhousie? I think Raizadaji stands witness to the greatness of this place—that even at his age, he is strong in mind and body. It shows what this place does for people's health, no matter how old they get. Well, I am here and took this opportunity to pay a visit to Chamba too. Last time, I had gone there through Khajjiar. There has been progress since then and there is a direct road to Chamba. But I would still prefer to go via Khajjiar. Roads are essential, just as, unfortunately, it is necessary for buses and lorries to ply on them though they are extremely ugly things. One is helpless. You have to pay a tremendous price for progress. On the last occasion, I had gone on foot and horseback to Chamba at a leisurely pace, stopping wherever fancy dictated. It took us two days to cover a distance of 18 or 20 miles. This time, I did it in three hours by car. The road is beautiful. There is no doubt about that. But when I think of the pleasure that the last trip had given me, I feel very nostalgic. On the one hand, I am very keen that the hill regions in the Punjab, Himachal Pradesh, Kashmir and Uttar Pradesh must make rapid progress. The people of these regions are sturdy and good, though somewhat simple. Given the right opportunity they will go very far. As you can see, in spite of great poverty, they are always singing and dancing and laughing. They know how to enjoy life in spite of the heavy burden that they carry. It shows the vitality of the people.

So it is my dearest wish that the people of the hill regions should progress. During the British days, these areas—Shimla, Mussoorie, Dalhousie, Nainital, etc.—were called hill stations and offices used to be shifted there in the summer months with great fanfare. The British officers used to go there for the summer and some Indians would also follow suit. These hill stations were transformed, as far as possible, into small English townships. The Indians who went there did so partly for health reasons but mostly because the British did. They thought it added to their prestige if they copied the behaviour of the British in their dress and lifestyle, accent, and so on.

Those were the days of glory for the hill stations. But nobody bothered very much about building schools, hospitals or roads, or promoting trade. The lack of good roads made these places very difficult of access. It was hard even to keep up a supply of goods. As you know, for the last two years, we have been celebrating our Republic Day, the 26th of January, with great rejoicing at



Delhi. One of the special features of the occasion is that folk dancers from all over the country come there. We have tried to give encouragement to folk dances in this way. Folk dancers from the hill areas also come regularly. Last year, the President's Shield was given to the troupe from Himachal Pradesh. But the fact of the matter is that most of their good dancers were not able to reach Delhi because the tracks had become impassable owing to snow. Parts of Himachal Pradesh, the Pangi area for instance, are completely cut off for six months in the year because of snow. Apart from snow, the main problem is that there are no roads in most of these areas. Only the people who are fond of hunting or those interested in trekking go there on foot. But most of the time, those areas are inaccessible. So they have lagged behind. I want them to progress and for that the first priority is to build roads. Only then can arrangements for education and health care be made.

I wander all over India. But nowhere have I found such a great demand for schools and education as in the hill areas. They have a great thirst for education. I was amazed to learn that children walk five to ten miles to school and back. Even small children walk long distances. We must therefore make adequate arrangements for education. It has to be done for the whole country, of course, but specially in the hill areas, which have been neglected for so long. For instance, Garhwal in Uttar Pradesh was a special military training centre for soldiers from the Punjab and other parts of Garhwal, etc. But the British deliberately kept Garhwal isolated so that the disturbing influences from the rest of India could not affect them!

But the times have changed and we look at these matters differently now. The most urgent question before us is to build a new India, to make her self-reliant and forward-looking. To some extent, we have learnt to stand on our own legs and make an impact on the problems that we confront. But the momentum has to be increased. If we consider ourselves superior and do not learn anything from others, we shall remain backward. The fact is that we have a number of good points as well as bad and if we want to compete with the other nations, we must be more active and vigilant. We must become tougher because soft-hearted, delicate people cannot go very far in this day and age. It is only the physically tough, hard-working people who can progress. At the same time, we must do our work with a smile, not moan about our lot. We must dance and sing our way to progress and catch up with the others, who have made rapid strides in the field of science and technology. Their new knowledge made them wealthy and militarily powerful while we remained in the old rut of thinking, dreaming of past glory. People from other countries came again and again and subjugated us precisely because we were unable to get out of the old rut and to understand the new world that was emerging. It is dangerous for India to think that we are superior and have nothing to learn from others. The other danger is in imitating others and becoming carbon copies

of other countries, internally and externally. Very often, when we imitate others in dress, manners and way of life, the change is superficial. It would be more beneficial if we were to imbibe the values that really matter. But that is not possible because the factors which have led to progress in the West are products of centuries and cannot be picked up. Can we become European in outlook by donning Western garb? There is no harm in wearing a coat and pants. But, ultimately, nations grow and progress by their own ability and intellect, not by superficial things. Why is India held in respect in the world today? One single individual, a bare-bodied man, Mahatma Gandhi, was responsible for enhancing India's stature. A weak and frail man managed to raise a poor, downtrodden country to great stature and gave courage to ordinary people like us. The fire in him ignited a spark in all of us and by learning some of the lessons that he taught us, we managed to do something. This is how nations become strong and courageous. We must avoid both extremes. One, we must not remain in the old rut like frogs in the well, not learning anything from the others. Two, we must not forget our roots and the values ingrained in us, and become mere carbon copies of others. We must learn from others and at the same time hold on to our moorings.

The Himalayas have stood sentinel guarding India's frontiers for thousands of years. They have been witness to periods of great glory, to the rise and fall of dynasties and empires, and now to the emergence of a new India. What our country will ultimately become depends on all of us and what we make of the tremendous opportunity that we have been given. History will record how we made use of that opportunity. But we must be proud of our good fortune that we have been given the opportunity to stand the test of building a new India.

Evidence of the emergence of a new India is all around us. I see signs of it in my wanderings all over India—in the new industries and national laboratories, in the factories for building aeroplanes, railways, locomotives and innumerable other things, which are coming up everywhere. But what we really need to do in India is to bring up her human beings. I think that is also being done and perhaps the most significant things that are happening are the Community Projects and the National Extension Service. A silent revolution is being wrought in the country today. I think these schemes have caught the imagination of the people. These projects aim at uplifting the rural areas and I am convinced that the yardstick to measure India's progress is the condition of the villages. If there is good progress in the villages, I am not terribly concerned about other things because the cities are bound to progress anyhow. But if there is no development in the rural areas, the cities as well as the villages will be ruined. After all, 80 per cent of India's population lives in the villages. Very little attention was paid to the villages during British rule. We must concentrate our attention on the uplift of our rural areas. I am sorry to see that our young men and women are scared of going to the villages and working there. Our



young doctors and engineers and officers do not want to live and work in the villages. They want to stay as far as possible in the cities where life is more comfortable and entertaining. This is not the right way of looking at things.

We are facing a great test before the world. A country under foreign domination does not draw the attention of the world—because others represent us. But once a country becomes independent it comes into its own. So India has now become a player on the world stage and the eyes of the world are upon us. It is interested in seeing what we do, because, for one thing, when a country as large in size as India progresses, it has repercussions on the whole world. The world is in a strange flux today and there is constant talk of war. But the really significant development in the world is that the old balance of power has been upset completely, scores of new countries have come into being and the great powers have declined. Some countries do not like the new state of affairs and so they try to turn a blind eye to it. A new map of Asia is emerging day by day, drawn by the people of the continent. I do not mean that we stand in opposition to anyone. But we shall not tolerate any pressure or threats from anyone. We want to build a new world of cooperation and friendship.

The map of the world has also changed and India has a role to play in the affairs of Asia and the world. I do not mean it in the sense that Raizada said just now.<sup>6</sup> We must not indulge in tall talk or deceive ourselves. It is absurd to think that we can turn everything upside down or bring about great changes in the history of the world. We simply do not possess the strength. We are a poor nation with no material wealth or military strength. Our strength lies in following the right path—one that has a relevance to the modern world, not something that we merely deceive ourselves with—and it is bound to have an impact on others. Gradually, they will come around because the path is right. Something does not become right merely because we say so, but because it is relevant to the realities of the modern world. So it is absurd and wrong to claim that we are making a great impact on others. We shall fall once again into the old pitfall if we think we are superior. I am very apprehensive about this because we are led astray very easily and look to a life of ease and comfort.

It is imperative to understand what the modern world is all about. We must pay heed to the call of the age and understand how to build a new nation in mutual cooperation and harmony. It is obvious that after getting Independence, the most urgent problem before us is to eradicate poverty and bring about economic progress in the country. We have to lift up the downtrodden sections of society. Whichever way you look at it, it is an economic problem—to increase

6. Hansraj had remarked in his speech of welcome that India's stature had gone up in the world, and both power blocs had begun to look to Nehru for guidance.

the national wealth of the country. We have to do it by our own effort, by increasing production from land, industries and trade, and not by going around with a begging bowl. You must bear in mind that the yardstick for measuring our progress is the status of the poorest of the poor. A city has to be judged not by its palaces but by the broken dwellings of the poor. They are the test of how efficient its municipality is. Similarly, a nation is judged by the economic condition of the common man and not of a handful of rich people. On the contrary, a time is coming when the flaunting of wealth will not earn the respect of others. Such people are considered brash and vulgar.

We have to build a new India rapidly because, apart from the demands of our own people, if we fail to become strong, we shall slip back and expose ourselves to grave dangers in a world full of tensions. We hear about atom bombs and hydrogen bombs and all kinds of new lethal weapons. What do they symbolize? They stand for two extremes—one, extreme danger and two, undreamt of progress. Nobody can say which way the world will go. But we are, at the moment, on the threshold of great revolutions. A real revolution is not one of chaos and violence but something which changes the social structure and way of life. A great revolution was heralded in the world a hundred and fifty years ago with the advances made in science and technology, and the discovery of steam power and electricity and what not. The modern world is a product of scientific progress. At present, an even greater revolution is taking place in the world, the revolution of atomic energy, which is more powerful than any other source of energy known so far. It has the potential of totally destroying the world or, if properly utilized, of bringing about tremendous progress and prosperity to the world.

The land belongs to those who actually till the soil and to none else. I want to make this clear to the people of the Punjab but I have complaint against them over this matter. I do acknowledge that the people of the Punjab are hard-working and strong and that is how there has been great progress. A great upheaval shook the Punjab after Partition and millions of refugees went from one side to the other. The people of the Punjab are hard-working and they overcame this problem. The Governments of the Punjab and Delhi helped them no doubt. The fact is that only those who know how to stand on their own feet can overcome hardships. The people of the Punjab had the courage and so they have managed to build a new Punjab. But at the same time, you must remember that, along with the number of people who are well off, there are a large number of people who are poor. If you forget the have-nots or dominate over them in the matter of land or anything else and dispossess them, you will be doing a great wrong. I have been hearing reports about people being dispossessed in the Punjab. Has India become free so that people are dispossessed from their lands? Or should we make everybody feel secure wherever he is? If we do not check this trend we shall be moving in the wrong direction.



I want you to give serious thought to this because, during the freedom struggle, we paid great attention to the downtrodden sections of society. Mahatma Gandhi was deeply concerned about them. The progress of a country depends on the extent to which we look after its downtrodden people. You and I can progress only when the have-nots are looked after. You have made me the leader of the Congress Party and the Prime Minister of the country. It is possible that I may have some merit and ability. But I owe my rise to this office to the progress of India as a nation and the forming of the Congress Party, which organized the people into a strong force. Everyone was welcome in the Congress irrespective of religion, caste and province. There were no compartments in the Congress Party. We had the good fortune to get a great leader who taught and trained us for years. I find that the youth of today think they know everything from their birth. They think that, by going to a school or college, they have acquired so much knowledge that they can express views on everything under the sun. They are very free with their advice. They probably think this adds to their prestige. The fact is that they only prove their incompetence.

I was trained for nearly twenty years under Mahatma Gandhi's supervision. We had to work like soldiers in an army. He trained us with great strictness and discipline for years. We are praised for having gone to jail. But believe me, those were days of rest for us. I went to jail nine or ten times and spent nearly ten years in all there. I am sure there are innumerable people in the Punjab who have borne twenty years of hardship. But I tell you honestly that the time in jail was a period of rest, compared to the time when we were outside. We had to work day and night under a leader who loved us very much but was merciless when it came to work. He did not allow us to slacken at all. This is how we were moulded and trained, how we acquired courage and became what we are today. Nowadays, people seem to think that they can solve all their problems by shouting slogans. That is no way of tackling the problems which confront us. We must work hard and uplift the downtrodden sections of society, get rid of our caste prejudices and communalism, etc. Everyone is welcome to follow his own religion. But those who try to bring religion into politics will only succeed in breaking up the country into fragments. It is absolutely wrong.

I thank you for inviting me here. I feel very happy to have seen the mountains of Dalhousie and Chamba again. The rains make the heart feel light. Why should we panic at the sight of a shower? While the dancing was in progress just now, one of my colleagues said that we should end the programme. I asked why. He said we would all get wet. I felt that it would be a good lesson for the women who have come dressed in their silks and chiffons and what not. They should try to make themselves fit for work. Today the working people get respect, not those who wear chiffons and silks. If they catch a cold

by getting wet, it will be a warning to them to dress more appropriately in the future. It is absurd to panic at the sight of rain. We must be strong and behave like soldiers in the service of the nation.

We undertook a great pilgrimage a long time ago, the journey towards freedom. Millions walked the same path and, ultimately, we reached our destination. But immediately we had to embark upon yet another journey, the journey towards progress and prosperity of India, a journey in which thirty-six crore human beings have to march in step. They have to be dragged or given a push sometimes. But we have to march together as one nation, whether we are Hindus, Sikhs, Muslims or something else. The downtrodden sections of society, who have been trampled upon for centuries, are our special responsibility. We must help them to become strong and bold and take their place in society. *Jai Hind.*

## 8. The Bases of Indian Unity<sup>1</sup>

Sisters and brothers,

Please be quiet for a little while and do not shout slogans. You are sitting here in this scorching afternoon heat. This is not the proper time to hold a public meeting. But since I was passing through Pathankot on my way to Delhi from Dalhousie, my colleagues suggested that I should stop for a short while and meet some people here. This meeting is the outcome. I am sitting in the shade while you are in the hot sun.

I am wondering what I should speak to you about because there are innumerable things to talk about. The story of India is a long, long one and now you and I and all of us in this country are adding yet another chapter to it now. India's past history is no doubt extremely important. But I think it is even more important to understand the story of India today and everything that has happened during the last six or seven years since we became free. We must try to understand where we are going and what our duty is in trying to solve the problems of the nation. It is only when we understand the problems that we can try to find solutions for them.

1. Speech at a public meeting in Pathankot, 6 August 1954. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.



I am talking about the story of India. In fact, that is your story and mine, the story of all the people who live in India. After all, India is not something apart from us. This huge country of ours spreads from the Himalayas to the south, and from the east, from Assam and the Burma border, to the west. But, essentially, India is the people who live here. We often shout *Bharat Mata ki Jai*. Have you ever stopped to consider who *Bharat Mata* is? *Bharat Mata* is the people of India, you and I and all of us. Each one of us is a small part of *Bharat Mata* and millions of us together make this great country of ours. In a sense, it is not only the millions of people who live today, but all the people who have lived here for thousands of years, from the times of our ancestors, and have left their mark. But it is we, millions of people spread all over the country, who reflect the present.

So the story of India is the story of her masses. It is no longer the story of a few kings and queens as it used to be in the olden days. It is the story of thirty-six crore Indians and their problems and difficulties and needs. Seven years ago, we saw India becoming free. It was a momentous event in our history. But it was followed immediately by great catastrophes, which we faced with courage. Now that India is free, what are the most urgent problems which need to be tackled? It is obvious that the most important thing is to make the people of India well off by removing their age-old malady of poverty. This is something that involves 36 crore men and women and so it requires careful planning. Why is India poor while Europe and the United States are counted among the rich countries? Do you know why the British came to India two hundred years ago? It was because India was counted among the rich countries of the world. It was in the hope of trade that the British came to India and conquered us and in the process we became impoverished. It is not the fault of the British that we had become backward, were disunited and in the habit of living in separate compartment immersed in our own petty problems forgetting the larger issues.

What is India? India is made up of a number of provinces, large and small. We are here in the Punjab and adjoining it are Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir. Then, there is Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Madhya Bharat, Saurashtra, Bengal, Madras, Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore-Cochin, Madhya Pradesh, Vindhya Pradesh, Assam. The list is long. Then, there are various religions in India. There are Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Buddhists, Sikhs, Jains, Parsis. The majority of the people are, of course, Hindus. But there are 30 or 40 million Muslims still living in India, even though Pakistan has come into being and a very large number of Muslims have gone away there. The Muslims who live in India, belong here. We cannot talk of a Hindu State in India because that would mean that the people of other religions who live here do not belong here, which is wrong. Everyone who lives in India, irrespective of his religion and caste, belongs here with equal rights. This is what is known as nationalism.

Our neighbours in Pakistan follow a different principle. They have the right to choose their own path; of course, Pakistan is an Islamic State. They are welcome to it. We do not wish to interfere in their internal affairs. People following a particular religion get a higher status there, while others do not get that status. But we have been opposed to this principle right from the beginning because, if we were to adopt it, there could be no true equality in the country. Some sections of society would be considered full citizens and others would lack that status. It would once again bring to the fore the divisive tendencies which have always existed in Hindu society. If we accepted the principle of domination of one religion, India would be divided into a thousand fragments and become weak. All our energies will be frittered away in internecine quarrels. Once again we shall become vulnerable to attack on our freedom and sovereignty. This has been the story of India in the past. India is a great country. There have been great warriors, philosophers and thinkers in India. But the malady of disunity and the habit of living in separate compartments of caste and religion have led to our downfall again and again in the past. We did not go to the help of our fellow-countrymen in the hour of need and had no feeling of oneness. So we became weak and frittered away our strength in useless, petty disputes and in fighting with one another. The result was that foreign invaders took on one section of our society, one kingdom or ruler, at a time and defeated them. India was never conquered in one stroke. We were conquered piece by piece until the whole of India was subjugated.

What is the lesson to be learnt from this? How did we get freedom? We got freedom by reversing this process, by unifying the people all over the country, irrespective of caste and religion, and organizing them into a great force under the banner of the Congress. The doors of the Congress were open to every Indian, irrespective of religion and caste. Thus everyone enjoyed equal rights. So India's strength grew as the people became united and ultimately we became so strong that we succeeded in removing British rule from India. It was the first time in history that a nation got freedom through peaceful methods.

If you go abroad, you will not be asked whether you come from the Punjab, Madras, Bombay or Uttar Pradesh? Your passport will show that you are a citizen of India and your status will be not that of a Hindu, Muslim, Sikh or a Punjabi, Bengali or something else. You will be regarded as a citizen of India and respected for that reason. Nobody is going to ask you about your province or religion. But you will be treated with respect because you are a citizen of independent India. Therefore, we must always remember the importance of unity. We are free to follow our own religion. But in national tasks, we are all one. The moment we bring in religion and caste into political matters we become weak. The world does not respect a nation which is weak. It has never done so and this is so particularly now when the world has become a dangerous place. I am stressing this because there are many people in this country who foolishly



adhere to the wrong path and create dissensions by bringing religion into politics. They create obstacles in the way of progress by their activities. This is particularly true of the communal parties, whose constant effort seems to be to foment disunity and dissensions among the people. The individual who does this, is not a friend but a foe of India because he weakens the country and plays into the hands of her foes.

I repeat this again and again because it is a matter of fundamental importance. The fact is that since we got freedom, the most urgent task before us has been to build a new India and remove poverty from the country. We want to make the people better off. It is a gigantic task when it involves millions of people. The problem is not solved by providing jobs to a few hundred people. How can anyone provide jobs for 36 crore men and women? They must find new avenues of work for themselves. So we have to take 36 crores of people with us.

I mentioned the communal parties, particularly because the city of Pathankot has often been a base for wrong political activities and ideas. As you know, seven or eight years ago, this city, with its population of fourteen or fifteen thousand people, did not have any importance except that it was on the route to Dalhousie, Chamba, Kangra Valley and Mandi. Suddenly, in 1947, Pathankot became important because Pakistan attacked Jammu and Kashmir and we had to send in our troops to stop them and to throw out the aggressor. Pathankot became very important as it became the main base from where troops and military equipment were transported. So from nearly being a village it suddenly became a big town. Today I think it has a population of a lakh or so. When any place grows so quickly and particularly when it is on the main route, many ills are bound to arise because there is no planned growth. I have heard that the municipality here has not covered itself with glory and that there is great scope for improvement in other parts of the town which are beyond the cantonment. There are always great disadvantages in such sudden, unplanned growth. People of all kinds assemble in such places.

It is up to the people of Pathankot to do something about that. Since it lies on the main route to Jammu and Kashmir, political parties which do not find a place elsewhere in India have tried to make Pathankot their base. Parties like the Jan Sangh, Hindu Mahasabha, Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, which do nothing but foment trouble in the name of religion, have made Pathankot their base to spread unrest in the Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir. I felt very sad to hear this because it is painful when any individual or group tries to indulge in such activities at a critical time like this. We are engaged in great tasks and the eyes of the world are upon us to see what we do. It creates a bad impression if we take the wrong path at a time like this.

I am amazed to find that the Jammu and Kashmir issue has become an international problem. It is being debated in international forums. We have

tried to solve the problem. Our forces were also involved in the fighting in Kashmir. Though the fighting has now stopped, our forces are still stationed on the borders. The issue has come up in the United Nations. The situation has become extremely complex. So, at a moment like this, when the fate of Jammu and Kashmir hangs in the balance, if some people should be foolish enough to indulge in such activities, I can only call it traitorous. I am saying this because some of them are rearing their heads once again. There is a party called the Praja Parishad, which had created a great deal of trouble even earlier and is now becoming active again. As I said earlier, India can be ruined only by her own internal disunity. At a time when the Kashmir issue was being hotly debated in world forums and we were trying to unravel the knotty problem, the Praja Parishad fomented trouble in Jammu and Kashmir. This is completely unforgivable. Sitting here on the borders of Jammu, I want to say this clearly so that my voice may reach the Praja Parishad. If they continue to indulge in such unpatriotic activities, we shall regard them as traitors. We shall oppose them to the very end and there is no room for mercy or compromise in this matter. There can be no agreement with traitors. Is this some kind of a joke that at a time when India is gaining in stature in the eyes of the world, some individuals malign India's good name by indulging in wrongful activities and creating disunity. It is parties like the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Jan Sangh, which have no constructive political and economic programme, that create trouble. Have you ever heard them talk about the poor in India or anything else except communal issues, which foment disunity? These parties pose as the champions of Hindu religion. Some Sikhs in the Punjab raise questions exclusively concerning Sikhs. But when there is a clash of interest among the Sikhs and the Hindus, both become enemies of one another and the enemies of the nation. You must remember this because the unity of the country is far more important than these parochial issues. It is up to these people either to destroy one another or march hand in hand. I gave you an example of the Hindus and Sikhs but I include people of all religions and sects in that, Muslims, Parsis, Christians and everyone else. Everyone of us belongs to India and enjoys equal rights in the country.

The fact is that, though India had attained great heights of glory in the past and great individuals had been born here, disunity has been an ancient malady of ours. It has been our habit to live in separate compartments and erect barriers among ourselves. This is particularly true of the Hindus with the caste system dividing the people into hundreds of narrow compartments. It is possible that in the ancient past, the caste system might have served some purpose. But it has only succeeded in weakening the country during the last few centuries.

We must be clear in our minds about the path we must follow in order to build a new India. We fought for self-rule by the masses, not for the rule of



the rajas or the nawabs. Gone are their days. Now we have the rule of the people. You have made me the Prime Minister, not because I am the son of a king but because you have confidence in me. I shall do my duty as long as I have your trust and I have strength left in me and then someone else will take over. The time when rulers succeeded one another by the law of inheritance is over. Now, take the highest official in the land, our President, Dr Rajendra Prasad.<sup>2</sup> He is no prince but comes from an ordinary farmer's family. He is not very rich. But he has served the country and made sacrifices for it. His intellect and integrity are highly respected.

So anyone in India can aspire to become the Prime Minister or President or Minister. There is no distinction between the sexes. Whoever has merit can be elected. Any one of the children studying in schools and colleges can one day become the President of India. You may say that there cannot be equal rights for everyone when some people are rich and the others are starving and that the right to vote does not fill an empty stomach. That is true. Therefore, we have to find ways and means by which the people of India become economically better off. We come round once more to the question of getting rid of India's poverty. The goal before us should always be to ensure equal opportunities for everyone in the country and, as far as possible, there must be no disparity between the haves and the have-nots. There cannot be absolute equality, for some natural differences do exist. But it is important that everyone should get equal opportunities. Also everyone must get the basic necessities of life, like food, clothing, shelter, education and health care. I feel very sad when, in my wanderings around the country, I see small, beautiful children not getting even the basic necessities. They are the future of India, for people of my generation will soon pass away. I feel hurt to see that we are not able to look after our children, who are going to be India's future, and that they are hungry, naked and illiterate. It is wrong that even one child should be deprived of the basic necessities of life in India. It is our duty to see to it that such a thing does not happen.

However, there is no magic formula by which we can solve the country's problems. We shall have to work hard to change the existing situation. We must produce more wealth in the country because we cannot get it from anywhere else except small amounts as aid. We must increase production from agriculture and industries, put up new industries, big, medium and small, in order to produce more wealth in the country. It is with this in mind that we have started the Five Year Plans and opened huge national science laboratories.

2. (1884-1963); President of India, 1950-62; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 3, p. 4.

Science is extremely important in the modern age. We fell back by ignoring the scientific progress going on in the world.

We have now taken up huge river valley schemes, which you must have heard about. The one in the Punjab, the Bhakra-Nangal project, will supply water for irrigation in the Punjab, Pepsu and Rajasthan, and will produce greenery in the deserts. We have taken up schemes like this all over the country. Electricity is required to run industries and we shall be able to produce electricity from these river valley projects. A great many things are happening all over the country. The list is endless. Please remember, however, that whether it is land, a river or a mountain, if we want to make use of them, it has to be done by befriending them. Science has to serve Nature. We have to understand the mysteries of Nature and utilize them, and not wage a war against them.

I want to mention one more thing. It concerns our rural areas. As you know, 80 per cent of India's population lives in the villages and most of them are dependent on land. So India's progress depends on the progress of the rural areas. The progress in the cities does not constitute real progress in India. So we have taken up the Community Projects and the National Extension Service in the rural areas. It has spread to about fifty or sixty thousand villages so far and we want to cover that many more villages every year. The population of the villages, where these schemes have already been taken up, is three and a half crores. We want the six lakh villages of India to be covered in the next seven years. It is an ambitious step. Moreover, we want the people to participate in these projects. It is not enough to appoint officials to run the programme. We want to train the people in the rural areas so that they can do the work themselves. I shall not say more. But I think this is a revolutionary step, which will transform rural India. Momentous things are happening in India today with the direct participation of the people. We want to train people who will then go back to their own villages and teach others.

The most difficult problem that we are facing today is that of unemployment. Where is the work to be found, constructive, productive work, which will add to the national wealth? The problem of unemployment has become somewhat less acute now than before. But we have to make arrangements for a rapidly growing population at the same time. As you know, we have overcome the problem of food shortage in the country in the last two or three years. It was an extremely trying period when we had to import millions of tonnes of foodgrains at enormous cost from other countries. Now, we have been victorious in achieving self-sufficiency in food. It is a victory for the farmers as well as the Government, which made arrangements for good seeds and fertilizers, etc., and brought new land under cultivation. But the most significant achievement is that we are producing far more per acre than we ever did. The average yield per acre has increased at least by two to three maunds, which adds up to an enormous amount in a country of the size of



India. The production of rice has almost doubled. We have enough surplus stock of wheat and rice in the country.

This is a great victory, which has been possible only with the help and cooperation of the people. We need the support of the people in tackling the great problems, which we face in a developing country. We must always bear in mind that the yardstick for measuring progress in a country is always the condition of the poor. To see whether a country has progressed or not, you must not look at its palaces but at the dwellings of the poor. India's progress has to be judged of by the condition of the masses.

I want to tell you something that I said the other day in Dalhousie. Partition was a traumatic experience for the Punjab. But that State has withstood that shock and is going ahead very fast. That is because the people of the Punjab have spirit and courage. They have to face the problem of the refugees who came in large numbers. It is true that the work of rehabilitation is not completely over yet. But the refugees have helped themselves and stand on their feet once again.

Punjab is progressing very well. But I have heard a disturbing bit of news from the Punjab and elsewhere that the tenants working on land are being displaced. I was very distressed to learn that with the coming of freedom, instead of becoming better off, the tenants are being thrown out. This is absolutely wrong in principle and in this way we shall be moving opposite to the direction of progress. We must tackle this problem not only in the Punjab but all over India.

There are other things too which are distressing. I saw the community of Dhogris living in terrible poverty near Dalhousie. Some Muslim Gujjars also came to see me. They had to bear great hardships during Partition and their condition has not improved even now. We must look after them and the other downtrodden sections of society. We talk about the Kashmir problem. But the important thing is to show others how we treat our people, whether they are coolies or workers from Kashmir who come down here or someone else. If we treat them like our own kith and kin, the people of Kashmir will be reassured. I want you to look at these problems in this light.

The Kashmir problem is well on the way to being solved. There has been considerable economic progress there in the last year or two. As you know, a tunnel is going to be built below the Banihal Pass to go to Kashmir. All these things are gradually strengthening the bonds between Kashmir and us. But, ultimately, the real bond is one which exists among people's hearts. Everything else is superficial. If there is a strong bond among the people of India, whether they are Hindus, Sikhs, Muslims or others, and their hearts are united, the country will remain strong. Similarly, if the bond between the people of Kashmir and us is strong, then our relations will remain good.

We do not wish to launch an attack on any country. We want peace in

India and the world. We do not wish to interfere in the affairs of other countries nor do we want anyone else to interfere in our internal affairs. We want to pour all our energy into bringing prosperity and progress to India. We want other countries also to progress. We have no enmity towards anyone.

Those who fail to understand these larger issues and are immersed in petty squabbles and in fomenting disunity in the name of religion, are doing great harm to the country. Religion does not teach anyone to quarrel. So I want you to think about these things because there are great problems ahead. Though it is only six or seven years since we got freedom, India has already acquired a great reputation in the world.

Before I conclude let me mention one more thing. When I was in Ajmer recently I got the news of the death of a remarkable old man of the Punjab, Baba Gurdit Singh.<sup>3</sup> He was nearly a hundred years old. I have been hearing about Baba Gurdit Singh since I was a child because he had often clashed with foreign governments and laws. Once he took a ship full of immigrants from Calcutta to Canada which raised many important issues and had great repercussions. This was during the First World War. I am talking of the events of more than forty years ago. He died at a ripe old age. But he was a historic figure, who will always be remembered as a freedom fighter.

I remember yet another old soldier in the fight for freedom—Sardar Ajit Singh.<sup>4</sup> I remember hearing about him when I was in school. Both Sardar Ajit Singh and Lala Lajpat Rai<sup>5</sup> were extradited from the Punjab by the British Government nearly fifty years ago and kept under surveillance in Burma. Then Sardar Ajit Singh went away and lived for thirty or forty years in Europe, the United States of America, South America and elsewhere. He came back to India just a little before we got freedom, in feeble health. By a strange coincidence, he passed away in Dalhousie on the 15th of August 1947, on the very day that India became independent. Perhaps he felt that his work was done.

These are names which we must remember and respect. We often forget today the sacrifices and hard work of brave sons and daughters of the soil involved in India getting her freedom. We must pay homage to them and gain strength from their memory.

Please say *Jai Hind* with me thrice. *Jai Hind, Jai Hind, Jai Hind.*

3. (1864-1954); a leader of the Ghadar Party, who chartered the *Kamagatamaru*.

4. A revolutionary who went into exile in Iran in 1908 and remained abroad till 1945; he died in 1947; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 9, p. 16.

5. (1865-1928); prominent nationalist leader from Punjab who was President of the Indian National Congress in 1919; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 1, p. 27.



## 9. The Meaning of Freedom<sup>1</sup>

Brothers, sisters and friends,

Greetings on the anniversary of Independence of new India. It has been seven years since this new India was born, seven years since we became free. We celebrate this anniversary every year under the ramparts of Red Fort because on this day, for all of us, the hundreds and thousands of us in India, life took a new turn and a fresh chapter of Indian history began. Now in these seven years, what has the young, seven-year old India achieved? How has it progressed? Which way is it headed? Where will it go? These are big questions before us. If you search your hearts, you will see that there is a new life in India and a new confidence in itself, and a wave of electric excitement has spread through the hundreds and lakhs of villages in India. The sleeping millions have awakened, and other people, who are continuing to do their old jobs, have turned in a new direction with their bodies, hearts and minds. So this is the atmosphere in India today, I know and you know that we face many difficulties and many of our brethren are in dire straits. But all of us know that you and I are travelling on a new road together.

It was seven years ago that we became independent but what is the meaning of that independence? It is not the ultimate goal of our journey. We cannot sit back just because we have become independent. Our journey has not ended because we have achieved Independence. That is merely the first step in a country's journey towards progress. Independence for a country is never a completion, it has to be carried forward. A nation which is alive never stops, it has to go forward. Our country became fully independent politically, though there are one or two pockets still to achieve freedom. But India is quite determined that they will do so. Whatever India decides to do, her millions will definitely accomplish it.

When I say that we cannot stop with India's Independence, what does it mean? It means that Independence does not imply mere political independence. Independence and freedom have other meanings too. There is social freedom, economic freedom to achieve. If there is poverty in a country, freedom does not reach the people. Those who are caught in the net of poverty cannot really be free. We have to free them. Similarly, if we are divided by inner quarrels and factions and build up walls of hatred instead of living in harmony and amity, then, too, we cannot really be considered free.

If India is to be really free, we have to do many things. We have to eradicate unemployment and poverty. Please remember that those walls which have been

1. Speech at a public meeting on Independence Day, Red Fort, New Delhi. 15 August 1954. MPCC Papers, NMML. Original in Hindi.

built up in the name of religion, caste and province and which create tensions, show that our minds and hearts are not truly free, however much the outer form may have changed. It also shows our narrow-mindedness. If there is even one village in India where an Indian—to whatever caste he may belong, let us say, a Harijan, an untouchable—faces restrictions on living and eating, drinking, etc, that village is not free; it is actually in bondage. We have to free every single person in this country. The freedom of a country does not mean the well-being of a few; a country's freedom has to be seen from the point of view of the common man's living conditions, his difficulties and the opportunities of progress available to him.

So we are still on the road to Independence. Please do not think we have reached our goal. That goal is ahead of us because we are a strong and dynamic nation, set on the path of progress. We will progress. The world has to progress. In recent years, changes have come about in our country, we have been reborn. Similarly, revolutionary changes are taking place all over the world. There are various kinds of disparities and all sorts of changes are continually taking place. In these years, all manners of events have been taking place in this great continent of Asia. For hundreds of years, it had been dominated by foreign powers. Foreign domination has come to an end in some places but, to some extent, it still remains. Compare this with what happened in India and Burma. Seven years ago, India and Burma became independent and these issues were solved in a friendly way when the foreign power went away from here. We had no enmity either with the British or with their army or their people. Our fight was with the British rule in India. When that was removed, we no longer had any quarrel with them. In fact we became friends. Foreign rule existed in many other countries of Asia and elsewhere. But they did not take this sensible step. What was the result? Seven years of fighting, seven years of ruination of hundreds of thousands of people. Nations were ruined, in Asia and in Europe, and the world reached the brink of a large-scale war. So you can see what evils can result if the natural flow of events is stopped. This did not happen in India because good sense prevailed. What was inevitable was accepted here and so India has progressed and so has the world. Burma became independent and helped towards world peace. There was delay and obstruction in other countries. Please remember that in Indonesia too, foreign rule was removed but after much fighting. Look at the difficulties the foreign powers had to face wherever they forcibly stayed on. The reason is that the time has gone when one country can hope to rule over another by force. For good or for bad, it has passed. Those who want to hold on to it understand neither the world nor the Asian mind.

Some of the questions which are arising before us today are actually old ones. One of these concerns small bits of territories of India, the size of a few villages, which are still under political domination. But even a small splinter in the body gives a great deal of pain. This problem should have been solved a



long time ago. But we adopted peaceful methods. We tried to solve the problem by negotiations. I feel that the problem relating to French possessions will be solved soon. Some difficulties have arisen in the case of Portuguese possessions. But assuredly these problems will also be solved. As you all know, we have to continue to follow certain principles, which we adopted in order to achieve Independence. And you must remember that that is how we have maintained our Independence. As you know, we must work together according to the principles of non-violence. I do not say that I or you have succeeded fully in following these principles always. We are all weak, we falter and may fall. We can never follow that path successfully all the time. But we have to remember that, as a principle, it is very sound and our country will gain in stature and strength to the extent we succeed in working in accordance with these principles courageously and bravely and not like cowards. We shall also succeed to that extent in serving our people and the cause of world peace.

We have tried to experiment with this principle on the world stage because now that we are independent, whether we like it or not, we Indians are going to have a role to play in world affairs. The eyes of the world are on us. India is an ancient country, which has seen many ups and downs and which has been a slave country for the last two or three hundred years. After all, what has the country learnt from its 200 or 250 years of bondage? What will she do now? Which way will she lean? Because when nearly four hundred millions lean one way, it is bound to have some effect on the world. After all, we are about one fifth of the world population. So the world looks at us and we have tried to serve the world. The first service that we can do to the world is to pull ourselves together, serve our country and make her strong and rich. The second thing that we can do for the world is to throw our weight on the side of peace and try to stop wars from taking place. It is obvious that ours is not a mighty country, militarily strong. There are many powers in the world which have great armies, air forces and unlimited wealth. How can we hope to compete with them? We are newcomers in the field. We have to put our own house in order. So what can we do? But we represent a principle, an effort, and behind that is the guiding spirit of a great man, Mahatma Gandhi. We have learned to walk with faltering steps on that path. Sometimes we stumbled and fell. But we kept going, keeping that principle, that ideal, before us and we have tried to introduce it to the world without waging a war with any country.

As you know, less than four years ago, some countries which were at war among themselves and would not sit down to talk things over peacefully, suddenly thought of India as a mediator. Both sides put their faith in India. Our forces went out as they had done quite often in olden times too but this time on a different mission. Then they used to go and fight with other countries. But, now, that time is past. We do not wish to fight with anyone under any circumstances. We shall not fight unless we are compelled to. Our forces went

out but not to fight. They went out under the banner of our beautiful flag in the name of peace to serve others. They went to Korea. Then, as you know, we received yet another invitation from the big powers to mediate in Indo-China. Again, we have accepted it, though it is a very big task and a great burden involving a lot of difficulties. But we could not refuse because it was an opportunity to work for world peace. So we accepted. We are represented by our ambassadors there just now. Besides us, there are two other countries on the Commission, namely, Canada and Poland. All three of us will work together. Our people have gone there and accepted the mantle of peace. We may have to send more people soon for this task—some from the army and others. It is a big task. So you can see how India is making a name for herself in the world by working for peace and friendship, and not for destruction and war. I know that India and Indians have always been known for friendship and peace and love.

We may make a name for ourselves in the world. But what should we do at home? Our strength or weakness depends on our conduct at home. If we follow these principles at home, then we shall be honoured in the world. And if we do not, all our talk is in vain. So we have to apply at home the principles of mutual cooperation and friendship. We have to work together even if there are hundreds of religious beliefs. If anyone belonging to a particular religion thinks that he has an exclusive right over India and no one else, we shall disown him. It would mean that he has failed to understand the principle on which Indian nationalism and Indian Independence are based. In fact, in a sense, he becomes an enemy of our Independence. He deals a blow to our Independence, which will be shattered because the basis of India's Independence is secularism. People belonging to different religious sects and castes of India have to live together in amity. They should respect one another and show consideration for others. We have different castes thinking of themselves as higher or lower than others in our country—which has created many barriers and tensions, and given us a bad name and weakened us. We have to combat this casteism until we succeed in eradicating it completely from our country. We can give no quarter to it. What it did in the olden times was deplorable. There is no longer any place for it in modern times. And whoever regards it with the slightest sympathy or acquiescence, is a coward, and he does not understand the message that India is trying to convey. The message of India today is that everyone in India is politically equal and has to become socially equal and, as far as possible, economically equal as well. All this disparity, whether it be of wealth or of social standing, is not good. Only in this way can we serve our country, make it strong and carry it forward on the road to progress, and, thus, armed with a new strength, we can serve the world too.

We shall make a new India. A new India is, in fact, being created. You have seen how the work put in in the last few years has slowly taken effect this year. You have seen how our food problem has been solved—the prices of



foodgrains have gone down and production has increased. As you have also seen, production in factories is increasing. Ultimately, if the poverty in India is to be eradicated, it can only be done by increasing production. Wealth does not mean gold or silver. They are for only traders and businessmen to play about with. The wealth of a country is what it produces from land, from factories and cottage industries—in short, through human labour. We have to produce that kind of wealth. As we have produced more from land, we have been able to solve the problem of food. The factories are increasing their production and new factories will be coming up. And you might have seen that the big river valley projects like Bhakra-Nangal are nearing completion, and the people will now benefit from them. In this way, 36 crore people are going ahead. If you go to the villages, you will see all kinds of projects going on and we have to spread them throughout India. It has been decided to spread them among a few million people every year. Our aim is that every village in India should come under this scheme within the next seven years. There are six hundred thousand villages in India. So our goal is not a small one. And our country is not a small one. We have to take big steps, undertake great tasks, win big victories. But our victories will not be over others, neither do we wish to suppress anyone. Our victories will mean the victory of others too. This is India's policy internally and in our external affairs too.

Why is it that India is today among the very few countries whose doors are open to everyone? We invite the people of all countries to come here. We have no enmity with anyone. Our brothers in Pakistan are often angry and unhappy with us. All sorts of problems came between us. But, as I have repeatedly said, we harbour no thoughts of war. We want to love them and cooperate with them, because we understand that such close neighbours as India and Pakistan should live in amity with each other. Neither benefits from losses suffered by the other. We should move with this approach. That does not mean that we should give up our principles or let our prestige suffer out of fear. We have to stand firmly by our principles and remember that we are pursuing the path of peace, not of war.

I referred to you just now to the areas which are in India but have still not got Independence. Goa is one of them. Even there, our policy has been one of peace. But I would like to tell you that Goa is a test for us and you can say it is a test for the Portuguese, though it is difficult for a nation which speaks with a language three or four hundred years old to realize this. Whether it is a test for the Portuguese or ourselves, it is certainly a trial for the whole world. I want you to understand this. In a sense, I would say it has become a testing ground to see which side the nations of the world lean when it is a question of one country ruling over another—that is, of colonialism, or whatever you may call it. Goa cannot radically change India's fortunes by becoming part of her, nor will Portugal be enriched by retaining Goa. But it is like the scar of an old

boil, of one country ruling over another. How can any one say that it is an old boil and so we must put up with the pain? They do not understand our mind or that of Asia. And so this is a trial for the other countries. We do not want any country to intervene in the solution of the problem or extend help in this matter. But we want to probe their minds to see what they are thinking, which way they are leaning and what their advice would be, though it is a strange way of measuring things. Their minds are old-fashioned. Today's world is a new world. If the light from the new world does not penetrate their minds and they continue to be old-fashioned, then they will definitely fall once again. I gave you an example just now of how the world has gained by the fact that India achieved Independence and is progressing. But Independence has yet to be realized in many other parts of Asia. Fighting has been going on for years, bringing ruin in its wake. The world is moving at a fast pace. How can anyone hope to arrest big floods? And if it is a human flood, an attempt to control it can only have disastrous consequences. So I feel that Goa is also a test of the other countries of the world. If they give wrong advice, the situation worsens. If they adopt the right course, problems can be solved in a peaceful way.

I would like to remind you once again that India has embarked on a long journey. People belonging to various castes and religions, like Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, Buddhists and Jains, are all Indians and, in that capacity, they keep marching ahead, and the country also progresses.

How does a nation become affluent and emerge out of its poverty? By hard work. We cannot look to the stars to help us—we do not want their help. We do not want anyone's help. We have strength in our shoulders and our minds. We shall progress by working together in peace and harmony. So I invite you on this anniversary, yours and mine, of our Independence—for, when a country becomes independent, each one of its citizens becomes independent and so it is your anniversary and mine—the eighth anniversary of the Independence of new India, to participate in this long journey, so that we can work hard with our full strength and uplift the towns and villages of India. *Jai Hind.*

## 10. Humanism and Health Care<sup>1</sup>

Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen,

I am here, on my own behalf and on behalf of the Government of India, to

1. Speech at the seventh session of the South-East Asia Regional Council of the World Health Organisation, New Delhi, 21 September 1954, AIR tapes, NMML.



welcome you to this session of the Regional Council of the World Health Organisation.<sup>2</sup> We have today a large number of subjects on which people do not see eye to eye with each other. They have internal arguments and sometimes they are even a little rude to each other. But, fortunately, the subjects you deal with in the WHO are hardly subjects on which there can be much difference of opinion. And although you do not touch upon the controversial issues of the day, I have no doubt that the kind of work you do must exercise a somewhat soothing influence on fevered minds who are engaged in those controversies. You talk about health and you deal with various aspects of that health. You deal with malaria and all kinds of other scourges; you deal with child welfare and maternity. You deal, well, I suppose, primarily with physical health. Yet, I suppose, every doctor thinks now that mental health is even more important than physical health and governs physical health. If the mind of the individual or the group goes wrong and is disturbed, it is a little difficult for the body to find an equilibrium and a proper balance. Well, we live in the days when there is a great deal of this disturbance of the mental apparatus of humanity. You are not supposed to deal with these matters directly, but I imagine that the kind of work that the WHO does must have a considerable effect even on that disturbed mental state of the world.

We have many problems which do not easily give way to a solution. In the realm of politics specially, one finds direct attempts made to solve them. One goes head foremost to try to solve them, usually, coming across somebody else's head which is also bent on solving them in the opposite direction and the two heads come into conflict. It may be that it is somewhat easier to consider and solve problems in a somewhat indirect way, through indirect approaches. Life seldom yields except in its crudest forms to the direct approach. The indirect approach sometimes reaches its objective much sooner than what is called the direct approach, because it undermines and goes round the defences or the opposition that it might have to meet. It takes it unawares almost, while the direct aggressive approach often leads to a direct aggressive defence and conflict occurs.

I say this because in the activities of some of the important organs of the United Nations, like this WHO or Unesco or some other like organs dealing with subjects which are some distance removed from the political conflicts of the world, one can adopt an approach which does not bring about these active oppositions and conflicts. It is a direct approach, of course, in dealing with your particular problems of health; but it also becomes the indirect approach in dealing with the world's ills of another type, the mental ills, the political ills, because it might produce an atmosphere which soothes and which enables people

2. The five-day session was attended by delegates from Afghanistan, Myanmar, Sri Lanka, France, India, Indonesia, Nepal, Portugal and Thailand.

to talk to each other, at least in a quiet and dispassionate way. Therefore, quite apart from the direct good that these organisations do, there can be this indirect aspect of their work too, which might help in creating an atmosphere which tends towards the solution of our many problems. But the direct work that you do in regard to health is particularly needed and welcome in the countries of this region from which representatives have come here. Because we are rather backward from the health point of view, from the sanitation point of view; the more work we can do of that type the better.

There are so many aspects of that work. You who are dealing with them know much more about them than I do. But the one aspect which appeals to me more than any other is the work that deals with children. I think the first priority should always be given to children, to the young. If we are building something for the future, they are the essential material which has to be looked after. I do not mean to say the others can be ignored but after all, it is easier to deal with the children than with those who have been confirmed in other habits and ways and the children will represent our tomorrows. Therefore, I hope that the children will always be considered first and provision made for their proper growth with proper opportunities given to them. Nothing saddens me much as to see little children unlooked for, uncared for, not having the normal necessities which every child should have, quite apart from the loving care which every child deserves. And if we can provide even some background for this, some raising of the level of child welfare, child care, not in the purely medical sense of hospitals and the like, but in a wider sense of creating a better environment for them to grow, it will be a very great thing done.

Many of these countries which you represent are heavily populated and the population is growing. Some people are greatly alarmed at this growth of population of these countries of South-East Asia. I do not like it. I should like that growth to be checked somewhat, but I am not alarmed about it and I see no reason, as some people do, to consider that the end of the world is coming because some populations are becoming more and more. I think we should take a balanced view of these matters, and while certainly working to check this growth of population in the best ways we can, nevertheless, we do not have to get cold feet and draw up imaginary statistics of what the world will be 20, 30 or 50 years later. I am really amazed when I see some quite eminent statisticians working on some imaginary basis, producing a fancy figure of what the population of India will be, say, 30 or 40 years hence, working out as if everybody goes on increasing at 15 or 20 per cent and practically nobody dies and ultimately you get at that figure. But the fact remains that the population problem is an important problem, and it should be dealt with and efforts should be made by us to control it, because even though the growth of the population may not lead to such grave crises as some people imagine, undoubtedly it leads to a lowering of standards. We cannot raise standards very much if the



population also goes on increasing. Many people who discuss this matter of population discuss it either in a professorial and an academic way, or in a heated way, which brings in some particular prejudices and outlooks. Neither is a very helpful way, not even the professorial way. One has to deal with human beings. It amazes me how we forget the human being in our conferences or statistics. We think in terms of blocks and curves and such like figures of statistics forgetting that they consist of individual men, women and children, who are not very different from us. When I talk about the human approach to the population problem, I mean you have to remember the type of human beings you have got to deal with. They are not robots, they are not some mechanical toys you can play about with, order about with. Not even the most authoritarian state can go very far and treat them as regimented human beings. We have to treat them as individuals, as human beings who have to be convinced, who have to be made to understand and who have to be won over to any cause that we seek to further.

Also if you have to deal with those individuals as human beings as individuals, you cannot do so if you presume to speak to them as superior persons. No person who goes to another in a superior way is likely to get any kind of real opening of the mind or heart from the other side. There is too much of this superior approach of doing good to others. There is too much of imagining that we are better than the others. We may know a little more. We may have more comfort. We may have more privileges. But this presumption that we are better than others is totally unjustified. It is foolish to divide people into various grades and classes of merit and superiority. I cannot say that all human beings are equal in character and in merit, in capacity. Nevertheless, the approach to human beings on that basis of inequality, whether it is class inequality or racial inequality or national inequality, is a wrong approach and does not yield to results. One has to win the goodwill and the friendship of the person you approach. Though I may not know much about many subjects, I do know something about the masses of human beings that live in India. And I think they are very fine material, they are a fine lot of people. They have their failings and their weaknesses, such as many of us have, but they are fine material provided they are given the opportunity. I have no doubt that that applies to other countries too in this region or in any other part of the world. Given the opportunity, we have fine material. That opportunity must come. Our approach must be of equals to equals. If you go to teach them something, try first to learn something from them, make them feel that you are both teachers and learners. Then you are on a level, then you are welcomed and what you say has some effect. Otherwise you or I may go and deliver a harangue to them, and come away, imagining that we have done our duty, probably leaving little trace behind.

So, in concluding, I would lay stress on two or three aspects of your work.

One is the special stress laid on the children; the other is the human approach to these masses who live in these parts of the world, thinking them always as individuals not as graphs or curves or figures; and, thirdly, always thinking that physical health is only a small part of the person's health, the rest being mental health—if you do not have that mental health, physical health will go to pieces. In your indirect way, by trying to help to soften people's problems, you create an atmosphere which might help a little in the solution of the world's conflicts. I welcome you all again.









## I. ECONOMY

### (i) Planning

#### 1. To Presidents of PCCs<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 11, 1954

Dear friend,

I am writing to you about the National Plan Loan. You will remember that the last meeting of the Working Committee especially drew the attention of Congressmen to this loan and asked them to help in it.<sup>2</sup> In fact, this loan is in pursuance of the resolution passed at the Kalyani Session of the Congress.<sup>3</sup> We have, therefore, a special obligation in this matter. This loan is different from previous loans. Apart from the fact that it is meant for the National Plan and our developmental projects, it is addressed more especially to the small investor. We want to make as many people as possible in our country partners in this adventure of building up India.

I should like you, therefore, to impress upon Congress Committees the desirability and, indeed, the necessity of their showing initiative in this matter. Members of Parliament and of our State Assemblies should especially interest themselves and approach not only our towns folk, but even more so our village people. The message of this National Plan Loan should reach every corner of the country. With it, of course, should go the whole picture of our National Plan and the development of India.

1. File No. P-27(a)/1954, AICC Papers, NMML.
2. The Congress Working Committee, which met in New Delhi on 22 May 1954, welcomed the prompt steps taken by the Government in issuing the National Plan Loan for raising funds for development purposes and urged the Pradesh Congress Committees and all Congressmen to take steps to publicise the development loan in their respective areas.
3. The Indian National Congress, in its resolution, "A Call to the Nation", adopted at the Kalyani Session on 24 January 1954, recommended to the Government that special development loans be floated so that public works on a much larger scale might be initiated and industries built up, thus not only strengthening the nation, but also providing employment to the people. The resolution also said that such loans should suit the small investor so that large numbers of people associated themselves in this great and cooperative endeavour to build a strong and progressive nation. For full text of the resolution of 24 January 1954, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 24, p. 98.

I suggest, therefore, that you should address on this subject not only your District and other Congress Committees but also the Members of Parliament in your State and the Members of your State Assembly.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 2. Construction of Banihal Tunnel<sup>1</sup>

In a matter of this kind, the first and most important consideration is the experience of the firm. Have they built similar tunnels before, i.e., have they built tunnels of this length in mountainous country before? The mere fact that a firm has built a number of small tunnels does not give him the necessary experience for a much bigger project. I would hesitate very much to give a contract to a firm which has had no previous experience of this type.

2. I am anxious and eager to help Indian firms and Indian engineers and technicians and not to have foreign firms undertaking major works in India where they can be dispensed with. But I am quite clear in my mind that the most important test is the experience of the firm and their technical competence. In relatively small projects special experience might not be needed, but in a large project that experience is of the first importance. It is clear that if the foreign firm has this experience and technical competence then I would choose that firm almost regardless of other factors. Indeed, the question of cost would itself become secondary because I would hesitate to entrust a major work to a firm lacking special experience, even though the tender might be lower. Here this question does not arise....

5. While I agree that we should work with the maximum of labour and minimum of machinery wherever possible, in the case of Banihal Tunnel<sup>2</sup> speed is a very important consideration. If by importing machinery we can speed this process, then undoubtedly it should be imported.

1. Note, 5 July 1954. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. The tunnel, constructed at a height of 7,280 ft across the Pir Panjal range on the Jammu-Srinagar-Uri national highway and named Jawahar Tunnel, has two tubes one of which was opened for traffic in 1958. The tunnel provides round-the-year communication facilities between the Kashmir valley and the rest of India.



6. I think that the firm undertaking this work should give clear assurances about the timing and completion of it. Also they should be asked to employ as far as possible Indian personnel. While they would be at liberty to get any machinery from abroad they should be encouraged to buy such machines as are available in India.

7. These are matters which can be considered with them. Meanwhile, I approve of the recommendation of the WH&S Ministry that the tender of the German firm, namely, Messrs Baresel & Kunz might be accepted<sup>3</sup> subject to detailed examination and the points raised in Mr Mathrani's<sup>4</sup> note about it.

8. It has been suggested that Secretary, Kashmir Affairs,<sup>5</sup> be consulted. What is necessary is that the Kashmir Government should be told of what we propose to do. Indeed, they should be kept in touch with all developments. This is not only necessary from the point of courtesy but from larger political reasons also. The Secretary, Kashmir Affairs, should therefore be asked to inform the Kashmir Government of what we propose to do.

3. The Government of India signed the contract with this firm on 6 August 1954.

4. H.P. Mathrani (b. 1901); Consulting Engineer, Road Development, and Joint Secretary, Ministry of Transport, 1953-56.

5. Vishnu Sahay.

### 3. To Chief Ministers<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 19, 1954

My dear Chief Minister,

I have written to you repeatedly about the National Plan Loan and you have no doubt taken all necessary steps to help. I should like to draw your attention to the fact that up to the 29th June only about 30,000 persons made applications for Rs 5,000 and under. These applications totalled Rs 2½ crores out of the then total of Rs 89 crores. The figure must have gone up somewhat since then. (The total number of subscribers on 29th June was 33,315).

2. This shows that relatively very few persons have thus far subscribed. Our approach to a great number of people has not succeeded so far. Even the success that we have obtained is chiefly in the States of Bombay and Madras. The other States are far behind.

1. JN Collection.

3. I confess to feeling disappointed at this lack of response from large numbers of persons, although I am quite convinced that there is a good deal of money in the country. The question is how to reach it. Are our methods of publicity and approach good, or, are we working in some routine way without really making an impression on the people? I should like you to consider this. Sometimes, I have found that District Magistrates and others have not taken much interest.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 4. Shortfall in Plan Expenditure<sup>1</sup>

I am sending you a note which I have received from the Planning Commission indicating the anticipated shortfall in expenditure under the Plan of Central Ministries. You will notice that this shortfall is considerable. As a matter of fact, the estimates made are on the generous side and it is quite possible that the shortfall will be even greater. In the States also we have these shortfalls.

2. The result is that we are far behind our schedule, and our Five Year Plan, in many respects, will not be fully implemented at the end of the period. It has to be noted that this is not due to lack of money or sanctions, but because of our lack of capacity to use the sanctioned amounts.

3. We are thinking in terms of going ahead much faster in industry and in other matters in future. We talk of deficit financing and the like, but the fact appears to be that we cannot utilise fully even the money available. This is a serious matter because this affects all our future progress. I think that we should examine this question very thoroughly and find out why delays occur and remove these delays.

4. The Planning Commission points out that our administrative machinery is still not geared up as it ought to be and often functions in the old way. That is not so much the fault of that machinery because they are accustomed to work in another way. However, this has to be remedied.

1. Note to Cabinet Ministers and Ministers for Defence Organisation, and Information and Broadcasting, New Delhi, 30 September 1954. File No. 17(200)/50, PMS. Copies of this note were sent to the Deputy Chairman and Members of the Planning Commission.



## (ii) Flood Control

### 1. To Gulzarilal Nanda<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 8, 1954

My dear Gulzarilal,<sup>2</sup>

... I am much exercised about these floods in the Kosi and in Assam. Year after year they occur and we talk about big schemes and do very little. I understand that the Kosi scheme is practically ready, though it does not go very far. Anyhow, it is obvious that we must get moving. After the report we have had from Kanwar Sain<sup>3</sup> about the way the Chinese have tackled these problems,<sup>4</sup> our disability to do likewise does little credit to us. Instead of our thinking in terms of one particular scheme or the other, we should, as the Chinese have done, take a river or a part of a river and create a River Valley Commission to consider all its problems. That is the only scientific way of dealing with the situation.

There are three matters which I have particularly in mind:

- (1) The Kosi.
- (2) The Brahmaputra and its tributaries.
- (3) Schemes to prevent floods in the Kashmir Valley.

The Kosi scheme<sup>5</sup> is ready and we should try as far as we can to apply the Chinese method to it and build the various embankments, etc., as rapidly as possible with large numbers of workers. This will also afford relief. We should immediately think about this so that we might be ready to begin work as soon as the river subsides.

1. File No. 17(320)/54-PMS. Extracts.
2. (1898-1998); Union Minister for Planning, and Irrigation and Power, 1952-57; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 2, p. 271.
3. (1898-1988); Member, Central Water and Power Commission, 1949-53 and Chairman, 1953-58; Chairman and Administrator, Rajasthan Canal Project, 1958-61; Chairman, Haryana Review Development Board, 1969-72.
4. A delegation of Indian engineers which included Kanwar Sain and K.L. Rao, Director of Designs, toured China from 4 May to 4 July 1954 covering nearly 7,500 miles. In their report, they observed that some of the projects were accomplished speedily since the work was done mainly with human labour and with very little machinery. The peasant workers cooperated enthusiastically in the undertaking in which they were made equal partners.
5. A scheme entailing an expenditure of Rs two crores during the current financial year was drawn up by the Government in connection with the Rs 38 crore Kosi project.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

The Brahmaputra is a very difficult problem. I think that a River Valley Commission is especially needed for that and its tributaries.

As regards the Jhelum in Kashmir, Uppal<sup>6</sup> has prepared a scheme<sup>7</sup> which has been approved by our engineers. In fact, all preparatory work has been done.... I think that we should proceed in this rapid way in the Kashmir Valley. The work is relatively simple and we should finish it in one season. Work can even be done in winter there except perhaps for two or three weeks.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. Harbans Lal Uppal (b. 1905); Director, Irrigation and Power Research Institute, Amritsar, 1952-60; Chief Engineer and Director, Irrigation and Power Research Institute, Punjab, since 1960.
7. Uppal had suggested, as part of a scheme for flood protection, the construction of a 35 mile long supplementary channel on the left bank of the Jhelum and the Baramulla bridge and works connected with the stabilization of hill torrents in northern Kashmir.

## 2. Measures to Control Floods<sup>1</sup>

The recent and heavy floods in the UP, Bihar, Northern Bengal and Assam have created great problems for us in regard to the control of these rivers in spate. These floods were not due to local rain in these areas. In fact, there has been a drought. The floods have been entirely due to these Himalayan rivers rushing down in spate, often rather suddenly and sweeping everything before them.

2. We are taking such measures as we can. These measures are, in the main, engineering works. We have to collect data of contours, etc. That is difficult enough. But it becomes infinitely more difficult when we know nothing about the higher reaches of these rivers. We cannot even get information about a flood coming. I learnt of a relatively small river, the river Aie, coming into Assam from Bhutan, suddenly growing tremendously in volume and speed and bringing down big trees from Bhutan. There was absolutely no notice of this, with the result that our railway line was uprooted and railway bridges were just twisted and broken.

3. In the flood control schemes, it is essential to have previous information

1. Note to Secretary General, MEA, Foreign Secretary and Cabinet Secretary, 18 September 1954. JN Collection. Also available in File No. 17(320)/54-PMS. A copy of this note was sent to Gulzarilal Nanda.



of the coming of a flood. People can be removed and steps can be taken. Every flood control scheme consists of two parts: the permanent measures and the temporary measures. The temporary measures depend on early information.

4. Now all this necessitates information about the upper reaches of these rivers. These rivers come through Nepal, Bhutan and Tibet. We know very little about Nepal in regard to this matter and we know nothing at all about Bhutan and Tibet. It is clear that we cannot deal with this problem successfully unless we have fairly full information about the course of these rivers and surrounding terrain in Nepal, Bhutan and Tibet. Either the Government of the country should arrange to get this information and supply it to us, or we should try to get it directly.

5. This raises some difficult issues. In regard to Nepal, there will not be any governmental difficulty. In regard to Bhutan, we will meet with obstructions. Regarding Tibet, we cannot function there at all, but we can ask the Chinese Government to help as by supplying the necessary information to us and taking other steps.

6. I suggest, therefore, that we should move in this matter:

- (1) In regard to Nepal, we should point out to them the disastrous consequences of these floods both to Nepal and to India and the necessity of having the fullest data about these rivers and then evolving schemes, which will no doubt be joint schemes so far as Nepal territory is concerned. We have thought too much on the lines of big and very expensive dams and hydro-electric works, etc. But there are other ways also of dealing with this question. In any event, our approach will have to be many-sided. Therefore, steps have to be taken for the survey of these rivers and surrounding terrains by competent engineers.
- (2) Bhutan: The same applies to Bhutan except that our ignorance about Bhutan is complete. We should point out to the Government of Bhutan in forcible language that this is a dangerous situation for us and, no doubt, for Bhutan also. The distance between the Bhutan territory and the plains of North Bengal and Assam is very little, that is to say, between the Brahmaputra and the mountains in Bhutan is a short distance. A river coming down in spate from Bhutan suddenly overwhelms us and covers the whole area with water. It is essential, therefore, that some steps should be taken to survey the upper reaches of these rivers that come down from Bhutan to India. Otherwise, there will be continuing disasters. We suggest, therefore, that these upper reaches of these rivers should be surveyed and we are prepared to organise this survey in cooperation with the Bhutan Government.
- (3) Tibet: We might address the Chinese Government about these recent floods. They themselves suffered from terrible floods this year and know

the disastrous consequences. They are themselves taking far-reaching steps to control their floods, which have brought them some relief. We have the same problem though, perhaps, in a somewhat different context. Some of our floods in Assam have been due to rivers coming down from Tibet. Indeed, the Brahmaputra itself comes down from Tibet. But the real trouble has been due to some of the tributaries of the Brahmaputra, notably the Dihang or Siang and the Dibang or Sikang. We will be grateful if information about the upper reaches of these rivers is collected by the Chinese Government and some arrangement is made to warn us of any likely flood. We suggest a measure of cooperation in dealing with these rivers which pass through their territory and ours.

7. The NEF Agency comes into the picture because these rivers from Tibet pass through the NEF Agency, notably the Dihang and Dibang. I suppose we have little information about this area in regard to the rivers. We must look into this matter also.

### (iii) Agriculture and Land Reforms

#### 1. To Mishrilal Gangwal<sup>1</sup>

Camp: Mashobra  
June 29, 1954

My dear Mishrilalji,<sup>2</sup>

Some friends from Madhya Bharat have drawn my attention to the fact that there appears to be a progressive lessening of rainfall in Madhya Bharat from year to year and that every year there is this distress in some area of Madhya Bharat. It is said that the water level is going down. I should like to know if this is the official viewpoint also, and, if so, what steps are proposed to meet this difficulty. Of course, the Chambal, when it gets going, will help in a particular area, but something should be done in wider areas. It has been suggested that large-scale repairs of old wells which have gone out of action or tanks would be helpful. Also, small embankments to preserve water from flowing away. These are obvious suggestions which do not cost very much money, but

1. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to K.N. Katju, Union Home Minister.
2. (1902-1981); Chief Minister of Madhya Bharat, 1952-55, also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 24, p. 346.



which bear good results. From the point of view of giving employment too they are helpful.

Has this matter been examined from this point of view? In fact, it might be desirable to create a small department for this particular purpose. It would naturally be under some engineer. This is merely a suggestion, because I do not know all the facts.

I gather that at the Shivapuri Session of the Madhya Bharat PCC certain resolutions were passed about constructive work which could be done by Congressmen and others in cooperation with Government. These are rather comprehensive resolutions and it will not be easy to give effect to everything that has been said. But it should be possible to make a beginning in regard to certain matters.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 2. To Jaleshwar Prasad<sup>1</sup>

Camp: Mashobra  
July 1st, 1954

Dear Jaleshwar Prasadji,<sup>2</sup>

I have your letter of the 28th June, and I have read your note on putting a ceiling on agricultural holdings....

You discuss the question of a person having 30 acres of land. You do not consider the question of those who have much less or none at all.

The direction in which we should go is to have relatively small holdings worked cooperatively. The other direction should be free education, etc., up to a certain level.

A third development should be the transfer of a much larger number from land to other occupations so that the burden on land should be less and other occupations should grow.

The argument that everybody should be brought down to one level before any step is taken may have some theoretical logic in it, but is obviously not practicable. The ideal certainly should be to approach equality. This is done by a number of ways. But some beginning has to be made somewhere.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 40(245)/52-PMS. Extracts.
2. A resident of Patna.

### 3. Policy on Land Legislation<sup>1</sup>

... We have considered the principles of this land legislation in our Planning Commission and in the special Land Committee appointed by the Planning Commission.<sup>2</sup> We have of course also laid down land policy in a number of Congress resolutions.<sup>3</sup> Generally, when Bill dealing with land reforms is prepared by a Part C State (and often by the Part B States) the fullest consideration has been given to it by the Planning Commission and it is only after it has thus been hammered out that it is introduced. An attempt is thus made to bring that Bill in line with our basic policy as laid down in the Five Year Plan report.<sup>4</sup> Of course, conditions vary in different States and this has to be borne in mind.

4. We find that not only is there great delay in the Law Ministry, but often the changes suggested are not in line with our basic policy as laid down by the Planning Commission and accepted by Government. Often suggestions are made which weaken the measure considerably from our point of view. The result in the State concerned is to produce grave embarrassment for the State Government which, during the elections and after, declared a certain policy with our approval, tried to give effect to it later, and then were held up by the Central Government.

5. You will agree that this is a very embarrassing state of affairs for all of us and something must be done not only to put an end to the delays but to avoid any changes which are opposed to our own policy. In fact I do not quite see why the Law Ministry should recommend changes in matters of policy which is the concern of other Ministries.

6. I am writing to you because this has become an important issue. Some little time ago I was in Himachal Pradesh and when I demanded from them

1. Note to C.C. Biswas, Minister of Law, 18 July 1954. JN Collection. Extracts. A copy of this note was sent to the Minister of States.
2. Earlier in the note, referring to complaints made by some Part C States, Nehru voiced his concern over the delay at the Centre in dealing with Bills on land legislation passed by State Legislatures. A Land Reform Committee was appointed in May 1953 with some members of the Planning Commission and Ministers of the Government of India as its members.
3. For example, the resolution adopted by the AICC at its meeting in Agra on 7 July 1953 pointed out that the Congress attached the greatest importance to the introduction of far-reaching land reforms in India. While progress had been made in this direction by several State Governments, much yet remained to be done in order to make the actual tillers of the soil the owners of the land.
4. The Five Year Plan report published in November 1953 said that land policy should maintain a balance between land management legislation and land reform legislation.



why they were delaying doing something that I had asked them to do, they replied that it was not their fault at all. They passed the Bill as we asked them, but this was held up here and they were asked to change it and make it somewhat different from what we had ourselves suggested.<sup>5</sup> In a few days' time I am going to Ajmer for a meeting of the All India Congress Committee<sup>6</sup> where I am going to be asked why our policy has not been given effect to, although the Planning Commission has adopted it.

7. A Part C State may well make mistakes in their legislation. Indeed, any State might do so or, for the matter of that, the Central Government itself. But it is better to have a mistake, which can subsequently be rectified, than to delay these important measures of social reform, to which we are committed and for which people are waiting. There is also the democratic aspect. Although the Central Government is, to some extent, responsible for Part C States, they have their own elected Assemblies. After these Assemblies have taken a great deal of trouble over some bill, they are simply asked to revise it in important particulars. Both the Government and the Assembly are hard put to it how to face this situation and explain it to the people they represent.

8. I am writing to you on this subject because it has become an urgent and important issue and we shall have to devise some way of dealing with it satisfactorily which both avoids delay and does not take us away from our basic programme. Broadly speaking, we should give our advice at the beginning. So far as policy is concerned, it is for the Planning Commission or the Land Committee to lay it down. After that, when the Bill is passed by the State Assembly, there should be no question of changing it unless there is some obvious error in it. The State Assembly must be allowed to function with responsibility and face even their own mistakes. Anyhow, all processes here should be gone through within a matter of days. If the Law Ministry's staff is not adequate, I suggest that it should be added to.

9. I referred this matter to the States Ministry and was informed by them that so far as they are concerned, there is no delay now.

5. Some of the Bills passed by the Himachal Pradesh legislature relating to land as well as to potatoes had been held up for a considerable time and directives had been sent, on behalf of the President, to get them changed.
6. The AICC session was held at Ajmer on 25 and 26 July 1954.

#### 4. To Bhimsen Sachar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 31, 1954

My dear Sachar,<sup>2</sup>

You will remember that I have written to you on several occasions about the ejectment of tenants in East Punjab. I have also written to Partap Singh Kairon.<sup>3</sup> You and he have sent me some particulars and assured me that the matter was being dealt with in a satisfactory manner by some kind of compromises.

This particular matter as well as like matters from the West of India have come up before the Congress Working Committee repeatedly. When we were talking of giving security for the cultivator and abolishing the landlord system and intermediaries, we suddenly find that the result of the policies pursued in some provinces has actually been to push out a very large number of tenants from their land. As a matter of fact, in a zamindari province like the UP, repeated legislation was passed during the past twenty years or more to prevent the ejectment of tenants from their holdings. This was even before the zamindari abolition legislation.<sup>4</sup> In fact, one of our principal planks has been that tenants should not be ejected except for very special reasons, and even so some provision should be made for them. Our basic policy is for the cultivator to own his land and for some kind of ceiling for this. Otherwise in the name of being a cultivator a man can own a vast tract of territory, using tractors, etc. He may be, and often is, an absentee landlord with some distant relative actually working on the site.

I know that this question raises difficulties. But our basic policy is perfectly clear, and that is, no ejectment except in rare cases, and therefore other provision to be made. In East Punjab, repeated assurances were given that no ejectment will take place for ten years and, in fact, an Act was passed last year called the Punjab Security of Land Tenure Act.<sup>5</sup> In spite of this, however, a very large number of notices of ejectment were issued in 1953-54. I am told the

1. JN Collection.
2. (1893-1978); Chief Minister of Punjab, 1952-56; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 2, p. 304.
3. (1901-1965); President, Punjab PCC, 1952-56; Minister for Land Revenue, Development and Consolidation of Holdings in Punjab at this time; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 14, p. 75.
4. The UP Zamindari Abolition Act came into force on 1 July 1952 with the objective to do away with the rights of the intermediaries and bring the actual cultivators of land into direct relationship with the State.
5. Under this Act, the size of a holding under self-cultivation could not exceed 30 standard acres. The surplus land was to be used for settling other cultivators as tenants whose rights as tenants were to be protected by the government. But the law was silent about the ultimate grant of ownership rights to such cultivators.



Government figures are fifty thousand; unofficial figures are greater. I am told also that apart from official formal notices of ejectment, many people were ejected informally under pressure. This was specially so in the districts of Hissar, Ferozepore, Karnal, Ambala, Hoshiarpur and Rohtak.

The Punjab Security of Land Tenure Act of 1953 provides, under clause 10, for land to be restored to a tenant in case he had been ejected after the 15th of August 1947. Has there been any cases where such land was restored to the tenant under this clause 10 of the Act? It seems to me that the Act which was meant to give security to the tenant has functioned in an exactly contrary way and made the tenants' position very insecure and, indeed, has led to a large number of tenants being pushed out.

I was informed that there had been compromises in large number of cases. Because of these compromises, the tenants were asked not to raise formal objections in court. In effect, so I am told, there were not very many compromises and the poor tenants were unable to raise objections later because these objections were time barred.

Vast tracts of land were left in East Punjab by the evacuees who went to Pakistan. Here was an ideal opportunity of evolving a just land system or, at any rate, of dealing with these particular lands on a just basis. I am afraid that instead of this the evils of large holdings and landlordism have been accentuated. In Hissar, it is said that a great deal of land has been sold to the big landlords and the ordinary tenants have been deprived. In fact, no protection was given to the tenants on evacuee land. In Karnal, tenants who had lived there for generations were ejected from Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan's<sup>6</sup> estate and other estates.

"Self-cultivation" has been defined to include absentee landlords. A person may live in Calcutta or practise some other profession, but by some thin link he is connected with the land and allowed to keep it as self-cultivated land.

I gather that so-called "Cooperative Societies" of landlords have been created. This is often a travesty of the idea of cooperation. A few persons joining together as partners do not form a cooperative. The whole idea underlying a cooperative is something completely different. We should not allow some members of a family to misuse this idea of a cooperative and thus escape the law.

I am glad to learn that in Tehsil Jhajjar a good step has been taken about Harijans and waste land amounting to 1,200 acres have been given to them. This step might well be followed elsewhere. In other places the condition of Harijans appears to be peculiarly bad. The Harijan conditions are very bad and they are quite unable to spread, there being no room for extension. Indeed,

6. (1895-1951); Prime Minister of Pakistan, 1947-51; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 10, p. 356.

sometimes even passage is difficult and the zamindars treat these Harijans badly.

I am mentioning these matters to you because I am worried and the Congress Working Committee was also distressed about these tendencies in a wrong direction. In our resolution on land reform, we referred to this matter,<sup>7</sup> as you will no doubt have seen. We recognise the difficulties that you have to face, but we have to overcome these difficulties.

My information is that Harijans and poor tenants are frustrated in the Punjab and feel that they have not been given a square deal and that assurances given to them had not been kept.

You know that the Planning Commission has been insisting on a proper survey of conditions in the land. This is of the greatest importance for formulating any policy. Unfortunately, there has been delay. I think that not only for the broader reasons as indicated by the Planning Commission, but for this urgent question of tenants and their ejection, there should be a survey or a census and an ascertainment of what the position is. East Punjab is supposed to be a Province of small proprietors. That is good. Nevertheless, it has several lakhs of families of tenants and these tenants seem to be worse off than they were previously. The disparity between the rich and the poor increases.

Yesterday I received a delegation of some MLAs and others from East Punjab.<sup>8</sup> They gave me two notes which I enclose.

I would commend these questions to your earnest attention. Apart from present reactions, from a long distance point of view, it is essential that we proceed with a healthy land policy.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Partap Singh Kairon who has been present at Working Committee meetings and is thus acquainted with the nature of our discussions.<sup>9</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. The Committee, which met at New Delhi on 23 May 1954, adopted a resolution which said that adequate and effective steps should be taken in the different States to stop ejection of tenants. The Committee also reiterated that there should be ceilings on land holdings, although the exact size would be determined by the special conditions obtaining in each State.
8. A deputation of eight MLAs of Punjab met Nehru on 30 July to draw his attention to the Punjab Security of Land Tenure Act of 1953 which had resulted in the ejection of a large number of tenants.
9. In fact on 31 August 1954 the Punjab Government decided to ban ejection of tenants in the state with immediate effect by promulgating an Ordinance. The Cabinet also decided to restore 25 to 30 thousand tenants who were ejected in 1954. Each tenant would be entitled to restoration of five standard acres of land including land in his possession as owner or tenant.



## 5. To Panjabrao S. Deshmukh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 8, 1954

My dear Panjabrao,<sup>2</sup>  
Your letter of August 8.<sup>3</sup>

I do not wish to come in the way of the steps you are taking and you can go ahead with them. But there are certainly some risks involved in this movement as has been pointed out by Balvantray Mehta.<sup>4</sup> Also this organisation of farmers is likely to be an organisation of the better-class farmers which will ignore the interests of the poorer cultivators. I am much exercised about these poor cultivators many of whom are being dispossessed by the bigger farmers.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. PG-48/1955, AICC Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.
2. (1898-1965): Minister of State for Agriculture, 1952-57; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 5, p. 368.
3. Deshmukh had presided over the All India Farmers' Conference held in Srinagar from 16 to 17 July 1954, the members present there supporting the formation of a Farmers' Forum which would be non-political and constructive in its approach. In his letter of 8 August, Deshmukh wrote that he was prepared to hold himself personally responsible if any trouble was created as a result of the setting up of the Farmers' Forum. He further assured Nehru that the Forum would give immense relief to farmers as a whole and enable them to enlist the support of all genuine workers who were entangled in "Kisan Sabhas" of all kinds.
4. Balvantray Gopalji Mehta (1899-1966); General Secretary, AICC, at this time; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 4, p. 10. Mehta wrote to Deshmukh on 29 July, "In the present circumstances of the country there are many forces that try to side-track a movement and exploit it for undesirable purposes even though it might have been conceived in the best of the spirit...." As Congress represented the toiling masses, more and more of the working farmers were to be drawn into the organisation and persuaded to function as part of it, Mehta added.

## 6. To Fenner Brockway<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 25, 1954

Dear Brockway,<sup>2</sup>

I have just received your letter of August 19, 1954, in regard to the detention of Dr Rammanohar Lohia<sup>3</sup> and others in connection with a satyagraha campaign in Uttar Pradesh.<sup>4</sup> I am forwarding it to the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

This is a matter entirely for the State Government and it is not considered desirable for the Central Government to interfere in a State Government's autonomy and discretion. Indeed, in law we cannot do so.

I do not propose to go into the merits of this question. Obviously, it is always very regrettable to arrest or detain people. You will appreciate, however, that no government can function if its laws are deliberately disobeyed. It is for such disobedience that people are arrested and not in order to repress freedom of speech. The matter is before the High Court now.

You refer to fiscal injustices. I suppose you are not aware of the position. Canal rates have been increased all over India because of the benefits derived from the canal waters. Indeed, the increase in rates is relatively little compared to the obvious benefits. This income from increased rates is meant to give further irrigation facilities which are so badly needed. In fact, we can make no progress in our developmental schemes unless our revenue increases. We cannot rely on other countries to finance our schemes.

As far as I know, these increased rates are not only moderate, but have, in fact, been paid without much opposition by 95% of the people involved. Oddly enough, much of the agitation has been carried on not by the people concerned, but by others who were not paying these canal dues.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. (1888-1988); Labour Party MP in the British House of Commons, 1950-64, also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 2, p. 279.
3. (1910-1967); General Secretary, Praja Socialist Party, 1953-54; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 7, p. 430.
4. Brockway wrote that he and many others in Britain were shocked to hear the news of the arrest of Lohia and 1,500 others, who were fighting for the rights of peasants. The news was particularly disturbing to those who hoped that once British rule had ended the injustices from which the peasants suffered would be resolved. He asked Nehru to use his influence not only to set the things right, but also to set free those who were practising satyagraha on behalf of their hapless constituents.



## 7. To Raghbir Singh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 31, 1954

My dear Raghbir Singhji,<sup>2</sup>

I find that a controversy is still going on in Pepsu about the Land Reforms Act.<sup>3</sup> I understand that this has been fully discussed by your Ministers with the Planning Commission again and the Planning Commission strongly advised that the Act should be implemented as it is. Even before this Act was passed, it had received the fullest consideration by the Planning Commission, our Land Reform Committee and by the Ministries concerned here. It has now had further consideration given to it. I think that it should be forthwith implemented. Any action to stay its provisions will go against our declared policy and create a crisis.

You will have seen that the Punjab Government was reluctant to take any steps to stop the ejection of tenants. But I am glad to say that they have ultimately accepted our advice in this matter....

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. (1894-1955); Chief Minister of Pepsu, 1954-55; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 17, p. 405.
3. The Pepsu Tenancy and Agricultural Lands Act, 1953, was aimed at conferring the status of proprietors on as many tenants-at-will as possible. The Act also gave the tenants the option to buy lands tilled by them and fixed the permissible limit for personal cultivation by a landowner as one-half of the area formerly owned by him.

## 8. To M.C. Shah<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
September 30, 1954

My dear Shah,<sup>2</sup>

Yesterday, I received a letter from you about wheat purchases by the Food Ministry. Subsequently, the Food Minister happened to see me and I gave your letter to him so that he could give the facts. I have not had anything in writing from him yet although he spoke to me about the matter.

1. JN Collection.
2. Manilal Chaturbhai Shah (1894-1960); Deputy Minister of Finance, 1952-December 54; Minister of State for Revenue and Civil Expenditure (Finance), 1954-57;

It is obvious that any procedure which leads to direct dealings without tenders, etc., is likely to be abused, or, at any rate, there is a possibility of abuse taking place. On the other hand, we have to face a peculiar situation when any publication of Government's desire to buy a large quantity of foodgrains immediately sends the price up, involving considerable loss to us. I have seen this happened. A certain price was quoted to us. When tenders were invited immediately that price jumped up in the London market.

How are we to avoid this kind of thing which is injurious to us? We know definitely the day-to-day price in the London market because it is quoted officially. We can enquire from our High Commissioner what this price is and he can ask the UK Government authorities. Whenever this enquiry has been made, they have quoted the official price as announced publicly.

Therefore we know, broadly speaking, what the prevailing price is. If we get an offer under that price, should we accept it or should we go through the normal routine which leads to the price going up and then pay this higher price? This matter was discussed by the Food Minister with the Finance Minister<sup>3</sup> and I understand that the Finance Minister appreciated the Food Minister's point. He was only anxious that no precedents should be established which might prove quite dangerous in the future.

We come back to the question as to how we are to deal with this matter. The first thing to know is the official London price. We should not go beyond that if an offer is made at a lower price and we are satisfied that it is a bona fide offer, then we should consider it. In considering it, the Secretary or the Food Minister can consult the Finance Ministry or rather some official appointed by the Finance Ministry. If both agree, the deal can be finalised. In such matters, delay is sometimes harmful because prices can be raised if it is known that Government is in the market.

I suggest, therefore, that you might appoint a small Committee of two persons, that is, a representative of the Food Ministry and a representative of Finance to deal with all such matters. The Food Minister's consent would, of course, have to be taken before a deal is concluded.

I understand that other countries which have been lately employed have charged no fee at all. They have supplied the exact figure quoted, which was less than the official rate in London.

There is another question to be considered, that of freight. I was astounded to get some figures about freight paid by us on food imports during three or four years. The sum amounted to a fantastic figure of about Rs 100 crores or so. Freight charges are going up again and are high now. I am told that the moment Government openly comes into the market up goes the freight.

3. C.D. Deshmukh.



We have, therefore, to consider all these factors and devise some means of avoiding the unnecessarily high prices.

I suggest that you might try the procedure I have suggested. If you like, you can discuss the matter with the Food Minister.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### (iv) River Valley Projects

##### 1. To Gulzarilal Nanda<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 23, 1954

My dear Gulzarilal,

When P.S. Rau<sup>2</sup> was here, he spoke to me about the DVC and how it was difficult to function there because everything had to be referred to the Government of India. He thought this was not in conformity with the law relating to the DVC. I asked him if he had spoken to you. He said yes and that he had written to you also. At my request he has sent me a copy of his letter to you dated June 7.<sup>3</sup>

I do not know about the details, but the main proposition that he advances appears to me to be correct. The whole purpose of the DVC will be lost sight of if it is not given freedom to function within its scope. I suppose that this tendency has risen because of past complaints. But now that you have appointed a man of ability who knows his job. I think we should allow him full play.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 17(45)/48-PMS.

2. (b. 1894); Chairman, Damodar Valley Corporation, 1954-56; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 24, p. 298.

3. Rau wrote to Nanda that the Corporation was being treated as a subordinate Government department and the special DVC Act which gave large powers to the Corporation had been sidelined. As a result the Corporation had neither "the authority of Government nor the elasticity of a private enterprise." The Damodar Valley Corporation Act, which came into force on 2 April 1948, vested large powers in the Corporation.

## 2. To Bhimsen Sachar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 23, 1954

My dear Sachar,

I learnt today that some damage had been done to one of the Bhakra canals, not far from Hissar. We saw this in the Hindi papers.<sup>2</sup> No intimation had been sent to us. When we enquired by telephone, your Superintending Engineer<sup>3</sup> (I think Gupta is his name) immediately asked Sivasankar<sup>4</sup> what the Central Government had to do with this matter. Apparently he did not know much himself. Later, we found that the damage was considerable and that it would take some days to be repaired. Sabotage was suspected.

This really is extraordinary. It is bad enough to have this damage done, deliberately or accidentally, but the utter carelessness of your engineers is something that I do not understand. Then, to ask why the Central Government was concerned was the height of impertinence. Will you please enquire from your Chief Engineer, Handa,<sup>5</sup> and your Superintending Engineer, Gupta, what they mean by this kind of attitude; more particularly, why we were not informed immediately about any damage. This kind of looseness is not going to be tolerated....

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 17(59)/48-PMS. Extracts.
2. The *Hindustan* reported on 22 June that one of the walls of the main canal of Bhakra had been washed away about 16 miles from Tuhana on the night of 16 June. The loss was estimated at Rs 26 lakhs.
3. Radha Krishna Gupta.
4. T. Sivasankar was Secretary in the Ministry of Irrigation and Power.
5. Raghunath Rai Handa, Bhakra-Nangal Project.

## 3. The Temples of New India<sup>1</sup>

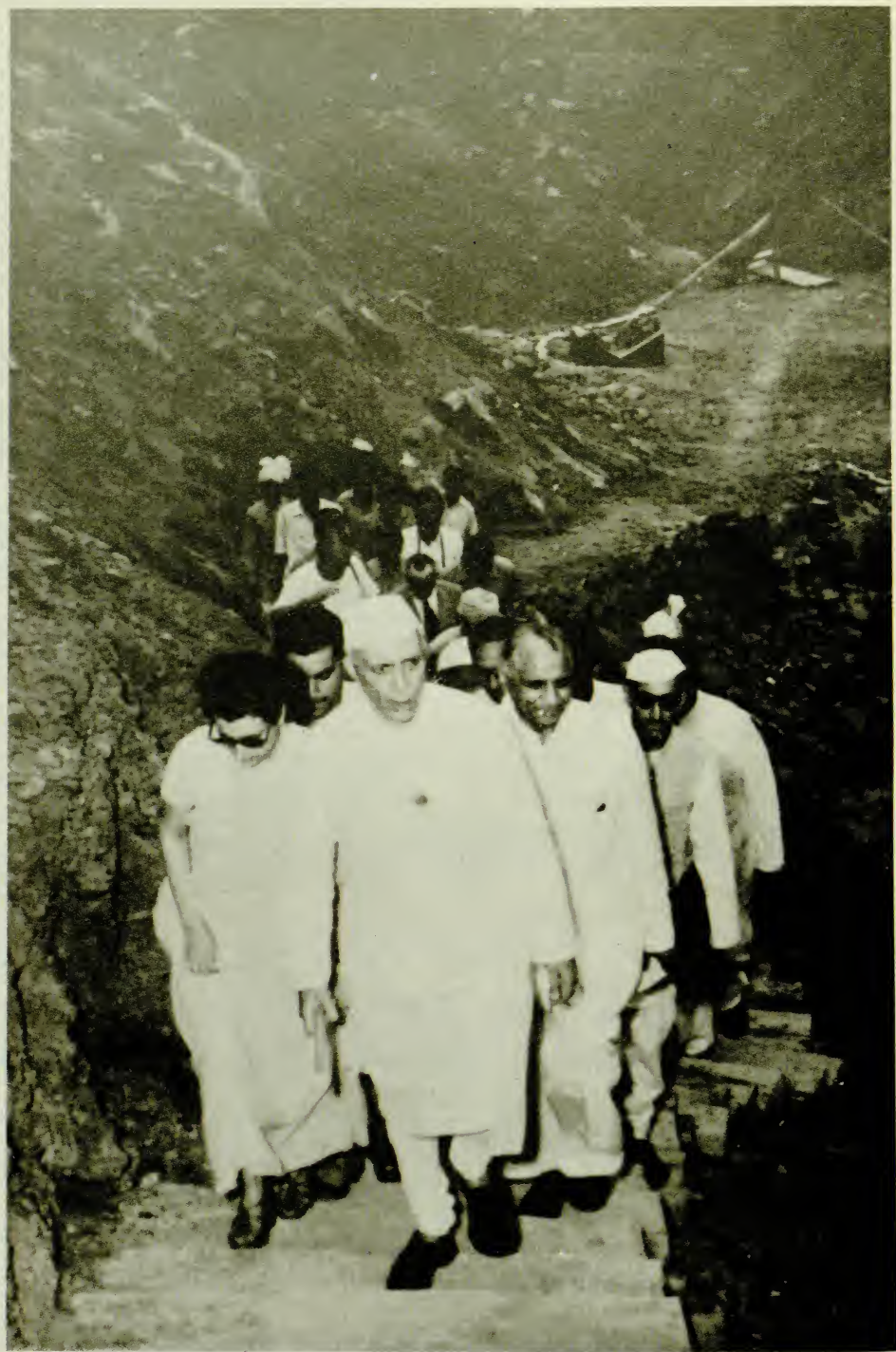
I have frequent occasions these days to participate in functions marking the inauguration of some new work or completion of some other. Today, you and

1. Speech while inaugurating the Bhakra-Nangal canal system at Nangal, the forenoon of 8 July 1954. File No.17(59)/48-PMS. Original in Hindi and English.





AT THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS OF BHOPAL STATE, BHOPAL, 1 JUNE 1954



AT THE CONSTRUCTION SITE. BHAKRA-NANGAL, 8 JULY 1954



I and all these persons have gathered here on one such occasion. I want to know from you what you think and feel in your minds and hearts on this occasion, because in my heart and mind there is a strange exhilaration and excitement, for many kinds of pictures come before me. Many dreams we have dreamt are being materialised today. There is perhaps some excitement in your hearts, and some exhilaration. We may praise each other, and those who have done good work should be praised. But how many can be praised when the list runs to thousands, nay lakhs? Let us give praise where it is due. The work which we see today, and in the inauguration of which we are participating, is bigger than our individual selves. It is a tremendous thing. What is this? I have told you that I and some of you have frequent occasions to participate in various functions. A foundation stone is laid somewhere; a building, a hospital, a school or university or some other thing is opened somewhere; and big factories are put up elsewhere. This is taking place all over India. India, Mother India, is producing various kinds of things. Among them Bhakra-Nangal has a special place—Bhakra-Nangal, where a small village stood, is today ringing in every corner of India and in some other parts of the world too; because this is a great work, the mark of a great enterprise.

About fifty years ago, for the first time an Englishman came here and had an idea that something could be done here, but the idea did not materialise.<sup>2</sup> The matter was raised many times. Some rough plans were made but the matter was not pursued. Then India became free and in achieving that freedom Punjab suffered a great shock, a grievous wound. But despite the shock and the wound, freedom brought a new strength, a new enthusiasm. And so with the wound, the worries and the calamities came this new enthusiasm, new strength to take up this big work, and we took it up. I came here frequently and many of you also would have come here and seen this slowly changing picture and felt something. What a tremendous, magnificent work this is, a work which only a nation which has courage and boldness can take up! This is a work which does not belong to Punjab, Pepsu or the neighbouring States only but to the whole of India. India has also undertaken other big works similar to this. Damodar Valley, Hirakud and the big projects of the South are going on apace. Plans are being made every day, as we are anxious to build a new India as soon as possible, as speedily as possible, to take it forward, to make it strong and to remove the poverty of the poor people of India. We are doing all this, and

2. The idea of the Bhakra scheme was originally thought of in 1908 by Louis Dane, Lt Governor of the Punjab and a qualified engineer. A project for constructing a dam at the present site, with a storage capacity of 2.58 million acre feet but without any provision for generation of hydro-electric power, was first conceived in 1919. The proposal was, however, given up as it was not found financially viable. The project was revised during 1939-42 but the then Government took no decision in the matter.

Bhakra-Nangal in many respects would be one of the greatest of these big works.

A very big step is being taken here today after years of endeavour. The dreams we dreamt for years are now coming true before our eyes. They are dreams no longer. They have become a reality. When such a thing is built up before our eyes, there is a natural pleasure and enthusiasm and we acquire new strength. Every work we complete in India gives fresh strength to the nation to undertake new tasks. This Bhakra-Nangal is a landmark not merely because the water would flow here and irrigate large portions of Punjab and Pepsu, and fertilise the deserts of Rajasthan—this is a great thing. This is a landmark not only because electric power would be generated here, and that power would run thousands of factories and cottage industries which would provide work to the people and relieve unemployment. These are all great things. But this landmark becomes all the greater when it becomes a symbol of the nation's will to march forward with strength, determination and courage. This is why, seeing this work, my courage and strength have increased. Nothing is more encouraging than to capture our dreams and give them a real shape.

Just before coming here I had gone to Bhakra where the dam is being built and there I stood on the banks of the Sutlej and saw the mountains to the right and left of it. Far away, at various spots, people were working. Since it was a holiday, there was not much to do for all the people had come here. Generally the work goes on day and night. Still there were a few persons working. From a distance they looked very small and the mountains very mighty. Through the mountains a tunnel was being bored. The thought came to me that it is these men who have striven against the mountains and brought them under control. But only half the work is done so far. We may celebrate the completion of this work, but remember that the most difficult work still remains to be done—the construction of the dam about which you have heard so much. Our engineers told us that probably nowhere in the world is there such a high dam as this.<sup>3</sup> The work bristles with difficulties and complications. I saw it and walked here and there and then I thought that these days probably the biggest temple and mosque and gurdwara is the place where man works for the good of mankind. Which place can be greater than this, this Bhakra-Nangal, where thousands and lakhs of men have worked, have shed their blood and sweat and laid down their lives as well?<sup>4</sup> Where can be a greater and holier place than this, and which we can hold in higher regard? Then again I considered that it

3. The Bhakra dam is a straight gravity dam with a height of 740 feet and a storage capacity of eight million acre feet of water.
4. The labour strength on the entire project in 1954 was about 70,000, having risen to 167,000 during the peak period in February 1954. About 500 engineers and 1,700 overseers were also employed at this time. Since the construction work started on full scale in 1948, 108 people had lost their lives and 535 suffered injuries.



was a big university where we can work and while working we can learn, so that we may do still bigger things. The nation is marching forward and every day the pace becomes faster. As we learn the work and gain experience, we advance with greater speed. Therefore, this Bhakra-Nangal is not a work of this moment only. The work which we are doing at present is not only for our own times but for coming generations and future times. This is an example, a training centre for learning, and a university so that the work in India might grow and grow faster. All these pictures came before my mind.

Again a thought came to my mind on seeing the Sutlej. Where has it come from? What course has it traversed to reach here? And then we make friends with her and try to reap profit with our labour. Do you know where the Sutlej springs from? It rises near Mount Kailash in the vicinity of Manasarovar Lake, which is famous all over the world, especially in India. Many other big rivers rise nearby. The Indus river also rises near that place. Brahmaputra also flows from that place in a different direction and reaches India and Pakistan after traversing thousands of miles. Other rivers rise from places nearby and flow from Tibet towards China. So the Sutlej traverses hundreds of miles through the Himalayas to reach here and we have tried to control her in a friendly way. You must have seen two big diversion channels. At present the whole river has been channelled through one channel. After the rains the river will be diverted completely in the two channels so that the dam might be built there.

These and other thoughts came to my mind there. I look far, not only towards Bhakra-Nangal, but towards our country, India, whose children we are. Where is she going? Where have we to lead her? Which way have we to walk and which mighty tasks have we to undertake? Some of these will be completed in our lifetime. Some others will be taken up and completed by those who will come after us, because the work of a nation or a country is never completed. It goes on and no one can arrest its progress—the progress of a living nation. We have to press forward. The question is which way we have to take, how should we proceed, what principles, what things, what objectives have we to keep before us. All these big questions crop up. This is not an occasion to tell you about them but we have to remember them always and not forget them. When we undertake a big work we have to do so with a large heart, with a large mind. Small minds cannot undertake big works. Small-minded nations do not do big works. When we see big works our stature also grows with them. Our minds open out a little.

You know that in this connection, in the matter of Bhakra-Nangal, our neighbour Pakistan has some complaints and has raised objections.<sup>5</sup> It is a story

5. Pakistan complained that the effects of the Bhakra dam and other projects would cause a lowering of water levels in West Punjab during the months of May to October and seriously affect the efficient working of its inundation canals.

seven or eight years old, which dates back to the time of Partition. I can understand their anxiety; it is a matter for anxiety. I have been worrying all these years how to solve this question through mutual consultation, to the advantage of both India and Pakistan. Why could this question not be solved, why all this strife until now? Perhaps you may remember, we held talks when this dispute arose more than six years ago. Some representatives came from Pakistan and our representatives also met at a conference at Delhi.<sup>6</sup> I was also one of them; therefore I can speak from personal knowledge. The present Governor-General of Pakistan also participated in the conference<sup>7</sup> and his signature as well as mine are on what was written there. Besides these, the signatures of the Ministers of Pakistan and India and of East and West Punjab are all there. A settlement was arrived at.<sup>8</sup> What was the settlement? They told us and we told them that it was not a matter for legal dispute, that we may bring lawyers and engage in legal quibbles and dispute what the law says. The law does not help in such matters. This is a human problem, a matter affecting the welfare of lakhs and crores of human beings on both sides. We wanted to lay aside legal quibbles. We did not raise the matter of legal rights. It was clear that East Punjab could not do without the waters of the Sutlej and other rivers. It was also obvious that neither we nor anybody else wanted to harm Pakistan.

Therefore, we had to find a way which would serve the purpose of both of us. The way that was found in the Agreement of 1948 was this: that we, that is, India, should gradually increase her offtake of waters on the East Punjab side, but bearing in mind that Pakistan gets an opportunity to make alternative arrangements so that the people of Pakistan do not suffer any loss. This was a sensible and wise decision. How can we wish harm to the inhabitants of Pakistan? After all, Pakistan is our neighbour, our comrade of yesterday and a comrade even of today in some sense. Besides this, if there is distress and starvation on our borders it would be a danger to us. We desire prosperity for this side as well as the other side. There may be any number of disputes and quarrels between ourselves and Pakistan today, but a day will come when these disputes and quarrels will end and we shall live in friendship. Therefore, it is a foolish presumption if any one thinks that we want to do anything which might harm Pakistan and her peasants or landowners, because ultimately her injury

6. The conference, held on 3 and 4 May 1948, discussed the question of supply of water from Upper Bari Doab and Dipalpur canals. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 6, pp. 62 and 66.
7. Ghulam Mohammed, who was at the time the Finance Minister of Pakistan, was the leader of the Pakistani delegation.
8. According to the Inter-Dominion Agreement arrived at on 4 May 1948, India agreed to give to Pakistan all the water she needed as a matter of urgency in return for the deposit of a sum of Rs 1.2 million a year in escrow with the Reserve Bank of India.



will recoil upon us, will create dangers and loss for us. At the same time if anybody tells us that you cannot take the waters of this river, come what may, then it does not make sense. Can Punjab and India agree for all time to starve, to remain in poverty and not to make progress? It is impossible.

Considering all these things we reached a settlement and Pakistan agreed to it. We have a right to the waters of East Punjab on the condition that we should give time to the other Punjab to make alternative arrangements, so that they may not suffer any loss. This had nothing to do with law. It was sense. Please remember that law and sense are not always the same. In this dispute as well as other disputes, legal experts have made long statements and written big books. I tried to explain that all this labour would be useless. Your legal arguments would have no influence on me. This is not a matter of law, whether it is raised in the International Court or in the United Nations. This matter would be settled in the country where it is a question of life and death of lakhs and crores of people. But if you want a legal discussion then have it by all means but this is not the proper way. The proper way is that which we followed in 1948 when we all arrived at a settlement; the settlement provided that our engineers and theirs would consider how to secure the good of both of us. There is a plain fact that you should remember, namely, that only a very small portion of the waters that flow in the rivers of both the Punjabs is being utilised today, and the rest flows into the sea. There is no dearth of water if you look at East and West Punjab as a whole; we only lack an arrangement to take the water to the right places. That being so, let us make arrangements. Possibly some money will have to be spent. This is a matter for consideration, because we are thinking not for just today but of the next 100 or 200 years. Naturally, money would have to be spent on it. Vast sums have been spent on Bhakra-Nangal and more will have to be spent. Our estimate of the expenditure is near about 160 crores. It is a big amount. On the other hand, please see the benefits to the country and the people which would flow from it. Compared with the benefits, 160 crores are nothing. Thus in the ultimate analysis it is not a question of rupees and annas. It is a question of helping each other so that the waters of Punjab should be utilised to the best advantage of both the Punjabs.

Unfortunately, the arrangement could not work.<sup>9</sup> I was in favour of joint consultations between the engineers of both sides. I may be wrong or right but

9. By the Agreement of 4 May 1948, India agreed to resume the supply of waters to Pakistan. In July 1948, at an Inter-Dominion Conference held at Lahore, Pakistan was allowed seven years to develop alternative sources of water supply. However, Pakistan suggested in June 1949 that India should refer the matter to the International Court of Justice. If India failed to do so, Pakistan proposed that it would place the dispute before the Security Council. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 14, Pt. I, p. 3 and Vol. 16, Pt. II, p. 368.

a thousand obstacles were created from Pakistan's side. They would not talk, would not allow us to go on. Perhaps they thought that by raising obstacles they would be able to arrest our progress. But it was useless. Now suddenly we are told that the 1948 Agreement was useless and that it was secured by us under duress.<sup>10</sup> As I told you, it so happened that I was also present there and can give personal testimony. The present Governor-General of Pakistan was also present as one of the signatories and I cannot understand how I or anybody else could coerce him into appending his signature. It is very undignified that countries should resort to petty legal arguments. Big countries do big things with full involvement, whether it is peace or war. It is not in my nature to indulge in legal arguments. I gave up legal practice 40 or 50 years back. I greatly dislike these legal quibbles.

Now that Pakistan has denounced the Agreement of 1948, what is the alternative? Could there be a vacuum? An agreement between two parties could not be abrogated by unilateral action. Thus, the dispute went on, then some people from the World Bank came here and talked with us and with Pakistan and wrote them letters.<sup>11</sup> They were prepared to mediate, so that Indian and Pakistani engineers might hold discussions with their help. This was what we had been saying from the very beginning, that our engineers and theirs should hold joint consultations because there was sufficient water for both the countries. So we accepted World Bank's proposal and said that we were ready, if they could make the other side agree to joint consultation between engineers. They told us that as long as the talks were in progress we should not reduce the supply of waters to Pakistan from this side. Please remember that the 1948 Agreement with Pakistan, which I just mentioned, laid down that India had a right to reduce the supply of waters progressively so that Pakistan might get time. Years passed and sufficient time was given. Therefore, we had a right to reduce the flow. Still we agreed to World Bank's suggestion not to reduce the supply of waters till the time the talks under the auspices of the Bank went on. We thought the talks would probably go on for five or six months and come to some beneficial conclusion. So, taking everything into consideration, we accepted it for about six months. Those six months stretched to a year, and a year and a half and now two and a half years. It is a strange situation. Talks held with

10. Pakistan made this charge in an official communication received by the Indian Government on 29 August 1950. In their reply of 15 September 1950, the Government of India stated that Pakistan had never earlier claimed to have signed the Agreement of May 1948 under duress, and proposed the constitution of an ad hoc tribunal consisting of two judges of the highest judicial standing from each country to resolve the dispute. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 15, Pt. I, pp. 317-322.

11. The World Bank offered its good offices for resolving the issue on a functional basis in September 1951.



Pakistan have a habit of lengthening to such an extent that there does not seem to be any end to them. I get sick of this. I want a decision this way or that way.

Finally, three or four months ago, the World Bank people put forward a proposition of their own.<sup>12</sup> They knew that they had no authority to force it on us. They had, as mediators, merely a right to put forward a suggestion before us. It was for us to accept or reject it. So they put forward a suggestion when they thought that our talks were not going to yield any result. Their scheme more or less provided for a division of the rivers of Punjab. Pakistan was to take the waters of some rivers and we were to take waters of some other rivers. There was no doubt that we were to get all the waters on our side but they laid a very great burden on us, namely, that we should give financial aid to Pakistan so that it could construct new canals from other rivers to get more water. They did not clearly specify the amount but they indicated a very large sum. It was a heavy burden on us but we considered and consulted the Punjab Government and thought that if the matter was settled once for all and our welfare as well as the welfare of Pakistan lay in it then we should accept the burden of the heavy price demanded from us. So we wrote to the World Bank within a few days saying that we accepted the basic principle put forward by them and that though it imposed a very heavy burden on us, we were prepared to pay this price so that the matter might be settled peacefully and we were allowed to go on with our work in our country in peace. Let Pakistan also benefit. We would give the money. So we accepted the proposal within a few days. I do not clearly remember—perhaps they made their proposal in February or March. But Pakistan did not give any reply though weeks and months passed. We were very perturbed. Our representatives are still in Washington, and other cities of America. Weeks and months have passed and a reply from Pakistan was still awaited. It was a strange situation. We wanted to recall our representatives. They were not doing anything there but then we thought that they might make it a pretext that we recalled them. Therefore, we let them stay there till the reply came. In the end, we told the World Bank to fix some date for Pakistan's reply so that we might know something, otherwise a whole lifetime would pass in waiting there.

The World Bank accepted our suggestion and told Pakistan that she should reply within a week whether she accepted the principle or not. Details might

12. Early in 1954, the World Bank put forward a proposal for a division of waters, allocating the eastern rivers, the Sutlej, the Beas, and the Ravi, to India and the western rivers, the Chenab, the Jhelum and the Indus, to Pakistan. This required a system of new canals to transfer waters from the western rivers into those areas in Pakistan which had until then depended for their irrigation supplies on the waters of the eastern rivers.

be settled later on. When they did this, Pakistan showed signs of life and began to run about and in the end Sir Zafrullah Khan<sup>13</sup> undertook the long journey to Washington. Many hitches arose but ultimately he went there and then many things were said about it. Neither yes nor no but that we shall consider the things, and this and that. The World Bank considered their reply and told them that it amounted to a rejection. Should it be taken that they had rejected the proposals or had they to say something more? Now, Pakistan realised the matter would end and while they rejected and India accepted, the consequences of it would perhaps not be good, because the effect of it would have been that our interim agreement would have come to an end, the discussions would have ended and the World Bank's suggestions to us to pay them crores of rupees would also have lapsed. The rights of both the sides were clear. Then the World Bank asked Pakistan to give a clear reply. We had made our arrangements for the return of our deputation, but only three or four days back Pakistan said that they accepted the principle underlying the proposals put forward by the World Bank. But they added that they could not give a final reply unless the whole picture was before them. That amounts to the same legal quibbling. On the one side they say that they accept and on the other they keep the escape door open on the pretext that they have not been given the full picture. This is where matters stand at present.

Earlier we had written to the World Bank to say that while we had accepted their proposal, Pakistan had rejected it and, therefore, our agreement not to reduce the supply of waters no longer held good. We resumed our freedom of action. We were ready to talk when the World Bank or Pakistan wanted to do so because we did not intend to shut the door to the agreement. We were ready for it. But the talks had ended and our delegation would be returning home. But the Bank people told us that Pakistan's attitude was changing and that they were saying that they accepted the principle. If that was so, probably a way would be found. The Bank asked our delegation to wait for a few days more. Then our representatives agreed to stay on for a few days more.

Now the point is that our former agreement with the World Bank or the Government of Pakistan for not reducing the supply of waters has expired. We have every right to reduce it but we do not want to stand on legal rights in this matter. We want to do something which would harm neither Pakistan nor us. Therefore, we again told them that we would do nothing in haste which may harm the landowners and peasants in Pakistan. We would give them a chance to make their own arrangements. After all we have to reduce the supply of waters but we would do it, having regard to the conditions, that is, we

13. Muhammad Zafrullah Khan (1893-1985); Foreign Minister of Pakistan, 1947-54; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 9, p. 394.



still stood by the principles which we had accepted in the Agreement of 1948. If you have read the Pakistan newspapers you may see that there is a great outcry, a storm, as if something is going to take place on the 8th of July here in Nangal which would immediately stop the waters flowing into Pakistan, would create a drought there and that lakhs and crores of people would die of hunger and thirst.<sup>14</sup>

This is wrong and deplorable. We told them clearly that at the moment we were not reducing the supply of waters. It is a fact that they have built one or two canals from which they can take some water. Therefore, they can take water from their side and we would reduce supplies to that extent. This would not reduce their total supply of water. If they could build some more canals, as they intend to do, then this process would go on. It is clear from the studies done under the auspices of the World Bank that there is no dearth of water. Only an arrangement to take the waters to the desired directions is lacking. It is evident that on our side in East Punjab, we have no other source of water except the Sutlej. You can see in the map there is no other source. If we do not take from it, it would mean that we would be totally depriving ourselves of it. No progress would be possible. Whether it is East Punjab, Pepsu or Rajasthan, they would always remain dry. This is the situation. On the other hand, they have many rivers from which they can easily take water with a little hard work. We are ready to help them with money in this. What is the difficulty then?

We do not want to harm Pakistan because, as I have said, that would be wrong. As a Government we do not proceed on the principle that we should inflict loss on Pakistan. It would not be proper if lakhs of landowners and peasants suffer a loss. It is against our principles and, as I have told you, it is a dangerous thing to do on our borders. It is out of question. We do not want at this juncture that there should be any reduction in the waters which they have been getting. Rains will come in a few days and there will be no problem. After the rains, we have a right to reduce the volume to the extent to which they have made alternative arrangements. There is only one way to avoid ultimate reduction and that is, that they should speedily make other arrangements and construct canals to draw water from their rivers so that we may go on reducing supplies to that extent. It is a simple proposition.

We in India have given priority to big projects like Bhakra-Nangal, Damodar, Hirakud, and to the construction of canals, the generation of electricity and the setting up of big factories. You are aware that we have set up a magnificent fertiliser factory at Sindri; big railway engines are being

14. *Dawn* and *Pakistan Times* carried extensive reports on these lines on 1 July 1954.

manufactured at Chittaranjan; railway coaches are being made at Bangalore; aeroplanes and ocean-going ships are being built; and we have many other big factories working. India is fired with an enthusiasm for work. Work is going on, construction is going on all round. I do not want to criticize a neighbouring country but I submit that Pakistan is spending its energy in disputes and quarrels instead of doing constructive work. If it had done even one fourth of what India is doing it would have made sufficient progress. Like the dispute about waters, other disputes would also have been settled but I regret that in Pakistan less attention is paid to work and to means of building up the country and more to disputes and family feuds. I wish, and you should all wish, that Pakistan should progress. It is a matter for regret that instead of seeking the advancement of their country through their own efforts they want to advance by dependence on other countries. No country or individual in the history of the world until now has been able to stand on the legs of others. Pakistan should stand on its own legs.

As far as Bhakra-Nangal is concerned, for the last six or seven years, thousands and lakhs of people have been toiling on it. Much money has been spent and now it is taking some shape and we would be able to reap some benefit from it. Four or five years still remain to complete it.<sup>15</sup> The work is quite difficult and the really difficult part of the work is the construction of the dam which would be a unique thing in the world. The world has to understand and Pakistan should understand that this work would go on with vigour. They are mistaken if they believe that this work can be stopped. There is no power which can arrest that powerful tide of our progress. But we are ready to help them to make their plans so that there may not be any dearth of water; on the contrary, they may get more than what they are getting now. They can get more because they have an inexhaustible supply of water for their canals. Under the circumstances, why should there be complaints and outcry? I can make out nothing except that they are averse to work and want others to work for them. They want to gain advantage somehow. This is not reasonable. I thought it proper to place the entire picture before you because there are complaints in Pakistan and in some other countries, which create great misunderstandings and I do not want any misunderstanding.

We have come here today on this auspicious occasion, auspicious for you, for Punjab, for Pepsu, and really for the whole of India. A great work has been done. At least, one stage has been completed which has given us strength to take up the other stages and to go ahead with our work for the whole of India. Whom should we single out for congratulation when lakhs of people have

15. The 170-crore Bhakra-Nangal project was formally dedicated to the nation by Nehru on 22 October 1963.



worked? The names of big officials who have borne big responsibilities come before us. But this is not a matter in which anybody can, by mere seniority, do this work. In our country people become officers by seniority. The longer time they spend the higher they rise. But when you come to such a work, mere seniority would not do. If you do not know the work, even if you may be a hundred years old or may be tall in stature, you cannot do it. It is a matter of brains and experience. If we do not have experience of certain things we shall bring experienced men from other countries. I am not prepared to listen to any arguments as to why we have brought men from America, Germany or Russia.<sup>16</sup> We would surely bring them if we can learn something from them because I want that everything in our country should be first-rate. I do not want anything that is second class. In this type of difficult work which is going on in India, I want to take advantage of the greatest experience and skill available in the world. Should I do something which would jeopardize the hundreds of crores of rupees we have spent? You will realise that it would be wrong in principle not to take the advice of foreign experts. I do not want foreigners to be brought here unnecessarily. It is our people who have to do the work. I do not even want that any outside material should come here. I see that in India and specially in Punjab our old tradition of swadeshi has become weak. The people of Punjab regard themselves as very fashionable. This is not a good thing. I do not want that our money should go outside, but I am always ready to spend money for gaining experience and knowledge. Knowledge is priceless. Therefore, we called in some engineers from outside, specially from America, and took their help. And there is no doubt that from some at least we have received great help. We have received great help from Mr Slocum,<sup>17</sup> the chief engineer. We are grateful to him. We are learning from experience here and when we have to do similar work in other places, we would not need outside help. If we learn, our country would advance.

We have to congratulate our chief engineers who have borne great responsibilities, and thousands of our other engineers who are working here. After all, the burden of this work devolves on lakhs of men who include all classes, big engineers, small engineers, overseers and workers<sup>18</sup> who have

16. The work of designing the dam was entrusted to an American firm of consulting engineers headed by J.L. Savage, an authority on high dams.
17. Harvey Slocum (1887-1961); headed a corps of American engineers, Bhakra-Nangal project, 1951-55; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 24, p. 145.
18. Nehru had written to Bhimsen Sachar on 25 June 1954: "In the programme for the Nangal opening ceremony, I was shown that gold, silver, watches, etc. are being presented to the superior officers. I am afraid, I did not like it at all, but since it is your practice and desire, I do not wish to interfere. What I am interested in much more is how you are going to honour the ordinary workers, apart from the superior staff. I hope a selection of really good workers will be made and honoured."

completed this work in years. You should remember that such a great work would not have been completed unless you created an enthusiasm for work in common people. This work was a pledge that we were building our own future in which we were partners. To the extent this feeling spreads the work becomes excellent. It is an example for all of us. We have to do many other big things in India and create a feeling in the common people that they are building their own thing, their own country, their own houses. When there is such a feeling, the country progresses very fast.

I want to say just a few words in English also, because this is a very special occasion. Those of you who have wandered about India may have seen many of the great works that we are doing all over the country. You may have seen not only individual great works like our great river valley schemes or Sindri or Chittaranjan or the many things in Bangalore or elsewhere all over India or our great national laboratories and the like. You would have felt that the whole of India is in some kind of a commotion or, if I may put it this way, we talk about Mother India, that Mother India was in labour producing and creating things. So Mother India is in labour. We of our generation—many of us present here—belong to that generation which fought for the freedom of India. We threw ourselves into the struggle for the freedom of India. We are children of that revolution of India, and do not imagine that the revolution of India was not a revolution because it was a peaceful one. It was one of the biggest revolutions that the world has had. A revolution does not mean the breaking of heads. A revolution means changing things in a big way. We made India independent—a big enough change in this world. So we are children of that revolution and that revolution is not over. We have still to continue it. We finished it in a way in the political sphere. We have to continue it in the social and the economic sphere. We cannot remain static.

But again the very emphasis and method of our revolution is peaceful as it was really and so people do not try to realise what is happening in India because, unhappily, violence is news. Peaceful work is not news to the newspapers. If there is a petty riot somewhere it is news. But today you will find all over India that this great country is in commotion. Not only the big things that you know perhaps or read about in the newspapers, but even more so, those Community Project schemes and the National Extension Service schemes, if you understand them aright, are truly revolutionary ventures which, I hope, in the course of the next five, six, seven years, will change the whole face of rural India, and rural India, remember, is 80 per cent of India. So all these things are happening under the surface of India, sometimes over it. Unhappily what we hear about is criticism, condemnation of this or that. I do not mind criticism; I do not mind condemnation. In democratic working, we should have full criticism, we should have free speech and all that, but I do mind people behaving in an irresponsible and ignorant way, not realising, not seeing what is



being done and merely running down their own country, running down their own people. Few people in the world, I suppose, have got this habit of running themselves down as some of our people have. They do so not only inside the country but they go abroad and run our country down. Well, I would invite all those people whose sole theme is not work but talk and talk to run down the country or the present Government, I would invite them to make a tour of India and see what is being done in India by the people of India. Let them run down the Government of India if they choose, I do not mind, but I do mind their running down the people of India. Let them see what millions of our people are doing, whether they are working in the factories or in the fields or in these various constructive schemes and projects and community schemes and all that, because millions and millions are working there.

Let them see that and then they will realise that what is being done in India today is something of tremendous magnitude because 360 or 370 million people are on the move. That is no small matter. I know very well our own failings and difficulties. I know very well how we busy ourselves with futile arguments, how at the present moment we talk so much about changing the provinces, expanding them, shrinking them, disintegrating them, having new provinces and the like. I do not mind talking about it but I do mind our people getting terribly excited about it and forgetting the major things. The major thing is making a new India, building a new India, a prosperous India, putting an end to the poverty of India and not these petty disputes, which seem to have absorbed the minds of some people. Here we are meeting on an occasion which almost seems to me a solemn and sacred occasion. As I have just said in my Hindi speech, for me the temples, the gurdwaras, the churches, the mosques today are these places where human beings labour for the benefit of other human beings, of humanity as a whole. They are the temples of today. I feel more, if I may use the word, religious-minded when I see these great works than when I see any temple or any place of pure worship. These are the places of worship because here we worship something: we build up India; we build up the millions of India and so this is a sacred task.

One word more. I have just given you at some length the history of our relations with Pakistan in regard to the canal waters issue. I shall not repeat all that but I shall say this. It would be completely wrong for anyone to imagine that we want to injure Pakistan or deprive Pakistan of anything. We are prepared to help them to the best of our ability, to build their own canal system and others so that they may not only have their usual supply of water but even more; but we are not obviously prepared for them to do nothing and for us to do nothing and to continue the present state of affairs.

Now I shall go and press the button which will release the waters. On your behalf and on my behalf I dedicate the Bhakra-Nangal works to the good of the Indian people.

(v) Industry

1. To M.K. Vellodi<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 3, 1954

My dear Vellodi,<sup>2</sup>

The Commerce Minister<sup>3</sup> was speaking to me the other day, and he mentioned some reports<sup>4</sup> he had received from some competent observers about the Ambernath Machine Tool Prototype Factory<sup>5</sup> and the Jalahalli Hindustan Machine Tools Limited.<sup>6</sup> At my request, he gave me these reports. I forgot the names of the writers of these reports. I think one of them was from Rolls Royce.

Possibly you have seen these reports as I understand they were sent to Defence.

These reports are disturbing. I do not accept them at their face value, and there is an obvious bias against Government-owned industry. Allowing for all this, I still feel disturbed. It is no good regretting the fact that we have got more machines than we can use. They are there and we shall use them some time or other, but the point is, are we making adequate progress towards that end?

There is some reference to 'gross immorality' on the part of Government. Presumably this refers to this Government concern driving some competent private concern out of the market. All this indicates the free enterprise mentality with which I do not agree. Nevertheless, I do not understand why in the India of today there should be any conflict of this kind.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. (1896-1987); Defence Secretary, 1953-57; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 2, p. 55.

3. T.T. Krishnamachari.

4. It was commented that before the integration of Indian Railways each State Railway had its own workshop. Many of them were good general purpose workshops, but most were lying idle. In the Ordnance factories this type of idle capacity existed to a greater degree; and the methods adopted in running these factories made it very difficult to get any information regarding the capacity of such plants.

5. Nehru inaugurated the factory near Mumbai on 13 January 1953.

6. The first stage of production in the Jalahalli factory near Bangalore commenced in October 1954.



## 2. To T.T. Krishnamachari<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 10, 1954

My dear T.T.,<sup>2</sup>

I have gone thoroughly into the question of Ambernath Machine Tool Factory. As a result, I feel that the criticisms of some of your experts were greatly exaggerated, though there might be some substance in them. Evidently the experts disapproved on principle of the State running such concerns.

We started this factory primarily to make ourselves more independent in regard to certain important Defence equipment. That is necessary, quite apart from the economics of it, though ultimately it may be justified from the economic point of view also. The original idea was to have prototype development, but, in order to bring some return from the capital invested and to keep the technique of skilled workmen alive, it was decided to couple machine tool manufacture with it. It is not extraordinary that a few machines should not be used to begin with and should lie idle for the present. I understand that the machines which had not been used thus far form less than ten per cent of the total. No doubt they will be used later. It was considered desirable to get these full equipments. No one knows what might happen in the future and when we might not be able to get some machines which might be required.

The machines and equipment provided could be used for both activities, that is, production of prototype and the requirements of other Ordnance factories, and thus to ensure a balanced workload. Prototype work was to have precedence.

The Factory was started in January 1953, that is, about 17 months ago. That is not a long period and the work done by it in these initial months can hardly be described as unsatisfactory though no doubt it is capable of improvement. Efforts to improve are being made.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Also available in T.T. Krishnamachari Papers, NMML. A copy of the letter was sent to M.K. Vellodi.
2. (1899-1974): Union Minister for Commerce and Industry, 1952-56; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 7, p. 447.

### 3. Khadi Hundis<sup>1</sup>

For many years past some Khadi organisations in the country have issued what are called Khadi *hundis*, usually at the time of the Gandhi Jayanti. This year a more organised and extensive effort is going to be made in this connection and Khadi *hundis* will be issued by the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board, which is associated with the Ministry of Commerce and Industry of the Government of India.

These *hundis* will be issued in different denominations, the sales commencing on the 2nd October 1954. The purchaser will be entitled to purchase cotton, woolen or silk Khadi at any time upto 31st March 1955. The object is to make available a part of the capital required by the Khadi producing centres for enhancing the output of Khaddar for the next year.

It is proposed to issue *hundis* of the value of the one crore of rupees and by the sale of these *hundis* it will be possible to increase the production of Khaddar by at least five crores of rupees. This will give employment to several lakhs of villagers.

I would commend these *hundis* to our people. To wear Khadi should be an honour and a distinction. It should be symbol of equality and of our lining up with millions of village folk in India. In addition to this, we help in giving some employment to a considerable number of persons. No one should need further argument and I hope, therefore, this venture will prove a complete success.

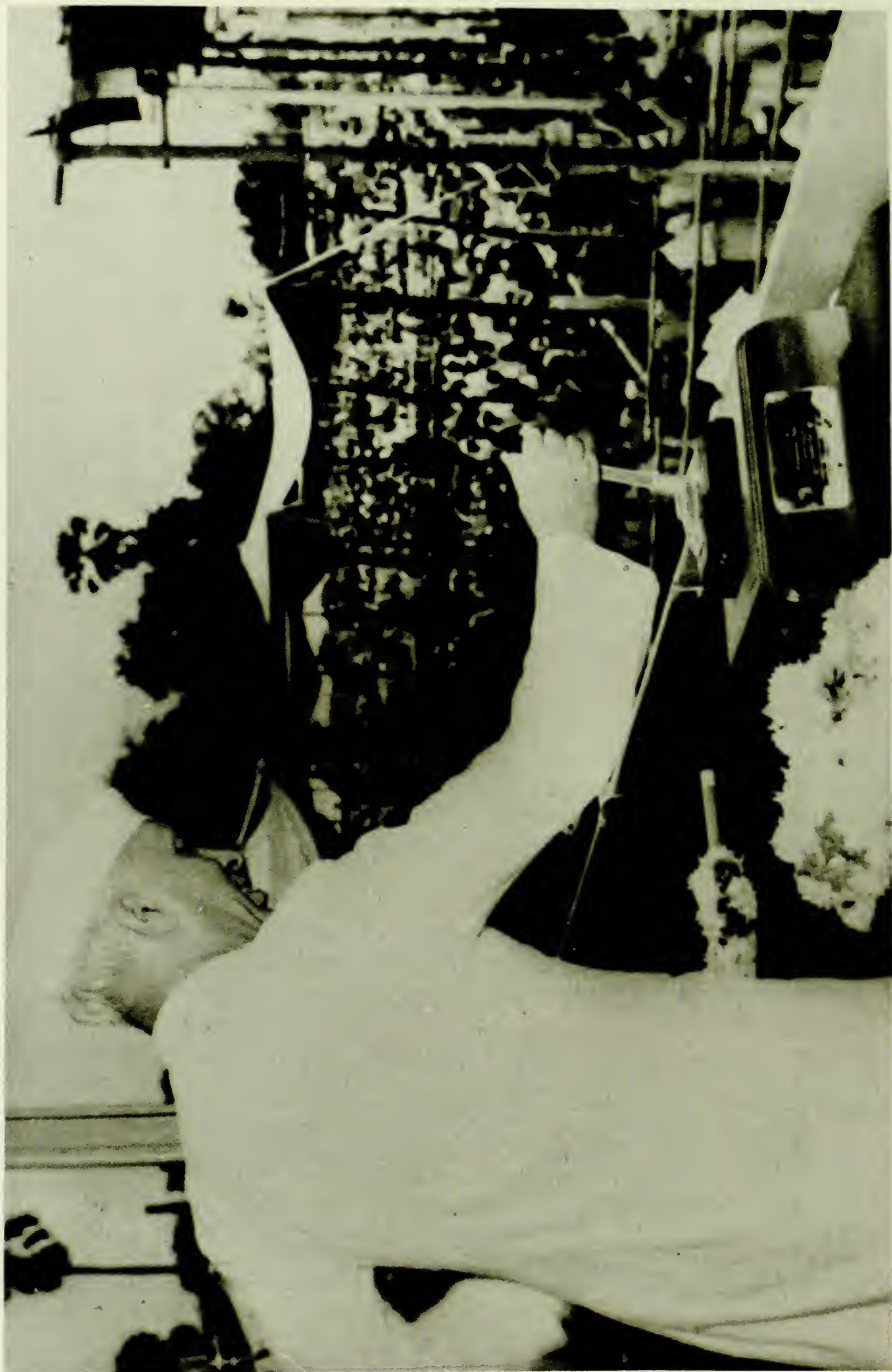
1. Appeal drafted on 13 August 1954 and released to the Press on the occasion of the issuing of Khadi *hundis* by Khadi organisations on 22 September 1954. JN Collection.

### 4. Oil Exploration by Foreign Concerns<sup>1</sup>

Deputy Minister Keshava Deva Malaviya<sup>2</sup> has been repeatedly suggesting to me that we should reserve certain areas for oil exploration for ourselves. Dr

1. Note to Secretary General, MEA, 25 August 1954. JN Collection.
2. (1903-1981); Deputy Minister for Natural Resources and Scientific Research, 12 August 1952 to 7 December 1954; also see *Selected Works* (first series). Vol. I, p. 260.





INAUGURATING THE CHUNAR-ROBERTSGANJ-CHURK RAILWAY LINE, CHUNAR, 12 JULY 1954

# Everyone Will Get A Chance



*Pandit Nehru met Delhi Congress leaders individually to resolve differences between them.*

FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 13 JUNE 1954



Bhatnagar<sup>3</sup> points out that oil exploration is a very expensive process, requiring much more equipment and experience than we possess.

2. We have, in fact, agreed to foreign concerns<sup>4</sup> prospecting for oil in large parts of India. Although there is no final commitment, it does follow naturally that if they succeed in their prospecting and find oil, they would be asked to do the mining also. If, therefore, we give the whole of India to foreign concerns for this purpose, we have no elbowroom to experiment ourselves, even in a small way. I am, therefore, inclined to think that it would be a good thing if we could keep some parts of India for this purpose for our own exploration. I speak naturally as a layman. Perhaps your committee will consider this matter.

3. S. S. Bhatnagar (1895-1955); Secretary, Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research, 1951-55; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 2, p. 605.
4. The Government of India had an agreement with the Standard Vacuum Oil Company and a proposal to have an agreement with Caltex and Burmah-Shell was under consideration.

## 5. Modification of Bank Award<sup>1</sup>

... The House will appreciate that a normal industrial dispute dealing with employers and workers is one thing; but if that industrial dispute has larger consequences, well, they have to be taken into consideration.<sup>2</sup> If their dispute has certain consequences, which might conceivably affect the credit of the country, then, at any moment and more especially now in India, one hesitates to do something which might upset the credit structure, which might result in its coming in the way of the country's credit—I am not for the moment going

1. Statement in Rajya Sabha, 2 September 1954. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. VII, Nos 8-15, 1954, cols 1201-1204. Extracts.
2. On 28 April 1954, a Special Bench of the Labour Appellate Tribunal at Mumbai held that "the minimum total emoluments of a clerk in an A Class Bank in Class I area should be raised to something between Rs 140 and Rs 145 and suitable variations will have to be made for other classes of employees in different areas." On 24 August 1954, the Government of India, by an order under section 15 of the Industrial Disputes (Appellate Tribunal) Act of 1950, effected a modification in this Award which, among other things, reduced the emoluments of the employees. Subsequently, protesting against Government's action, V.V. Giri, Union Labour Minister, resigned on 30 August.

into the merits of that—I am putting this case that if there is that risk, one has to examine that matter very carefully, as this matter was examined. Now, it is difficult to examine the case of every bank. But if that result followed, then it was incumbent on the Government to pay very particular attention to it and to see to it that any such risk was avoided—avoided certainly not at the risk of throwing the burden on the workers or the employees, but anyhow it has to be avoided. That was the main fear and apprehension in our minds, and I do submit that while Government should not interfere with the decisions of tribunals, Government cannot say, and I do not think this House can say, nor has the law appointing these tribunals said, that Government should never do so. The laws say so; they have given it. In spite of the law giving that authority to the Government, Government should be very, very chary in interfering—I admit that—but if Government feel or this House feels that certain consequences may flow which may be dangerous, then it becomes inevitable for Government to point them out and to take some steps to prevent those consequences. Now whether those consequences flow or not is another matter; one can consider them carefully. One may be right or one may be wrong, but I am putting the theoretical proposition: what if certain consequences flow, not in that particular dispute which the Tribunal or the Judge has no doubt very ably handled—I do not challenge that—but certain consequences which were not even before them? Unfortunately sometimes these disputes are considered in their limited scope and not in their wider scope. So the Tribunal does not have perhaps the entire economic or other picture. That was one great difficulty before us. Now, we were anxious at the same time to prevent the workers or employees suffering in consequence. In effect, it came to this that we could not take any step which might involve the risk of the banks failing and the economic structure being affected and we also wanted to avoid employees suffering. In other words, we wanted certain additional data, etc., to be considered, further facts to be considered and meanwhile to take some step to carry on. We did not want to increase the period of consideration. We could have done it. It is a matter of opinion. It was suggested that we might increase the period of consideration. The House will remember that the normal period is one month and one month being insufficient we increased it by 90 days. We might of course by another Ordinance or by legislation of Parliament have increased that period for another two, three, four or six months. It might have been done. But it seemed to us not proper to go on issuing Ordinances or passing legislation just increasing the period of consideration. We felt that we ought to come to a decision then and there but that decision should not fall heavily. Therefore, I should like the House to consider the nature of that decision.

It is true that in accepting that Award with modifications there are certain—I am not going into details—benefits conferred which employees do not have now. It is true that there will be a certain reduction in dearness allowance in



various places. But, observe, that reduction is divided up into three annual instalments and the first instalment does not take effect till a year from now, that is to say, any reduction from the present will take place only a year from now. Also remember that the Award itself which, in its modified form, has been accepted does not lapse but it ends in its present shape a year from now. It may be extended; it may be modified but it does have its normal force. Therefore, during the period in which this particular Award has the force of law, no reduction is going to take place....

Now, the House will probably know that some little time ago a committee called the Shroff Committee was appointed.<sup>3</sup> The Shroff Committee does not deal with these matters in this way. It does not deal with this particular matter. It deals with the banking structure as a whole... That will be helpful to us. In addition to that it is up to us and we propose to go ahead—to enquire into this matter much more fully in the course of the next few months and I would invite the employees—bank employees specially, others too, but bank employees specially—to help us in doing it, to send us facts and other details and discuss the matter with us and to throw more light on this so that in the course of the next few months we might be in a better position to deal with this problem. Then, remember, it is open to us if we like to appoint a new tribunal to consider this in the light of the additional facts and data which will come in. A tribunal can be appointed whenever necessary but I won't suggest its appointment till we collect all this material properly and we approach this question a little more on an informal level. It is helpful. Formality limits consideration and becomes rather rigid, but if it is proceeded with on an informal level and having collected all other material and if it is considered later on a formal level and such changes as are considered desirable are brought in, it becomes easy. And, mind you, during this period when this decision is being taken no reduction of the total emoluments is made. So what I would like the House to consider is, firstly, no change is made in their emoluments. Of course, we may say that no increase is likely to take place in the course of these few months or a year, but apart from that, the position remains the same and the Government propose to give every facility to consider this informally to begin with and when the time comes, formally, so that before the year is out one may be quite ready to go ahead with this matter in any way that the Government or Parliament may choose....

3. The Committee on Finance for the Private Sector, constituted on 5 October 1953 with A.D. Shroff as its Chairman, had recommended in its report released on 4 June 1954 that an All-India Association of Banks should be formed at the earliest possible moment for protecting the interests of banks, reaching an agreement on matters of common interest and engaging in a positive effort to develop the banking habit in the country.

## 6. To V.V. Giri<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
7 September 1954

My dear Giri,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of today's date.

You refer to the publication of your communication to me. I presume you mean your letter of the thirtieth August.<sup>3</sup> Certainly you can publish this, if you so wish.

I do not wish to make any comments or to enter into any argument over this matter with you. So far as the bank award issue was concerned, I had spoken in the Rajya Sabha and expressed my views about the present position and what we proposed to do.

I have already had full talks with you about your own resignation and tried to convince you not to press it. It is a matter of deep regret to me that an old colleague like you should have to leave the Cabinet. But since you are quite clear in your mind that you should do so, I must accept your decision with regret.

Of course, your resignation does not and cannot mean any break in our relations, public or private. We shall continue to labour for the causes which we have held during these past many years.

If you publish your letter to me of the thirtieth August, you can also publish this letter of mine with it.<sup>4</sup> I do not wish to say anything more.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. (1894-1980); Union Minister for Labour, 1952-54; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 3, p. 63.
3. In his letter of 30 August 1954, Giri explained that his resignation was due partly to his failure to persuade certain ministers of the Government to become "the model employer" and partly due to the Government's decision to modify the appellate tribunal's award on the banking dispute, which he thought had "unwittingly become responsible for creating unrest and bitterness towards that Government among the workers of the country."
4. Both the letters were published in the *National Herald*, 9 September 1954.



## 7. To C.D. Deshmukh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

9th September, 1954

My dear Deshmukh,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of the 8th September about the Madras Bill relating to the levy of sales tax on medium mill-made cotton cloth.<sup>3</sup>

I think our previous inclination to keep the Bill under consideration until Government had received the reports of the Taxation Enquiry Commission<sup>4</sup> and the Kanungo Committee,<sup>5</sup> was right. I do not see how this is in any way unfair to the public. What the public is, of course, it is always difficult to define, because it consists of all kinds of conflicting interests. Some people, no doubt, would like a quick decision; others, and probably a much larger number, certainly in Madras, would dislike this decision and even denounce it, and thus we would start another major argument about the misdeeds of the Central Government. From the Government's point of view, and even from the public's, this will not be a good thing. If we wait for the two reports, no harm is done and we are acting up to our assurance that this matter can be finally considered only when these reports have been received by us. If we do not do so, this very assurance will be nullified and we will be accused of going back upon it.

Then there is the point that you yourself have mentioned. In the event of our coming to a different decision later, the Madras Legislature will have to go through the process of legislating again.

I feel, therefore, that the safest policy is to keep the matter pending and under consideration.

1. JN Collection. Also available in File No. 17(239)/51-PMS.
2. (1896-1982); Union Minister for Finance, 1950-56; see also *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 15. p. 635.
3. With a view to augment the revenues of the State and protect the market for handloom products, the Madras Legislature had, in July 1954, passed the Madras Medium Cotton Mill Cloth (Sales Tax) Bill, providing for the levy of an additional sales tax of one anna and three pies in the rupee on medium, fine and superfine mill cloth. Deshmukh wrote to Nehru that he had no objection to the Madras Bill being kept 'under consideration' but T.T. Krishnamachari thought that it would be unfair to the public to keep this matter hanging.
4. The Commission, appointed in April 1953 with John Mathai as its Chairman, submitted its report to Government in December 1954. The recommendations of the Commission broadly aimed at widening the base and range of taxation, both direct and indirect, and readjusting the rate structure.
5. The Textile Enquiry Committee was constituted on 25 November 1952 with Nityananda Kanungo as its Chairman. In its report, which was tabled in both Houses of Parliament on 29 September 1954, the Committee suggested a phased programme for the conversion of 12 lakh active handlooms in the country into semi-automatic looms or power looms, to make the handloom industry more efficient.

Certainly, if you so wish it, I shall have a talk with you and T.T. Krishnamachari.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 8. To T.T. Krishnamachari<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
September 27, 1954

My dear T.T.,

Your letter of the 27th September enclosing a copy of telegram from B.M. Birla.<sup>2</sup>

I have personally always attached great importance to increasing our steel output. In fact, I think that the two basic things are steel and power. I have no doubt that we can utilise almost any quantity of steel that we can produce. In addition we can easily sell it to nearby countries. Therefore, I am all in favour of additional iron and steel plants.

We have, however, not yet formally decided on having a third plant, although we have indicated, I think, that we might require one. We should take this matter into consideration now about having a third plant. I think that given suitable conditions we should have two more plants besides Rourkela.<sup>3</sup>

Of course this cannot be decided in vacuum. It has to be considered in relation to our resources, etc., and the Planning Commission might well give thought to this matter straight away.

I feel that it would be a good thing to have these separate approaches—the Soviet approach<sup>4</sup> on the one hand and the UK approach, mentioned by B.M.

1. JN Collection.

2. (1904-1982); industrialist; also see *Selected Works* (first series). Vol. 11, p. 326. After holding discussions with suppliers, bankers and the Treasury in London, Birla informed Krishnamachari on 25 September that a plant to produce one million tons of finished steel would cost Rs 93 crores, excluding township. Krishnamachari felt that the scheme was "more attractive from the financial point of view than our present commitments in Rourkela."

3. Rourkela in Orissa was chosen in January 1954 as the site for a steel plant to be built by Government in collaboration with two German firms, namely, Messrs. Freid Krupp and Demag A.G.

4. A Soviet proposal to build a steel plant in India was under the consideration of Government at this time.



Birla, on the other. This will help in bringing down prices and also open out new avenues to us. We have been too tied up to some British and American firms, and it would be a good thing to get out of that narrow circle.

As far as I can see, B.M. Birla's proposal appears to be a favourable one. I would prefer a steel plant of a million tons, though of course one cannot decide this offhand.

I think that you can reply to B.M. Birla that we are interested in this proposal and would like to have further details, etc. You may also tell him that we have had a proposal from the Soviet Union and we have invited their engineers to come here early in November for discussions. We should like to go into both these proposals fully, that is, the Soviet proposal as well as Birla's. It may be that we would accept both if they are suitable and terms are favourable. We cannot of course make any commitments at this stage, but we would welcome fuller information.

Please keep the Planning Commission, the Production Ministry and the Finance Ministry in touch with this development.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## II. EDUCATION, SCIENCE AND HRD

### (i) Education and Students

#### 1. To B. Ramakrishna Rao<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 22, 1954

My dear Ramakrishna Rao,<sup>2</sup>

I saw Maulana Azad<sup>3</sup> this evening and he told me about the stoppage of the Islamic History Department in the Osmania University. He has already spoken to you about this matter. I think that this is a very wrong and unfortunate

1. File No. 40 (54)/56-PMS.

2. (1899-1967); Chief Minister, Hyderabad, 1950-56; Governor of Kerala, 1956-60, and Uttar Pradesh, 1960-62; Member, Rajya Sabha, 1962-66.

3. Abul Kalam Azad (1888-1958); Union Minister for Education, 1947-58; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 1, p. 353.

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move, both from the educational and other points of view. Our universities, like other universities elsewhere, should have departments for the study of various cultural and scientific subjects. Islamic culture or philosophy is an important subject in itself and more so because of its influence on India for a thousand years. We have various branches of European culture. We have, of course, our own Indian culture, philosophy, etc. A true student must have grasp of all the various world movements and may, if he so chooses, specialise in one or more of them.

Hyderabad was well known for its Islamic studies, and for this Department to be closed down can only be interpreted as meaning a very narrow-minded approach from us. I have heard of protests even from scholars in England, and, of course, the Middle Eastern countries will also draw their own conclusions.

But, wider considerations apart, from the purely educational point of view, this appears to be undesirable.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 2. To Govind Ballabh Pant<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 22, 1954

My dear Pantji,

I see in the newspapers that the Uttar Pradesh Education Board has come to a number of decisions.<sup>2</sup> Among these are:

- (1) English being made optional,
- (2) Elimination of the paper on general knowledge, and
- (3) Military science being made an optional subject for intermediate students.

It appears that choice is given between an Indian language other than Hindi or a foreign language including English, French and German. I should have thought that a foreign language was anyhow essential and it should not be

1. File No. 40(287)/54-PMS. A copy of this letter was sent to Defence Ministry.  
2. *The Pioneer* and the *National Herald* had reported about this in their editorials on 15 and 16 June 1954 respectively.



equated with an Indian language other than Hindi.<sup>3</sup> This decision is, I believe, against the recommendation of the University Commission.

To do away with the general knowledge paper does not make much difference because the general knowledge of those who apparently have in the past got through these papers has been woefully deficient. Nevertheless, the idea of not laying any stress on general knowledge appears to me to be wholly misconceived. As it is, our students are very ignorant about the most ordinary affairs. To encourage them to be still more ignorant is not helping them in any way.

However, what I am writing to you especially about is the idea of having military science as an optional subject for intermediate students. I really do not know if in making this decision, the views of any persons with knowledge of military science were taken into consideration. I might inform you that we are trying to discourage even universities from taking up this subject chiefly for the reason that they are not properly equipped for it. It is not good enough to make a show and to say that we are teaching military science when in effect we are doing nothing of the kind. All this means lowering standards terribly.

This matter has been considered by our Defence Ministry and by the Central Advisory Committee of the NCC, and they both came to the conclusion that we should not recommend this even at the university level. In the United Kingdom this matter has also been considered and they came to the conclusion that for a proper teaching of military science highly qualified military officers must help the universities.

Obviously this is not being done in the universities here, much less is it going to be done at the intermediate stage. You can just give a false idea to some students that they are learning military science when in effect they are doing no such thing. They may also get the impression that by attending this course it might be easier for them to pass the entrants examination at the National Defence Academy. I fear this will not be so.

I am afraid these decisions are taken without adequate thought and without even referring to experts on the subject.

Should you consider it necessary, you can forward this letter of mine to the Uttar Pradesh Education Board. This is not only my personal reaction but

3. Pant replied on 8 July that the Board had recommended that the subjects must be so grouped that a student taking a modern Indian language as one of the compulsory subjects might still have the option to take a modern foreign language as a subject in the other group.

the reaction of the Minister of Defence<sup>4</sup> who is interested in military training and in military science.<sup>5</sup>

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

4. Mahavir Tyagi, Minister for Defence Organisation.
5. Pant wrote that it "was only in 1947 that the subject was prescribed without those concerned being fully conscious of the difficulties in the way of teaching of a subject of this complexity. Although it was included as one of the optionals in the syllabus, no definite encouragement was given and only 38 higher secondary schools out of about 1,250 sought recognition for the teaching of military science and out of them not more than 26 appear to have taken up its actual teaching." He thought there would not be much difficulty in discontinuing this subject from the 1955 session.

### 3. To H.L. Masurkar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 9, 1954

Dear Shri Masurkar,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of August 6th with its enclosures. I have read these with interest.

I need not discuss the various matters you have mentioned in them, except to say that I understand an inquiry is going to be made into the Indore students disturbances<sup>3</sup> very soon. The inquiry will not be just about the firing alone. It will be an inquiry into the chain of events.

You say in your letter that it was perfectly legitimate for the students to demand the retention in service of the Principal.<sup>4</sup> I am not at all convinced of that and I am certainly quite clear in my mind that any public demonstration in favour of the retention of a Professor or Principal makes that Professor or Principal unsuitable. Whether the Education authorities in Madhya Bharat are good or not is another matter. But it seems to me an astounding proposition

1. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to K.N. Katju.
2. A Member of the Madhya Bharat Legislative Assembly.
3. On 21 July 1954, a 72-hour curfew was clamped down on Indore city following incidents of rioting and incendiarism at the High Court premises resulting in police firing wherein eight persons were killed and thirty injured.
4. H. Ghosh, the Principal of Holkar College, who ought to have retired six months earlier, had got an extension. When the period of extension was over, students started an agitation demanding his continuation as Principal.



that the students, by demonstration or otherwise, should claim to appoint, retain or extend the term of service of Professors or Principals.

We shall, no doubt, await the result of the inquiry.<sup>5</sup> But whatever that result might be and whatever the faults of the Madhya Bharat Government might be, and I am sure there have been many, I have no doubt in my mind that the students' behaviour in this matter was utterly wrong and deserved no sympathy. One may say of course that this was the result of circumstances. We can say that about any event and any crime.

I am sure that most students are not to blame, except for the fact that they seemed to be passive agents in the hands of others.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. On 19 August 1954, Kailash Nath Wanchoo, Chief Justice of the Rajasthan High Court, was assigned the job of inquiring into and reporting on the causes and the course of the students' agitation culminating in police firing.

#### 4. To K.G. Saiyidain<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 26, 1954

My dear Saiyidain,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of August 20th with its enclosures. Broadly speaking, I agree with your approach to this question.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, I do not think any other approach will lead to a proper understanding of and adjustment in the modern world. In practice, inevitably, difficulties arise because of the intensely narrow national feelings that exist. To say that national interests must be subordinated to larger public and international interests does not take us very far because it is difficult for the average individual to think in this way. If there is conflict between the two, he will see the immediate interest much more vividly than the larger one. Therefore, the only effective approach can be to show that there is no essential conflict between the two. In fact that national interests suffer if international interests are ignored. I suppose one must start with the child with his immediate

1. File No. 42(2)/48-PMS.
2. (1904-1971); Additional Secretary, Ministry of Education, 1954-56: also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 15, p. 295.
3. Saiyidain was the Indian member of the expert committee of Unesco to report on the problem of "Education for Living in a World Community".

surroundings. The world is too big for him, but the basic approach right from the beginning must be such as fits in with the wider approach. You begin with the family, go on to the village or a larger group, then to the nation and finally to international relationships, showing that all this is one integrated whole and one approach and not conflicting approaches.

Obvious difficulties arise when nations or ideologies are in conflict. It is better, therefore, to lay stress on a very large measure of agreement even in respect of these national approaches and ideologies. Secondly, to stress that the area of disagreement should be dealt with in a friendly and cooperative way and compulsion should be avoided as far as possible. This leads to the idea of coexistence between nations, which is talked about so much today.

Another obvious approach is to try to eliminate the element of fear.

I am sorry, I can't write much more to you as I am terribly occupied.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 5. To Chief Ministers<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
28th August, 1954

My dear Chief Minister,

In my fortnightly letters, I have been sending you an overall survey of the internal and international situation, but today I propose to write to you on a specific subject of great importance to the country. You are aware of the unrest and turbulence which has characterized students' activities in different parts of the country in recent years. Sometimes there have been ugly manifestations of indiscipline as in the clash at Lucknow last year<sup>2</sup> or at Indore only a few weeks ago.<sup>3</sup> Very often the violence of the outburst is out of all proportion to its alleged cause. I have been thinking over this matter and I am convinced that the future of the country demands that early measures must be taken to improve standards of education and discipline among students.

1. JN Collection. Copies of this letter were sent to Cabinet Secretary and the Ministry of Education. This letter is also printed in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Vol. 4, pp. 26-29.
2. Student trouble in Lucknow took place on 20 August 1953 leading to the closure of the Lucknow University on 29 August for more than a month. See also *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 23, p. 125.
3. See *ante*, pp. 156-157.



2. The Cabinet has recently considered carefully detailed proposals for improving the standards of education and discipline of students.<sup>4</sup> Some of these proposals have financial implications and the Cabinet was of the view that these should be considered only after we have taken a decision on the report of the Taxation Enquiry Commission. There are however some other measures, mainly non-financial in character, which can be taken in hand immediately and will go a long way in improving the situation. I would therefore request you to consider these measures and take necessary action to see that they are implemented as early as possible.

3. I would, in particular, draw your attention to the following proposals:

- (i) Indiscipline among students, the fall in standards and the general deterioration in universities is largely due to the loss of leadership of teachers and the party factions and political intrigues which disfigure academic life. The appointment of the Vice-Chancellor is sometimes made on any but academic grounds. Our Cabinet is of opinion that legislation should be undertaken to amend the University Acts in order to reconstitute Senates and Syndicates on the lines of the recommendations of the Radhakrishnan Commission.<sup>5</sup> It is particularly important to ensure that the appointment of the Vice-Chancellor is taken outside the sphere of party politics. I would commend to your notice the mode of appointment in vogue in Delhi University as this avoids most of the drawbacks associated with election or nomination.
- (ii) Similarly, intrigues and party factions in managing committees are a major factor in the deterioration of school discipline. I have asked the Ministry of Education to frame specific proposals for the reconstitution of school managing committees in a manner which would minimise, if not eliminate altogether, political and group influence. I hope you will kindly issue instructions that these when received from the Ministry of Education are carefully examined and given effect to.<sup>6</sup>

- 4. In December 1953, the Central Advisory Board of Education had prepared a memorandum analysing the causes of student unrest and suggesting measures for its mitigation for consideration by the Government.
- 5. The University Education Commission, set up in 1948 under the Chairmanship of S. Radhakrishnan, said in its report of August 1949 that the University bodies should have representatives from both the academic and non-academic fields and that the Deans should be elected by rotation. The Vice-Chancellor should not be appointed as a reward for political service; age, academic eminence and educational experience were to be taken into account.
- 6. On 28 September 1954, in its letter to the State Education Ministers, the Ministry of Education suggested that the managing committees of schools should not be elected but should include representatives of donors, guardians, and teachers along with the nominees of the State Board of Secondary Education.

- (iii) I am sure you will agree that we must take special measures for increasing public esteem for teachers at different levels. I would suggest that you may associate teachers and their organisations to a greater extent in the formulation of educational policy and see that the social status of teachers is improved by giving them adequate recognition at all State and other public functions.
- (iv) Another major reason for student unrest and fall in standards is the undue importance given to the final examination. Students are able to neglect their work throughout the year and cram in the last few months in order to pass and/or get a degree. I would suggest that you might issue instructions for the reconstruction of the system of examination so that adequate importance is given to regular class work in the assessment of the final achievement of the pupil. We might, for the present, confine these changes to internal examinations held by schools and colleges. So far as university examinations are concerned, the matter should be examined further and suitable ways and means devised to improve them.
- (v) Measures to encourage self-discipline among students must also be adopted immediately. I would suggest for your consideration the introduction of the House System, so that the students may develop a strong group loyalty and come into closer contact with selected teachers. I would also suggest that councils of monitors and juvenile courts of honours may be instituted in all colleges and schools.
- (vi) It is not necessary today to emphasize the value of social activities in shaping the character of students. I hope you will issue instructions so that special emphasis is laid on the improvement of material and social amenities in school and college life through voluntary labour contributed by the pupils themselves. One great handicap from which students, particularly in urban areas, suffer is the lack of adequate physical amenities in educational institutions. If play grounds, common rooms, open air theatres, swimming pools or gardens could be built or enlarged through student labour this would improve schools and colleges in many ways.
- (vii) The value of extra-curricular activities is recognised on all hands, but sufficient measures are not taken to ensure that there is adequate provision for such activities. I would suggest that you may issue instructions for encouraging various types of extracurricular activities, specially in high schools and higher secondary schools and universities.
- (viii) You will also agree that our education at present is sometimes lacking in a moral or ethical tone. India is a secular State, but this does not imply any disregard for moral values. We have a very rich spiritual



heritage but the younger generation are sometimes insufficiently aware of this. I would suggest that an attempt should be made and ways and means devised to introduce an ethical content in instruction imparted in schools and colleges without reference to any particular religion.

4. I am asking the Ministry of Education to send to your Government more detailed proposals on each of these items, but I thought I should write to you personally, as this is a matter on which I feel strongly. I am sure you will take all necessary measures to ensure that our young men and women receive the best possible training to make them citizens worthy of our traditions and our hopes.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 6. To Bhagwan Das<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
September 10, 1954

My dear Dr Bhagwan Dasji,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 5th September which I have read with care. I am sorry that you refer to Hindu education and Muslim education. Undoubtedly, at a place like the Banaras University, special stress has to be laid on Sanskrit and allied subjects, and provision should be made for this and suitable persons appointed. But I hope that even there, as elsewhere, the ideal will be an Indian education. Now that Dr C.P. Ramaswami Iyer<sup>3</sup> is in the Banaras University, it is largely his voice that will prevail.

The Pakistan statements about Muslims being converted are grossly exaggerated, but it is a fact that some hundreds have been converted, though not I hope forcibly, and in some States aggressive movements are being carried on by some communal organisations.

It is also true that hundreds of mosques in India have been treated in much the same way as temples and gurdwaras in Pakistan. I do not think there is

1. JN Collection.
2. (1869-1959); founder-member, Central Hindu College of the Banaras Hindu University, and of Kashi Vidyapith; he was awarded Bharat Ratna in 1955; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 5, p. 245.
3. (1879-1966); Vice-Chancellor, Banaras Hindu University, 1954-56; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 1, p. 113.

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much to choose between the two sets of enormities that happened in 1947-48 in Pakistan and part of India.

Our newspapers naturally emphasise one side of the story.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. To K.N. Katju<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
September 22, 1954

My dear Kailas Nath,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of the 21st September about the medical college, etc., for Kashmir.<sup>3</sup> I have no doubt that a medical college is desirable; so also an engineering college. A medical college properly run will cost about a crore of rupees plus a heavy annual expenditure of many lakhs.

7. To K.N. Katju<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
September 22, 1954

medical college, etc., for Kashmir.<sup>3</sup> I have no doubt that a medical college is desirable; so also an engineering college. A medical college properly run will cost about a crore of rupees plus a heavy annual expenditure of many lakhs. I do not myself see how we can find this money at the present stage. This problem of medical colleges has been troubling me a lot. They are much too expensive and we shall never get going if we have to spend so much on each college. We must find a way out. I have been seven or eight years the question of a medical college attached to the Aligarh University has been before us. They collected Rs 50 lakhs for medical college before partition. This money is still there and there is no medical college. The first thing to do is to utilise this money and build up a college there. It might be possible to reserve quite a number of seats there for Kashmir.<sup>4</sup>

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

My dear Kailas Nath,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of the 21st September about the medical college, etc., for Kashmir.<sup>3</sup> I have no doubt that a medical college is desirable; so also an engineering college. A medical college properly run will cost about a crore of rupees plus a heavy annual expenditure of many lakhs. I do not myself see how we can find this money at the present stage. This problem of medical colleges has been troubling me a lot. They are much too expensive and we shall never get going if we have to spend so much on each college. We must find a way out. I have been seven or eight years the question of a medical college attached to the Aligarh University has been before us. They collected Rs 50 lakhs for medical college before partition. This money is still there and there is no medical college. The first thing to do is to utilise this money and build up a college there. It might be possible to reserve quite a number of seats there for Kashmir.<sup>4</sup>

1. JN Collection.

2. (1887-1968); Union Minister, for Home Affairs and Law, 15 November 1951-13 May 1952, for Home Affairs and States, 13 May 1952.



## (ii) Scientific Research

1. To Jairamdas Doulatram<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

8 June, 1954

My dear Jairamdas,<sup>2</sup>

You wrote to me on May 24th about the medicinal herbs in the Kameng Frontier District. I referred your letter to our Central Drug Research Institute at Lucknow and consulted the Director, Dr B. Mukerji.<sup>3</sup> We have also consulted Dr Janaki Ammal,<sup>4</sup> Director, Central Botanical Laboratory. Neither of them were able to identify the herbs from their local names. The Director of the Drug Research Institute states that he has a fair collection of herbarium sheets of medicinal plants grown in the frontier districts of Assam and thinks that it is very likely that the plants may have been identified and worked upon already. If properly labelled authentic samples of these herbs could be obtained, they could be examined.

It is probably better that an officer of the Botanical Survey of India should be deputed to go there to collect the plants. He would also try to collect seeds for distribution to botanical gardens here for detailed investigation. He would collect not only medicinal plants but also flora. According to our report, the region is likely to be important from the Cytogenetic point of view in the evolution of cultivated plants and drugs.

I imagine that the area you mention in the Kameng Frontier District is not easy of access and it will take some time for a person to reach there. Anyhow, I am asking our Botanical Survey to send almost immediately one of their

1. File No. 17(191)/56-PMS. A copy of this letter was sent to the Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research.
2. (1892-1979); Governor of Assam, 1950-56; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 4, p. 136.
3. (1903-1979); Director, Central Drug Research Institute, Lucknow, 1951-63; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 15, Pt. II, p. 94.
4. E.K. Janaki Ammal (1897-1984); a pioneer in cytology in India; a teacher of Botany for many years; Cytologist to the Royal Horticultural Society, London, 1946-51; OSD Incharge of the reorganisation of Botanical Survey of India, Calcutta, 1952-54; Director, Central Botanical Laboratory, Allahabad, 1954-59; OSD, Regional Research Laboratory, Jammu, 1959-62, Chairman, Cytogenetics Department, 1962-64, and Emeritus Scientist, 1964-69.

younger officers for this purpose. I think his name is Srinivasan,<sup>5</sup> but I am not quite sure of the name. He will report to you first of all and then you can direct him. He will probably go from Calcutta where he is working at present. You will, of course, arrange to give him necessary help. I am not sure that he will be able to make any investigation on the spot. All he can do is to collect as many specimens as possible in the proper way and send them to our laboratories and botanical gardens here for further investigation.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. K.S. Srinivasan, Curator, Botanical Survey of India, Calcutta.

## 2. To Homi J. Bhabha<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 16, 1954

My dear Homi,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of the 11th June.

I have already asked Bhatnagar to go to Norway<sup>3</sup> in accordance with your suggestion.

We have also agreed in principle to the proposal to set up a Titanium Pilot Plant. I have informed Bhatnagar accordingly and told him to send two of our men who are already in America for training in the technique of setting up such a plant.

I am interested in your proposal to produce heavy water in India. You give no idea about the quantity of fertilisers that might be produced in combination with the production of heavy water.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. (1909-1966); Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission of India, 1949-66; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 13, p. 536.

3. S.S. Bhatnagar was sent to Norway to secure an assurance about the supply of five tons of heavy water at a rate not exceeding Rs 10 lakhs per ton. The supply was to be made by 1956.



### 3. To K.C. Reddy<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 16, 1954

My dear Reddy,<sup>2</sup>

In order to build up our atomic energy reactor, we require, what is called "heavy water". This is very expensive and its present cost is Rs 10 lakhs per ton. We are buying it from Norway, which is one of the main producers of heavy water. In fact, we have placed an order for six tons in Norway. There is so much demand for this that it is difficult to get it in time.

That order will stand, but we are investigating the prospect of making our own heavy water in India. A Norwegian expert is with us at present, who will present us his report soon. Heavy water can only be made economically if combined with the manufacture of fertiliser. As far as we can make out, the most suitable place for the location of such a project would be the Bhakra-Nangal area. Among other things, a great deal of cheap electric power is necessary for this purpose.

Why I am writing to you is because if this project takes shape, it would mean producing fertilisers probably in the Bhakra-Nangal area. This fertiliser would presumably be at a price competitive with Sindri. I merely want you to bear this in mind in the event of our having some projects for the manufacture of fertilisers elsewhere. In the course of three or four weeks we hope to have the report on this project of manufacture of heavy water plus fertilisers.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Copies of the letter were sent to Minister for Food and Agriculture and Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission.
2. (1902-1976); Union Minister for Production, 1952-57; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 8, p. 566.

#### 4. Wireless and Electronic Equipment<sup>1</sup>

The State Wireless Factory—Bharat Electronics Limited—has now been set up as a Private Limited Company<sup>2</sup> and is expected to go into production in June 1956. At the moment, two of the Senior Technical Officers of this Company have gone to France to discuss various matters with the French consultants.<sup>3</sup> One of these is the production programme of the Factory for the first two years. Soon after that, they will have to finalise the production programme for the subsequent three or four years.

2. You, no doubt, know that this factory is meant to produce wireless and electronics equipment for all the departments of Government. Its aim is to make the country self-sufficient, as far as possible, in regard to such equipment. If the Company is to succeed in its efforts, it is necessary that every department using wireless or electronics equipment should cooperate with the Company to the utmost. Not only should the Company be given the information it requires in time for it to plan production, but the departments that use wireless and electronic equipment should so adjust their future programme of purchase and provisioning as to avoid the import and the stocking of large quantities of such equipment which could be manufactured in this factory. It follows that no new equipment should be introduced and brought into use in those departments of the Government without first ascertaining that such instruments could be manufactured in the Bharat Electronics.

3. I believe there is some sort of a committee under the Radio & Cable Board which has been given the task of bringing about coordination in this field. Whatever machinery may be employed to bring about the coordination, it should be given the fullest cooperation. I expect every department to assist Bharat Electronics in its task of making the country self-sufficient in the matter of wireless and electronic equipment.

1. Note to K.N. Katju and Jagjivan Ram, Minister for Communications, 22 June 1954. JN Collection. Also available in File No. 17(89)/56-PMS.
2. On 19 April 1954, Bharat Electronics Limited was registered as a Company in Bangalore with M.K. Vellodi as Chairman and A.K. Ghosh as Managing Director.
3. In 1953 the Government of India entered into an agreement with a French firm to set up a factory to manufacture wireless equipment to meet the major requirements of the Armed Forces and the ministries of the Central Government and the States. Jalahalli, near Bangalore, was selected for establishing the factory.



## 5. To Arthur S. Lall<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
24th June, 1954

My dear Arthur,<sup>2</sup>

I am writing to you about Dr Oppenheimer.<sup>3</sup> We have naturally followed his case<sup>4</sup> with the greatest interest, both because we are personally interested in him and because of the larger consequences.

In a sense, it might well be a relief to him to be relieved of his work on the atomic or hydrogen bomb, and to devote himself to his normal work at Princeton.

I was a little surprised to see in papers a note that the Cambridge University, England, was unable to find a place for him. Had he applied for it, or why did the Cambridge University go out of its way to make such a statement?

For the last three or four years, we have been inviting Dr Oppenheimer to come to India as our guest for the annual Science Congress. Almost on every occasion he has expressed his willingness to come, but he would not be given permission by the US Government. Once we were told that he was likely to get permission, but this was refused at the last moment.

What I want to know is if he would care to come to India now. We would gladly have him in any capacity, i.e., either on a visit for a month or two or more or even permanently, to do scientific work for us. I do not know how he feels about this matter. He might well like to continue his work at Princeton. On the other hand, he might like to have a change after the difficulties he has had in the USA.

Anyhow, I want you, quite privately and informally, to give him my message of invitation to India, should he care to come. Tell him that he will always be welcomed.

1. JN Collection.

2. (b. 1911); Consul General of India in New York, 1951-54; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 10, p. 209.

3. J. Robert Oppenheimer (1904-1967); Director and Professor of Physics, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, 1947-66; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 25, p. 264.

4. Oppenheimer, the pioneer of America's atom bomb, was under attack for his opposition to the development of hydrogen bomb. In June 1954, a special Security Board set up to investigate Oppenheimer, found him to be a security risk because of his alleged association with Communists, and denied him access to US nuclear secrets.

In the circumstances, you should take care that this matter is not mentioned to others. There is no hurry about it and you can choose a suitable time for it.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 6. To B.C. Roy<sup>1</sup>

Camp: Mashobra  
July 1st, 1954

My dear Bidhan,<sup>2</sup>

You will remember writing to me about Gill's<sup>3</sup> Observatory at Gulmarg. I think I mentioned to you that the Atomic Energy Commission were also thinking of having their high altitude station near Gulmarg, probably at Khilanmarg. They seem to have changed their mind now and do not think that this will be the right location for it.

So far as Gill's Observatory is concerned, we shall certainly give him help,<sup>4</sup> if he applies for it. I am writing to Dr Zakir Husain<sup>5</sup> about it.

Homi Bhabha tells me that there should, undoubtedly, be physiological research, as suggested by you. But he thinks that 9,000 feet is hardly high enough for this purpose. He suggests altitudes from 10,000 to 14,000 feet and he thinks that roundabout Leh in Ladakh would be a suitable place. The advantage is that there are no complicating factors there like changes in humidity, heavy rainfall, snow, etc. The disadvantage is, of course,

1. File No.17(87)/56-66-PMS.
2. (1882-1962); Chief Minister of West Bengal, 1948-62; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 4, p. 230.
3. Piara Singh Gill (b. 1911); Professor of Physics, Aligarh Muslim University, 1949-63, and Director, Gulmarg Research Observatory, 1951-71; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 11, p. 361.
4. The Research Observatory at Gulmarg was started on behalf of the Aligarh Muslim University and the Kashmir University. Gill wanted help from B.C. Roy, Chief Minister of West Bengal. He also wanted the Calcutta University to lend its expertise to the Observatory.
5. (1897-1969); Vice-Chancellor, Aligarh Muslim University, 1948-56; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 3, p. 67.



that it is not easily accessible. I believe this matter is being considered further.

Yours,  
Jawahar

## 7. Data on Scientific Manpower<sup>1</sup>

I think that it is important that we should keep track of all our scientists, young and old. Some years ago, some kind of a report on scientific manpower was prepared. This must be out of date now. Anyhow, we should take steps to:

- (i) keep full records of every Indian scientist who is working outside India;
- (ii) have records of Indian scientists working privately or in private organisations in India;
- (iii) keep a record of every young Indian scientist who has been trained abroad or who has been trained in India and who cannot find work.

This is important. We should always know who these people are, keep them in mind and try to absorb them in our various activities. More particularly this should apply to those who are better qualified. I think that somebody should be put in specific charge of keeping in touch with these young men who are qualified, scientifically or technically.

2. I presume that we have full records of scientists who are working in the various universities and technical institutes in India.

3. If this additional work requires some additional staff, I would not grudge it.

1. Note to Secretary, Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research, 21 July 1954. File No. 17(60)/56-58-PMS.

### (iii) Non-Government Organisations

#### 1. To Gulzarilal Nanda<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 5, 1954

My dear Gulzarilal,

I have read your correspondence with Satish Babu.<sup>2</sup> He raises two points. He objects to groups working regionally. I do not myself see how you can avoid regional working, though this may not be rigidly enforced. The Convenor or the man in charge can introduce a measure of flexibility about any arrangement. But you can hardly let loose a number of persons to wander about in any area. That leads to conflict and a certain lack of responsibility. Also, if you have to build up from below, the local worker can only work in his particular small area.

It is certainly conceivable that different groups might work in the same region without interference or clash. But, even so, they will presumably be working in different areas within that region. If they work in exactly the same area, a certain element of conflict is bound to arise.

It may be possible, however, for different types of work to be done by different groups within the same region or area.

I do not see why regional work is contrary to the group concept. In the larger sense, a group may work for the whole of India which is a region, however big it may be, or a province or a district or a small area.

This does not mean that a person working in one region cannot work in another, but this will have to be organised properly and this change-over should be done under some direction. Otherwise there will be a measure of chaos.

But, as I have said above, there need not be inflexibility about this. The main purpose is, after all, work and not drawing up rules for work.

As for the association of the Congress with Bharat Sevak Samaj work, this does not mean that the Samaj becomes a Congress organisation. We appeal to all organisations. If the Congress happens to take more interest in it, we cannot ask it not to be interested or ask individual Congressmen to keep away lest their coming in might lead to the presumption that the Congress was running the Samaj. I think we should welcome Congressmen as we would welcome others. If far more Congressmen come, that is not our fault and I do not see

1. File No. 40(244)/52-PMS.

2. Satish Chandra Dasgupta (1880-1979); Chairman, West Bengal branch of Bharat Sevak Samaj, at this time; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 14, Pt. 1, p. 117.



why we should worry about it. The point is that the Samaj should maintain its free character and not be officially allied to any organisation.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### III. SOCIAL WELFARE

#### (i) Gender Issues

##### 1. To the Maharani of Patiala<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
8th June, 1954

My dear Maharani,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 4th June.<sup>3</sup>

The problem you have raised is an important as well as human one. Many of us have been troubled about this a great deal in the past. *Prima facie*, it seems odd, and even a little absurd, for us to go on pursuing these unfortunate people.

Right from the beginning, I have been of the view that no person, whether in India or Pakistan, should be forced to go to the other country against her will. The difficulty, of course, was that they were not in a position to express their will because of their environment and all kinds of fears and apprehensions. Therefore, a way out was found to enable them to have a quiet time in a neutral place where they could see their relatives and come to an independent decision without pressure.

As a matter of fact, this procedure has not quite worked as I would have liked it to work and, I fear, sometimes women were sent across without paying too much attention to their own wishes. As usual, a rigid procedure was evolved.

1. JN Collection.

2. Mohinder Kaur, Maharani of Patiala (b. 1922); Chairman, State Social Welfare Advisory Board, 1954-55; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 24, p. 301.

3. Mohinder Kaur was upset that even after seven years many uprooted women with children were compelled to decide whether to leave their children behind and go to the other side of the border. She wondered whether "any of us have a right to treat human beings as a herd of cattle and push them across our borders forcibly."

A tribunal probably went and saw these women and decided on the basis of some papers, etc.

Two or three months ago, this matter came up for our consideration. Again I laid the greatest stress on the woman not being forced to go against her will. This principle was laid down and accepted. It is true that an element of compulsion comes in in the early stages when the woman is taken away from her home to the neutral place. But, if she still refuses to go to the other country, she cannot be compelled to do so and will return to her new home.

There was recently a conference<sup>4</sup> here with the Pakistan people. Their attitude in this matter is one of compulsion. We resisted that. Ultimately a way out was found. It was decided that in such cases the matter should be referred to the Minister of the country concerned. In effect, this means that if a woman in India ultimately does not want to go, we shall not send her across.

This is the present position. For a variety of reasons, we did not wish, at this stage, to put an end to this process of recovery of abducted women. You have pointed out that there are many cases where women have settled down and have borne children and might be considered to be happily established in their new homes. That undoubtedly is so. But there are other cases also where women have been treated as chattel and have changed hands from time to time. These latter women would, no doubt, welcome the release from this life and to be restored to their old homes.

Anyhow, this is a very difficult matter and can only be considered from the human point of view, apart from politics, etc.. For my part, I attach even more importance to the children than to the mother. I would not like to do anything to spoil the life of the children.

We shall have to give further consideration to this matter in the future. I do not think this present procedure can last long.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. An Indo-Pakistan conference on the recovery of abducted women was held in New Delhi from 6 to 8 May 1954. The Indian delegation was led by Swaran Singh, Union Minister for Works, Housing and Supply, and the Pakistan delegation by Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Pakistan High Commissioner in India.



## 2. To K.N. Katju<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 13, 1954

My dear Kailas Nath,

...You talk about immoral intimacy and that this is worse than a second marriage.<sup>2</sup> This may be so but a second marriage is a positive thing which one can see, and get hold of. The other thing is seldom capable of proof and may well be just scandal-mongering. A Government or, indeed, society as such is normally concerned with the effects of a person's acts on others or on society and not so much with his personal behaviour. I agree with you that in an obvious and proved case of moral delinquencies, we should be in a position to take action in regard to a Government servant.

Human nature is not only extraordinary but, what is more, it changes or rather social codes change. Under a particular social code, two or more wives may be perfectly legitimate. Under another code, this may not be so. When I use the word social code, I am not referring so much to the law but to well recognised social practices. There have been considerable changes in this all over the world during the last thirty or forty years, within our life time. Those changes are affecting Indian society also.

We may not like this, but we have to take cognizance of it. Also we have to remember that in the acknowledged social code and practice of India, as it has existed thus far, there was no lack of moral delinquency as well as extreme unhappiness. There were two codes, one for the man and the other for the woman. The woman got the worst of it always and B.N. Rau's<sup>3</sup> report on the Hindu Code is full of such instances. Many have come to my personal knowledge....

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. In his letter of 13 June, Katju narrated the case of a civil servant who was having an affair with his wife's sister, also a Government servant, for the last five or six years. He felt that "it would be mere hypocrisy on our part to feel shocked at a second marriage, while we close our eyes completely to an immoral intimacy between a Government servant and another woman, be she in Government service or otherwise."

3. (1887-1953); judge and legal expert; also see *Selected Works* (first series). Vol. 14, p. 559; a committee on Hindu Code was appointed in 1941 under the Chairmanship of B.N. Rau.

### 3. Justice to Women<sup>1</sup>

I enclose some papers relating to a Delhi case which probably has come to your notice. This is about Roshan Lal whose daughter was going to be married. It is stated that before the marriage was solemnised, the father of the bridegroom refused to proceed with the ceremony unless Roshan Lal agreed to pay him a sum of Rs 5,000. On his refusal to pay this, the bridegroom's party left the house and the marriage ceremony was not performed or completed. Roshan Lal thereupon lodged a complaint with Police who took immediate action and arrested the bridegroom and his father.

2. It appears that the Public Prosecutor and the Chief Commissioner are of the view that no offence under section 406 or 420 of the IPC had been committed but that it amounted to extortion which was a non-cognizable offence.

3. I cannot express any opinion about the law in this matter, but, from the facts stated above, the bridegroom and his father behaved disgracefully and they should be made to realise this. Apart from the marriage ceremony having been stopped, there is little doubt that the bridegroom's father is intent on ruining the life of the girl.

4. In view of these facts, whatever the law may be, I think it will be inadvisable for the case to be withdrawn. The case may be lost, but publicity should be given to this kind of highly objectionable activity and the girl's future at least will be protected somewhat. I hope, therefore, that the case will be allowed to proceed whatever the result might be.

5. This kind of case brings out the social evils under which the Hindus suffer. The person who suffers most always in such matters is the girl. A short while ago, another case came to my notice. This was from Hyderabad, and I think the parties concerned were Marwaris. A marriage had been arranged and the bridegroom's party reached the bride's house. Just before the marriage ceremony commenced, the girl noticed that the hand of the bridegroom was badly diseased. She mentioned this to her father who, seeing that hand and suspecting some serious disease, refused to proceed with the marriage. (It was found out then or later that the bridegroom did actually suffer from the most horrible diseases.) The bridegroom's party went back. A little later, this boy who was the bridegroom married another girl. At the same time, he brought a case for restitution of conjugal rights against the previous girl on the basis that the marriage had been concluded. This case was obviously a false one and

1. Note to the Home Minister, 14 June 1954. JN Collection.



deliberately meant to vex and harass and especially to ruin the future of the girl. The case has been going on for quite a considerable time. Meanwhile, the girl cannot marry anybody.

6. The father of the girl wrote to me. I wrote to the Hyderabad Government and asked them to get their Advocate-General to look into this matter and help in every way. They wrote back that they could not do anything because the matter was in court. At the most they could try privately to expedite the hearing of the case.

7. A third type of case has come to my notice of a Panchayat giving a divorce according to custom which applied to the parties concerned. Later, the woman who had got the divorce married again. For some odd reason, proceedings were taken against this poor woman and she was put in prison. This is a Meerut case.

8. It is evident that the law at present is bad and grossly unfair to women. Apart from changing the law to prevent this kind of thing, which must be done as soon as possible, we must try to help in such cases to the best of our ability and give publicity to them to create public opinion against a law which permits this injustice.

9. Reverting to the first case, that is Roshan Lal, I really do not see why we should intervene and withdraw the case. It can take its normal course. Meanwhile, it will be good for the pressure of this case to be exercised on the bridegroom and the father and for public opinion to appreciate what happens under our present customs and laws.

#### 4. To Arun Prokash Sil<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 10, 1954

Dear Arun Prokash,<sup>2</sup>

...It is very difficult for anyone to give advice in private and personal matters without knowing the parties concerned. I can only, therefore, express my general opinion on such subjects.

Personally, I am entirely opposed to the perpetuation of the caste system. Whatever virtue it might have had some hundreds of years ago, it has done infinite injury to India in later years. I do not think it should come in the way of marriage, provided always that there is a clear and stable feeling of affection

1. JN Collection.

2. A resident of Calcutta.

between the two persons concerned. One must avoid just acting in a moment of excitement or feeling. But, if there is a bond of affection and common interest, and this is not a temporary one, then most of the conditions for a successful marriage are present. Marriage has both a social aspect and a personal one. The personal aspect in present day life is more important even than the social aspect because society is not so rigid or parochial as it used to be in the past.

At the same time, it is always desirable to have the good will of one's parents, and one should try one's best to get it.

To marry deliberately a person one dislikes, appears to me a very objectionable and unsocial act....

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 5. Bigamous Marriages<sup>1</sup>

A deputation of Delhi women came to me this morning. They told me that the practice of marrying a second wife, while the first was still alive, was becoming alarmingly common in Delhi. To their knowledge there had been a number of such cases among their own acquaintances during the last two days.

2. One particular case was brought to my notice. In fact, the person concerned herself gave me the attached letter. We cannot do much about these matters but I think that we should express our displeasure. This case relates to a Government contractor. Presumably, the WHS Ministry deals with all such people. Could we not ask that Ministry to inform this person, Sardar Niranjana Singh, that Government view with displeasure these bigamous marriages, and if he contracts it he may not be able to get any Government contracts?

3. As a matter of fact, it is probable that the Bill for Parliament preventing this kind of thing will be passed within a few months.<sup>2</sup>

1. Note to the Cabinet Secretary, 19 July 1954. JN Collection.

2. In September 1954, Parliament passed the Special Marriage Bill providing for a special form of marriage which could be availed of by any Indian national irrespective of the faith professed by either party to the marriage. The Bill, which became an Act on 9 October 1954, also permitted those who were already married under other forms of marriage to register their marriages under this Act.



## 6. Women in the Services<sup>1</sup>

...I should like the House to consider first of all that this is a permissive clause.<sup>2</sup> It does not automatically follow. It is possible, of course, for this permissive clause to be applied strictly or leniently. Much depends, of course, on the authority applying. This matter was faced by me, particularly, in regard to Foreign Service. I think, even in this House on one or two occasions, four or five years ago, and certainly elsewhere, I laid great stress on equality of opportunity being given in the Services to women. That is, that there should be no sex barrier to the appointment of women to almost any post. I can imagine some posts to which women would normally be unsuited. That is a different matter. I can imagine posts to which men would be normally not suited. But, there are men who certainly may be suited for women's occupations and women who certainly are suited for all occupations. Therefore, one should not put a barrier either way.

The difficulty that arose, particularly in the Foreign Service, was this. We have been taking regularly women into the Foreign Service through the normal door of competitive examination. They pass and they pass well. We take them in. They have done good work. After three or four years of work, they marry. We have continued them. By the mere fact of marriage they have not gone out. But we had to consider all the time this question whether we can post the husband in one place and the wife in another place separated by 10,000 miles. That is our difficulty. Normally, one does not want to bring about social disruption in this way.... As things are at present, one has to choose, not at the time of marriage, but at the time of subsequent postings, and decide what to do: whether we should ask the husband to get away from service or we should ask the wife to get away so that we may not be put in the predicament of having to post one in Japan and the other, maybe, in Paris or somewhere.... Therefore, what we did was to put in a permissive clause that a woman member of the Foreign Service, who marries, may be asked, if we so chose, to resign from service. We will keep her so long as we can. Where

1. Statement in Lok Sabha, 28 September 1954. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. VII, Pt. II, 1954, cols 3586-3591. Extracts.
2. Nehru was intervening in a discussion on the Indian Administrative Service (Recruitment) Rules. According to one of the rules, "No married woman shall be entitled as of right to be appointed to the Service... and when any woman appointed to the Service subsequently marries, the Central Government may, if the maintenance of efficiency of the Service so requires, call upon her to resign."

actually the fact of her marriage conflicts with her posting, it is unfair for Government to be forced to keep her on even though it comes in the way of normal postings. This rule can be interpreted in a lenient way or in a harsh way. In the case of an officer, the mere fact of marriage may be considered to be a bar. I do not think that the mere fact of marriage is a bar. The consequences of marriage, especially in the way of postings, may become a bar. It may be a completely different thing elsewhere; in the Foreign Service, the difficulty is all the greater. The husband or the wife may be sent 10,000 miles away. It may be a different thing where they live in the same city for instance. There need be no reason at all why marriage should come in the way. They can work.

This, presumably, refers to the Administrative Service. Take the other Services. Take the Educational Service in which, I think, normally speaking, a woman is a better person than a man as a teacher. I would go a step further and say, a married woman is a better teacher than an unmarried woman, often enough. I do not rule out unmarried women, of course. A married woman may well be a better teacher than an unmarried woman. It would be completely wrong, because of the marriage, to remove her from her post. My point is this: In these matters we should entirely rule out any kind of ban not only on the employment of a person of a particular sex but even ban on the fact of marriage. But we cannot, in the circumstances, rule out the consequences of marriage—apart from another fact, the suitability of a man or woman for a particular type of service. Therefore, some rules have to be framed which are permissive, which allow adjustments or some things to happen. Those rules, I said, have no so-called statutory authority. The rules may be better worded, you may word them better, but it would be, I think, wrong in the existing circumstances for us to lay down a firm and fast rule that every person who is married must inevitably continue, whatever the consequences of marriage may be. We will get into difficulties.

As it is, as the House well knows, our Service rules are terribly rigid.... We cannot deal with the public servant except through very complicated process, ultimately going up to the Union Public Service Commission and all that. We cannot even take action normally when we feel that the person concerned is not every efficient or has committed some petty misdemeanour. You may be convinced, but you cannot take any action.... The protection to our Services is greater so far as I know than in any country in the wide world... Because that tremendous protection is given, if we give that same tremendous protection to the woman, but later she marries, we cannot deal with her. We have to keep her whether we can use her in a proper way or not. Therefore, some such thing had to be laid down which means, so far as I am concerned, absolutely no discrimination as such against a woman or a man.



I am prepared to consider now or later perhaps a better wording of this which the House may suggest. In fact, this is a matter on which I do not think there is any basic difference of opinion....

That is all I wish to submit to the House. I am not speaking about other rules. I do not know much about them, but about this particular matter I have ventured to intervene because I attach great value, great importance to women having equality of opportunity, subject to certain inevitable matters in Services, in professions and the like.

Honourable Members will forgive my saying so—perhaps most of them—but it is my firm conviction, and I am speaking not lightly, but in all seriousness, that the women of India are of magnificent stuff. I want to be quite clear that I am not talking in the terms of, shall I say, our traditional heroines, good as they are: I am talking in terms of the life and work of today. They can do the job, and any job, I think. Maybe they cannot do some very heavy physical jobs and the rest. That is a different matter. But they can be excellent engineers, excellent doctors, excellent lawyers, excellent teachers, excellent civil servants. Any job I am sure they can do. It is true that if you suddenly asked me to, let us say, take in large numbers of women in our Army, well, for the moment, I would be taken aback. Logically I might not be able to give an answer, but the fact is, conditions being what they are in the country, other factors—physical endurance and this and that—probably come in the way. Not that I have any basic objection to that. Those things come in the way. And ultimately, it is a question really of our not doing something which, well, is wrong, ignoring, shall I say, completely facts as they are, the facts of social life in our country. I do not want to be tied down to certain old social customs which are out-of-date. It is not that I am referring to. But, if I may venture to say so, today we may talk tall here in this House or elsewhere, as I often do, but the fact is that a woman when she comes to public life has to face enormous difficulties—and that is not the fault of the women, but it is the fault of the man. That is a point to remember. She has to deal with all kinds of gossips, insinuations. If she is tough enough, well, she survives, or, she succumbs; she retires from that life to some haven where this kind of allegation cannot be made easily. That is the real difficulty, not the hard rules that you make or do not make; and it is against that that I would venture to ask all honourable Members here and other people to put themselves against, to prevent this kind of thing in our public life, in our professional life, in our scientific and technical life. In our scientific field, we have some brilliant young women and girls working in our national laboratories. So I venture to say that the real struggle we have to face in this matter, and we have to fight many battles in order to get women's privileges recognized fully, is not by legislation—legislation is good enough, make it better if you like—but really in our social life.

## 7. To R. Venkataraman<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
September 30, 1954

My dear Venkataraman,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of September 29th enclosing a copy of the minutes of the meeting held to consider the Hindu Code Bills.

I entirely agree that every effort should be made to introduce the Hindu Succession Bill<sup>3</sup> in the next session of Parliament and to refer it then to the Select Committee.

I do not agree with Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava's<sup>4</sup> suggestion that the Hindu Marriage and Divorce Bill<sup>5</sup> should include a provision for the wife to have a half share in the property of her husband. This would introduce unnecessary complications and delays.

I think that we should concentrate on the passage through Parliament of the Marriage and Divorce Bill and the Succession Bill. These are the really important ones. The Bills dealing with adoption and guardianship, etc., are relatively unimportant and yet are complicated and will take time.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Ramaswamy Venkataraman (b. 1910); Advocate, Madras High Court and Supreme Court; detained during Quit India Movement, 1942-44; member, Provisional Parliament, 1950-52, and Lok Sabha, 1952-57 and 1977-84; Secretary, Congress Party in Parliament, 1952-54; Minister for Industry and Labour, Government of Madras, 1957-67; member, Planning Commission, 1967-71; Union Minister of Finance and Industry, 1980-82, of Defence, 1982-84; Vice-President of India, 1984-87, and President, 1987-92.
3. The Bill, passed by Parliament in May 1956, became the Hindu Succession Act on 17 June 1956. It provided for a uniform system of laws with respect to interstate succession among Hindus and rationalised the list of heirs entitled to succeed to the property of a Hindu. It gave for the first time to women a share in the property of their fathers.
4. (1886-1962); Member of Lok Sabha, 1952-62; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 7, p. 436.
5. The Bill, passed by Parliament on 5 May 1955, became the Hindu Marriage and Divorce Act on 18 May 1955.



(ii) Child Care

1. To Indira Gandhi<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 7, 1954

Indu<sup>2</sup> darling,

I wrote to you yesterday about Mridula's<sup>3</sup> note on the "Working Children's Welfare Board", Delhi State.<sup>4</sup> I sent a copy of my letter to you to Mridula. In reply she has written at length and sent me a bundle of papers. I am going through them and shall be seeing some people about this matter too and then I may write to you again.

I have no doubt that it is desirable to do something for the large number of boys, and possibly girls, who are practically vagrants and who loiter around the various big shopping centres of Delhi. We should try to give them something interesting and instructive to do and, at the same time, where possible, something which might help them to earn. How to do this is the question.

The manner of Mridula's approach usually does not appeal to me. She has good ideas, but she cannot think except in a grandeur way and my thinking leads me always to a different approach. The problem of delinquency of youth is very important and, at the same time, a very big one. It cannot, of course, be dealt with by private effort alone. I do not think the Government, as constituted today, can deal with it satisfactorily by itself. There has, therefore, to be some cooperation and coordination.

But we should not spread ourselves too much. Therefore I am all for a cautious approach.

I shall write to you more after meeting some people.

Papu

1. JN Collection.
2. (1917-1984); also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 1, p. 232.
3. Mridula Sarabhai (1911-1974); a prominent social worker and a devoted Gandhian; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 5, p. 316.
4. Mridula Sarabhai had sent her note to Nehru on 5 June, and sought his reaction to it.

## 2. A Scheme for Training Vagrant Children<sup>1</sup>

Some time ago, at the instance of Indira Gandhi, a Centre for children was started at the Prime Minister's House.<sup>2</sup> This was started in some small way but had attracted more children, some even coming from considerable distances. I believe, they spend about two or three hours in the afternoon and engage themselves, under direction, in some handicrafts, games, etc. The children were of all classes and they mixed well. The ages were probably from about six or seven to twelve or thirteen. I am not sure about these particulars.

2. The success of this little Centre led to a proposal that something on a bigger scale should be organised for Delhi's vagrant children. The proposal as put to me was a vague one and I liked it.

3. Some time afterwards, I received a number of papers from Mridula Sarabhai giving all kinds of details about this proposal. I was rather taken aback by this as it seemed to me on too grandiose a scale....

4. I have now gone a little further into this matter. The problem of vagrant children is undoubtedly a very important one. I suppose that all big cities have this problem; more especially, Delhi has it, chiefly due to the large refugee population here. I am told that Connaught Circus is full of these children trying to hawk some article or earn a living in some way or other. No doubt other parts of Delhi have also large numbers of such children. I am sure that we should consider some way of dealing with them, that is, giving them some training, some interesting occupation, games, etc., and that the training should be productive. This will not only be more interesting for them but, in a sense, might be tied up with their present tendency to hawk articles.

5. We must realise that any proper handling of this problem in an adequate way is a tremendous undertaking. It really means providing for many thousands of children in a special educational and productive way. The normal schools are not good enough for this type of training and the object of training will be somewhat different. Other countries which have suffered revolutions or upheavals, have had colossal problems of this type. Probably Russia, though some years after the Revolution and civil war, had more of these vagrant children than any other country. It took many years of concentrated effort of an authoritarian Government to deal with this problem.

1. Note to the Minister for Works, Housing and Supply, 8 June 1954. File No. 2(742)/55-PMS. Extracts.
2. The Bal Sahyog Project, of which Indira Gandhi was the founder-president, was started with the main objective of providing security for vagrant children of Delhi by teaching them some crafts.



6. Our problem is certainly a smaller one than that of Russia. Apart from the normal unemployment, it is due to the upheaval of the Partition and the migrations.

7. Anyhow, we should certainly tackle it. But I still think that we should start in a relatively small way, that is, with one Centre, if I may call it so. I think that if that Centre is properly run, it will attract enough children. We shall gain experience in dealing with them and we can then expand our activities or open other Centres. But, to begin with, there should be only one.

8. Governmental cooperation will, I think, be necessary, though it need not be overwhelming or too cumbrous. The approach has to be a human one in dealing with these children and the persons appointed to teach or train them will have to be carefully chosen.

9. In the notes given to me mention is made of archaeological and picnic sites for such Centres. Presumably, the idea is that, there being visitors there, the children can earn some kind of a living by catering for their wants. There may be something in it. Anyhow we should choose one suitable place to begin with.

10. It would naturally be better for board and lodging to be provided for a number of children if this can be arranged. But, in any event, there should be other children who should be welcomed for a number of hours of training, work, etc. If so, it would be desirable to give them at least one meal or some substantial refreshment. It may be perhaps, to begin with, board and lodging is not provided but just some hours's training. This is merely a matter of what is convenient to begin with.

11. It has also been suggested that there should be a training camp. Obviously, this is a desirable idea if it can be suitably organised....

13. To begin with, we need not go into detailed finances. I am prepared to make available Rs 10,000 for the initial expense of having some such Centre or camp.

14. Staff, again to begin with, should be only such as is absolutely needed. It should be added to from time to time as occasion demands.

15. I would suggest that a Committee of not more than seven persons should be asked to prepare a scheme which will be a preliminary and rather experimental one. The next step would be, after some experience, to prepare a bigger scheme. Although the Committee should be only seven or so, it is desirable to have an initial meeting of a large number of persons coming from most of the concerned Ministries and institutions and Delhi State. We want their help and they should know what is being done. It is not necessary to have all of them in our Committee. They may perhaps be called an advisory body which can meet from time to time....

18. We shall require some competent persons to look after and give some training to these children. There should be some one knowing about cottage industries and an artist.

19. We have got a big scheme for a Bal Bhavan in Delhi.<sup>3</sup> That scheme, when it takes shape, will be helpful to the type of children we are thinking of here. But essentially the proposal now made is something different from, and in addition to, the Bal Bhavan idea. They will work on somewhat different lines, though there might be some slight duplication. There is also a draft Bill which deals with delinquent children. That again is something different. We are not necessarily dealing with delinquent children in this proposal, but rather with vagrant children. Therefore, this present scheme stands apart from both the Bal Bhavan idea and the Bill for delinquent children.

20. These are just my preliminary ideas on this subject. After further consideration and consultation we might add to them....

3. Bal Bhavan, a Centre for the under-privileged children of Delhi was started in Teen Murti House in September 1954.

### **3. United Council for Relief and Welfare<sup>1</sup>**

I am enclosing a letter from the Finance Minister together with a note from his Minister. This relates to the United Council for Relief and Welfare (hereinafter UCRW). The Finance Minister states that the Ministry of Home Affairs have agreed to deal with organisation and to make from their own budget the grant that may be required from time to time. He has suggested that a formal application be made by the UCRW to the Ministry of Home Affairs for this purpose giving full justification for the grant required. Certain economies have also been suggested.

2. The UCRW is not a governmental organisation, but important Government officials are connected with it, and the President is the head of it. As the President is away, and I do not wish to trouble him about this matter, I am addressing this note to you in my capacity as Vice-Chairman of the UCRW.

3. The work of the UCRW has been in the past to coordinate the activities of relief organisations. The UCRW was started at the time of the disturbances in 1947-48. It did very useful work then. Subsequently, it was found that the work that the UCRW could continue to do was still of importance. While the major part of relief was taken charge of directly by Ministries and official

1. Note to the Home Ministry, 13 August 1954. File No. 29(201)/50-PMS. Extracts. Copies of this note were sent to Durgabai Deshmukh, Chairman, Central Social Welfare Board and UCRW, and B.B. Banerjee, Secretary, UCRW.



organisations, there was much left over which could not easily be dealt with at the official level, more especially the approach of the social worker was considered important and this could much more easily be supplied by an organisation like the UCRW. I feel that this organisation has done very good work in certain fields which were otherwise neglected and which did not come in the normal sphere of governmental activities. This work of the UCRW has been progressively limited. Recently, many of the centres it had started were either closed or handed over to other agencies. Its expenditure has thus been very greatly reduced. The Council of UCRW were strongly of opinion that the organization should continue not only because it is needed for the present but also as a nucleus which could be enlarged for any emergency work. The Council also considered the budget, etc., passed on the last occasion. It is, of course, open to the Council to review this budget at any later stage. I cannot, as an individual member, change that budget. I am prepared to put up the recommendations made by the Finance Ministry to the Executive of the UCRW for their consideration.

4. I would suggest to you, however, that in this matter it is the Executive Council which is the best judge of what work to do and where and how to do it. This can hardly be judged in the normal governmental standards which no doubt the Finance Ministry would apply.

5. As an instance, I would mention the case of Chamba. In regard to this, it is stated in the Finance Ministry's note that this might be wound up soon. The UCRW itself was rather doubtful about this. I happened to visit Chamba a few days ago and met a large number of Muslim Gujjars there as well as the UCRW worker.<sup>2</sup> I found that the condition of Muslim Gujjars was not at all satisfactory. In fact, I have addressed letters about them to both the Himachal Pradesh Government and the East Punjab Government.<sup>3</sup> In the circumstances, therefore, I would recommend that the UCRW worker there should continue for some time longer. These Muslim Gujjars suffered greatly during the disturbances of 1947-48, and a large number of them were killed. The remainder continue to stay there in spite of all this and they deserve every help and sympathy from us. I am trying to get the two State Governments concerned to look into their cases particularly. I have, in fact, asked our UCRW worker there to keep in particular touch with various matters and to report to me from time to time.

2. During his visit to Chamba in the first week of August, Nehru had spoken to Mr Bharadwaj, a UCRW worker stationed there.
3. On 5 August, Nehru wrote to Bhimsen Sachar and Y.S. Parmar, Chief Minister of Himachal Pradesh, in this connection. In his letter to Parmar, Nehru wrote, "... I think we should treat them with special leniency and see to it that petty Government employees do not harass them. Forest rules and other rules should be such as are easy and do not cast too much a burden upon them."

6. In the same way, the position in Buria is not wholly satisfactory and requires some more attention....

7. I am not dealing with all the points raised in the Finance Ministry's note. What I am pointing out is that these details can only be considered adequately by the Executive Council itself and this should be left for them to determine.

8. I would suggest, therefore, to the Ministry of Home Affairs that, for the present, the sum mentioned in the Finance Minister's letter, that is, Rs 30,000, should be granted for the current year. The whole matter, no doubt, will be considered by the UCRW at its next meeting. It is possible that the expenditure might be somewhat greater or slightly less. The Executive of the UCRW will consider this matter carefully. Indeed, it has already given a good deal of consideration to it. The details of their budget should be left to them.

9. I might mention that, in the past, the UCRW had been supported by fairly big grants from the Prime Minister's Relief Fund, and previous to that by a grant of about Rs 2 lakhs or so by Sardar Patel from some non-official fund.

10. This note of mine may be treated as a formal application to the Ministry of Home Affairs for the grant required.

## IV. CULTURE

### (i) National Language

#### 1. To Govind Das<sup>1</sup>

Camp: Mashobra

July 3, 1954

My dear Govind Dasji,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of June 30.<sup>3</sup>

I entirely agree with you that the problem of encouraging Hindi and making provision for it to be used progressively as our all-India language, more especially for official purposes, is a matter of importance and urgency. I also

1. File No. 52(5)/50-PMS.

2. (1896-1974); President, Mahakoshal PCC, 1946-57, and Member, Lok Sabha, 1952-74; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 7, p. 660.

3. He wrote that for maintaining the unity of the country "the quick adoption and development of Hindi as a National Language has become very necessary" as the "demand for the reorganisation of States on linguistic basis has obtained formidable proportions..."



agree with you that this demands my personal attention. I am, in fact, taking considerable interest in this matter.

The question, however, is, how this can be done effectively and, at the same time, harmoniously. As you know, the subject is a very delicate one in so far as a number of States, more especially Madras, are concerned. In Bombay, the Government wanted to make Hindi the medium of instruction in some universities. Both Poona and Gujarat rebelled in spite of every effort of the Bombay Government.<sup>4</sup> If the people in a State feel that Hindi is antagonistic to their own language, then we raise powerful and needless opposition. That is one aspect.

I am, therefore, convinced that we should work in a way to avoid this or any other type of agitation. I can understand the argument about various matters and differences of opinion. But there is a danger if that argument leads to an anti-Hindi feeling. Hence, we have to be careful.

The second point to be remembered is that our standards in education as well as other work do not suffer greatly. That too is important both positively and because, if there is any such fear, educationists and others will become anti-Hindi.

I find that, while we talk a great deal about this change-over to Hindi rapidly from English, the actual basic work for it lags behind. I shall give you one instance. It seems to me quite essential that there should be a first-rate English-Hindi and Hindi-English dictionary. I know there are some in existence. But they are very third-rate and, in fact, they injure the language. Such a dictionary cannot be made by a scholar of Hindi only or by a scholar of English only. The persons in charge should know the two languages thoroughly before they can attempt this work. I am coming up this difficulty daily in my Ministry of External Affairs. Our Foreign Missions, whom we encourage to use Hindi, point out this difficulty again. The other day, we signed an Agreement with China. For the first time, an official version of this Agreement was signed in Hindi. We had great difficulties in this.

I have recently suggested to the Education Ministry that Government should take up this work officially, that is, the preparation of a really good English-Hindi and Hindi-English dictionary which we want badly. Of course, Government as such cannot do it. They have to choose good people for it.

4. Academic circles in Gujarat and Pune held meetings in April 1954 against the proposal of Dinkarrao Desai, the Education Minister of Bombay, to introduce Hindi as the medium of instruction in colleges. They also passed resolutions requesting the State Government to reconsider its decision. A resolution was moved at the Poona University Court on 6 June urging immediate adoption of Marathi as the medium of instruction.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

In the same way, there is other basic material that has to be prepared. The preparation of technical terms is not enough, although that is very necessary.

I still do not understand what a Special Commission can do in this matter except to raise controversies.<sup>5</sup> There is no comparison between such a Commission and the Planning Commission; nor would a Special Ministry be helpful. This is partly the Central Government's work and partly the State Governments'.

I think you will find that the Education Ministry is dealing with this matter now in a new spirit and with greater energy.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Govind Das had suggested the appointment of a Special Commission and a full-fledged Ministry to "undertake the work of development of Hindi."

## 2. To Abul Kalam Azad<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
September 21, 1954

My dear Maulana,

I enclose a letter from Dinkar,<sup>2</sup> a well-known Hindi poet, who is a member of the Rajya Sabha.

I think that people like Dinkar should be asked to help us as much as possible in our work in regard to Hindi. He is one of our senior scholars of Hindi and he has opposed the more aggressive protagonists of Hindi. I think that in what he says he represents a very considerable section of Hindi opinion. He may be completely wrong, but the fact of his thinking as he does is itself important.

I do not know if it came to your notice that at the meeting of the Hindi Prachar Sabha of Parliament, over which I presided, there was a fierce attack

1. File No. 52(5)/50-PMS.  
2. Ramdhari Sinha Dinkar (1908-1974); Member, Rajya Sabha. 1952-63; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 25, p. 95.



by Dr Raghu Vira<sup>3</sup> on Government's Hindi policy.<sup>4</sup> I replied in strong terms,<sup>5</sup> but it distressed me to find how Dr Raghu Vira's attack was cheered by the audience.

Yours truly,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. (1902-1963); Member, Rajya Sabha, 1952-56; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 9, p. 108.
4. While presenting the annual report of the Hindi Association of Parliament on 8 September 1954, Raghu Vira criticised Nehru for speaking in English in Parliament. He also felt that the Education Ministry was making tardy progress in the development of Hindi.
5. Nehru, who presided at the meeting, said that "Hindi enthusiasts, instead of doing their work in a quiet industrious way, believe in condemning and attacking others for doing anything by way of propagating Hindi. They betray a complex which appears to be a legacy from the time of the British who favoured Urdu more than Hindi. Hindi cannot be enriched and enlivened by maintaining that complex." Moreover, "language is a delicate thing and the growth of a plant or a language cannot be quickened by taking a stick in hand and brandishing it about." He had to speak in English in Parliament "because one-third of the Members do not understand Hindi and a speech in it would only antagonise them and turn them into its opponents."

## (ii) Fine Arts and Crafts

### 1. Dolls Exhibition<sup>1</sup>

Some months ago Shankar<sup>2</sup> of *Shankar's Weekly* spoke to me about organising a Dolls Exhibition in Delhi.<sup>3</sup> I rather liked the idea. I was told that foreign embassies were willing to cooperate.

2. Such dolls exhibitions have been held in other countries with great success. Children, of course, appreciate them greatly, but grown-up people

1. Note to the Minister of Education, 15 July 1954. File No. 40(258)/53-PMS. A copy of the note was sent to the Secretary General, MEA.
2. K. Shankar Pillai (1902-1987); Editor of *Shankar's Weekly* and a cartoonist; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 8, p. 846.
3. The first International Dolls Exhibition was inaugurated by Nehru on 18 March 1955 in New Delhi.

also are attracted to them. These dolls represent both folk art as well as more sophisticated art. The dresses they wear usually represent the country they come from. Thus such an exhibition has both an artistic and educative value.

3. I think that we should help this exhibition and the Ministry of External Affairs should give such assistance as it can through our Missions abroad. The Education Ministry, of course, would be chiefly interested and, I am sure, they would help.

## **2. Aesthetic Appeal in New Buildings<sup>1</sup>**

The Central Government as well as the State Governments are putting up many public buildings. Some of these buildings are big and imposing structures, like the buildings for the Supreme Court or the Theatre, or the big structure now on the point of completion which is meant for the expansion of the Central Secretariat.

I think that in all these major buildings we should encourage Indian artists to function in some way. Sculptors, painters, designers, etc., could be asked to cooperate. There might occasionally be woven tapestries. This will cost very little in comparison with the total cost of the building. But it will encourage Indian artists and would be greatly welcomed, I think, by the public.

The Works, Housing and Supply Ministry should be especially interested in this. But many of our other Ministries are also partly interested. I should like you to send this note to all these Ministries. Indeed I should like the State Governments' attention also to be drawn to this matter.

This is hardly a matter which needs consideration by Cabinet. But should any member of the Cabinet so desire, we can consider it in Cabinet.

1. Note to Cabinet Secretary, Y.N. Sukthankar, 18 July 1954. File No. 2 (223)/48-PMS.



### 3. On Banning Dramatic Performances<sup>1</sup>

I must say that I dislike this Act (The Dramatic Performances Act of 1876)<sup>2</sup> very much. I dislike it in itself and I dislike it also as a continuation of a seventy-year old Act of the British Government. As stated in the note, it has been considered ultra vires by some courts. Even if there is some slight doubt about its being ultra vires, we should not continue to use such an Act. We need not wait for the courts to prevent us from doing so. There must be some break with the old world of the British regime in this respect.

2. I am sorry to notice that the Home Ministry issued instructions to various Governments in regard to the Indian People's Theatre Association<sup>3</sup> and suggested that this Act might be used for the purpose. That Theatre Association has done very good work, though undoubtedly it is sometimes propagandist. Leaving it to odd officials to ban theatrical performances is supposed to be, in a modern State, a very reactionary policy. If there is something very objectionable, we shall have to find some other means of dealing with it.

3. I suggest that the Home Minister might consider this matter.

1. Note to the Home Minister, 20 July 1954. JN Collection.
2. The Act empowered the local authorities to prohibit any dramatic performance if, in their opinion, the performance was (a) of a scandalous or defamatory nature or (b) likely to excite feeling of disaffection to Government or (c) likely to deprave the audience. The passage of the Act was a sequel to a satirical play on the Prince of Wales staged in Calcutta on 19 February 1876.
3. Formed in Mumbai on 25 May 1943 under the aegis of the Communist Party of India, the Association attempted to bring dance and drama closer to common people of the country by making their themes socially relevant.

#### 4. To B.V. Keskar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
September 20, 1954

My dear Balkrishna,<sup>2</sup>

When our Cultural Delegation was going to Russia,<sup>3</sup> Ravi Shankar<sup>4</sup> mentioned to me that he would very much like to spend two or three weeks in some European countries, notably France and Italy, to renew acquaintance with artistic and musical life there. I think it would be a good thing for him to be able to do this and will give him a wider experience of modern trends. I suggest that you permit him to stay on for two or three weeks if he so wishes, that is, after the regular tour ends.

I find that the tour is proving a great success. The first performances, though welcomed, were a little scrappy, but they have improved greatly. The latest telegram from our Ambassador<sup>5</sup> is from Kiev where, our Ambassador reports, our delegation had a magnificent reception.<sup>6</sup> The Leader's tactful handling is also praised.

There are further demands now for our delegation from other countries. Czechoslovakia had specially asked for them and now Hungary is doing so. This will prolong the tour much more than was intended. But perhaps it is worthwhile, as such delegations are not likely to go frequently. This type of artistic approach has a great effect and makes India understood much more

1. JN Collection.

2. (1903-1984); Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting. 1952-62; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 11, p. 15.

3. In August 1954, a delegation consisting of some of the leading exponents of Indian music and dancing, including Ravi Shankar, Ali Akbar Khan, Kirtan Maharaj, Pannalal Ghosh, D.V. Paluskar, Shanta Rao, Mani Iyer and Narayanaswami, left for the Soviet Union on a six-week tour. Maragatham Chandrasekhar, Deputy Minister for Health, was the leader of the delegation.

4. (b. 1920); sitar maestro; learnt to play the sitar under Alauddin Khan, 1938-44; served in All India Radio, Delhi, 1949-56; established Kinnara School of Music in Mumbai, 1962, and in Los Angeles, 1964; founded, Research Institute for Music and Performing Arts, Varanasi, 1976; Member, Rajya Sabha, 1986-92; composed music for many films and has more than 45 LPs to his credit; gave recitals at, Unesco music festival, Paris, and UN Day gala, 1958, UN Human Rights Day concert, 1967, and before the British Royal Family, 1990; received many honours and awards including Bharat Ratna, 1999, and Commandeur de La Legion d'Honneur, 2000.

5. K.P.S. Menon, India's Ambassador to the Soviet Union.

6. The concert given in Kiev, Ukraine Republic, on 14 September was greatly appreciated. Merited Master of Arts, L. Baratov, praised Gopinath, Suryamukhi, Tonibinou, Baba Singh and Nadia in the Kathakali, Bharatanatyam, Manipuri classical styles of dancing and the Naga tribal dance.



than our other kinds of publicity. Therefore I hope that they will be able to go to these places.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## V. SECULARISM

### 1. To K. Kamaraj Nadar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 4, 1954

My dear Kamaraj,<sup>2</sup>

I find from a letter of your Governor to the President that the Dravida Kazhagam people have again started making mischief. For some time they were quiet after the formation of our Ministry.<sup>3</sup> You will remember that, before you accepted office, the then Madras Government had actually decided to take steps against Ramaswami Naicker<sup>4</sup> and some of his colleagues because they were indulging in the most violent incitements for murder, etc., of all Brahmins. This kind of thing obviously cannot be tolerated, and creates a very bad impression.

I now gather that they have again started calling for the murder of all Brahmins, the destruction of their houses and the banishment of all "Aryans".<sup>5</sup>

1. JN Collection. A copy of the letter was sent to Sri Prakasa, Governor of Madras.
2. (1903-1975); Chief Minister of Madras, 1954-63; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 17, p. 327.
3. In fact, the Dravida Kazhagam welcomed the formation on 14 April 1954 of the Ministry under Kamaraj Nadar, whom they considered a genuine Tamilian.
4. E.V. Ramaswami Naicker (1879-1973); a leader of the Dravidian Movement, free thinker and social reformer of Tamil Nadu; joined and brought common people to Congress fold, and participated in Non-cooperation Movement, 1920; resigned from Congress on the issue of reservation for backward communities; launched Self-Respect Movement for the downtrodden, 1925; incited people to rebel against the British Raj, 1933; led the first anti-Hindi agitation and was imprisoned, 1937; while in prison, elected President, Justice Party; reorganised Justice Party into Dravida Kazhagam, 1944; condemned religion as superstition, called for reform of Tamil language and published several journals.
5. The attack on the Brahmins was started on the ground that they were oppressing the non-Brahmins. Residential areas of the Brahmins were threatened if any special amenities were provided for them by the authorities and hotels owned by the Brahmins were asked to erase the qualifying word 'Brahman' from their signboards.

They have further called upon the Dravids "to be armed with knife, petrol and match boxes" so that they might commit arson.

I hope you will give immediate consideration to this matter and take necessary action.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 2. To Mehr Chand Khanna<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 4, 1954

My dear Mehr Chand,<sup>2</sup>

I have been receiving information that the Salwan Trust School is closely associated with the RSS organisation and that the RSS have a branch there and give regular training. Shri Salwan<sup>3</sup> apparently has been associated with narrow communal activities for a considerable time past.

If this is so, as I am informed it is, that does not mean that we should take any action against this school, but it does mean that we should be a little more vigilant about it and that the help we give to it should be carefully considered.

I mention this as I understand that the Salwan School is being given a good deal of equipment, etc., from the Arab-ki-Sarai Training Centre as well as otherwise. There are many organisations for displaced persons, apart from Faridabad, the Indian Cooperatives Union, etc., which might well be given help in this way.

If the Rehabilitation Ministry has much equipment, etc., to spare, I would remind it that we propose to start a Bal Bhavan for children on a big scale in Delhi. There are also schemes for working children. Indeed, there are many institutions deserving of support.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. (1897-1970); adviser, Ministry of Rehabilitation 1948-54; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 14, p. 577.
3. Girdhari Lal Salwan (1902-1964); educationist; founder, Sanatan Dharam Salwan Boys High School, Peshawar, 1941-42, Boys School in Delhi, 1949, and the Salwan Educational Trust, which runs schools for boys and girls.



### 3. To K.N. Katju<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 13, 1954

My dear Kailas Nath,

Your letter of the 13th June about the communal situation in Delhi.

I do not think you are right in saying that there is no educative propaganda in regard to communal matters. In Delhi especially, we have had on occasions intensive and widespread propaganda. We have organised literally hundreds of *mohalla* and street-corner meetings addressed by scores of persons in the course of two or three months. It is true that recently this has faded off. After the troubles in 1947, we took this matter in hand and for months we continued it.<sup>2</sup> In fact, it was this propaganda that turned the scale in Delhi then and stopped the perverse activities of the Hindu Mahasabha and the RSS, especially. Again, about two years ago, we had an intensive drive and about 20 MPs went daily and addressed meetings in various parts of Delhi city. In this matter, some of the Delhi Congressmen have been quite good and we have been helped by MPs. For some time past, however, there has been slackening on this front.

I am surprised to read in your letter that there has not been a single speech by any Muslim leader anywhere in India entreating the Indian Muslims to think and work on sound lines and consider themselves as citizens of India. I have come across numerous such speeches by Muslims; some have been delivered in my presence, others I have read.

I am convinced, however, that the problem before us is a Hindu communal problem, not a Muslim communal problem, although there are plenty of Muslims who are communal. It is, however, the Hindu organisations which are aggressive, violent, intensely sectarian and narrow-minded. The position of the Muslims in India, whatever we may say about it and whatever our Constitution may be in regard to it, is not a happy one. They are a frustrated community with fewer and fewer openings for them. I have addressed State Governments on this subject<sup>3</sup> and the information they have sent me have confirmed my opinion. Muslims are practically not taken in the Army and the Police Forces. On the civil side too, the new entrants get fewer and fewer. I am afraid most of our

1. JN Collection.

2. In order to tackle the communal situation, an Emergency Cabinet Committee was appointed under Lord Mountbatten on 6 September 1947. A special emergency committee was also formed under Jawaharlal Nehru to take measures to control the situation in Delhi.

3. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 25, pp. 563-564.

State Governments are not fair to them and some have an active dislike of them.

Even in the matter of Urdu, the attitude taken up by the UP Government especially and, to some extent, one or two other Governments is, I think, neither fair nor in consonance with our Constitution and our declared policy. The President has received a representation signed by two million persons in favour of Urdu.<sup>4</sup> Each name has got a full address and can be verified. I am told it was verified. In terms of our Constitution, we are bound to give effect to some of their demands. Yet we sit tight on them. Even when we proclaim something, we do not act up to it.

I am not at all surprised if the Muslims in India are angry and frustrated. In the recent elections in Bihar,<sup>5</sup> they voted solidly against the Congress; many voted for the Communists, some for the Socialists. They were neither Socialists nor Communists. This was a mere expression of protest against the Congress.<sup>6</sup>

It would of course be a good thing if Maulana Azad could participate more actively in public life.<sup>7</sup> Unfortunately he has grown weak and ill and one cannot press him to do so.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

4. A petition submitted to the President in early 1954 by Zakir Husain, President. Anjuman-i-Tarraqqi-i-Urdu (Hind), demanded recognition of Urdu as one of the regional languages of UP, and its use (i) as a medium of instruction for primary education for children with Urdu as their mother tongue, (ii) in applications to law courts and government offices and (iii) in publication of laws, rules and notifications.
5. In Bihar, the Marhaura by-election was held on 7 March 1954 and the Patna Municipal Corporation elections were held on 24 March 1954.
6. In Patna, the Muslims, who were 35 per cent of the population, voted against the Congress en bloc. Their demand for the removal of the Principal of Madarsa Shamshulhuda Islamia was not fulfilled by the Congress, and their complaint that in Government appointments they were sidelined was also ignored by the Congress.
7. Katju had written that it was a great misfortune that there was no great Muslim leader preaching the right doctrine among the Muslims. He wished Maulana Azad took a more active part in this direction. "If he were to make a habit, for instance, of delivering addresses once or twice a month in Jumma Masjid after Friday prayers... his words would carry weight, create confidence among the Muslims and also be heard with attention by Hindus."



#### 4. Muslim Evacuee Property in Delhi<sup>1</sup>

I enclose an article by Professor Ram Singh, the Hindu Mahasabha leader. He suggests in this article that Muslims in Delhi living in evacuee properties should be turned out. If this is done, according to him, 40,000 refugees can be accommodated there and there will be no necessity for building new *bastis* or colonies. He threatens to start a big agitation on this issue.

2. Professor Ram Singh is notorious for his violent and vulgar language and for the mischief he often does. This attempt of his to create trouble in the Muslim *bastis* here is full of dangerous potentialities. It is an appeal to the evacuees to take forcible possession of these houses by driving out the present residents. An appeal to trepidation often finds an easy response.

3. Also, now that compensation for evacuees is talked about, the idea that the evacuee pool can be added to in this way, may well appeal to many.

4. The Muslims who are living in these evacuee houses were sent there by Government after full consideration. They are Muslims of Delhi who were driven out of their own houses or, sometimes, Muslims of some other parts near Delhi or in the UP, who were also driven out of their houses during the troubled period of 1947-48. Their houses were included in the evacuee pool. They are thus given these houses in exchange for their own. There can be no question of taking the houses in which they live in now.

5. It should be made perfectly clear that this kind of proposal of Professor Ram Singh is not going to be tolerated and if any attempt is made to give effect to it forcibly, it will have to be repressed with full strength.

6. Professor Ram Singh's proposal means uprooting a large settled population in particular areas allotted to it and must necessarily create an upheaval with all its dangerous consequences.

7. I had a visit today from Mir Mushtaq Ahmed,<sup>2</sup> a Socialist MLA of Delhi, who particularly drew my attention to this matter.

8. He further told me that an attempt is made by the communal newspapers of Delhi to convert every anti-social incident into a communal one and to exaggerate it also. He pointed out that there were some well-known goondas

1. Note to the Minister for Home Affairs, 19 June 1954. JN Collection.

2. (1915-1992); teacher, Ramjas School, Delhi, 1940, participated in the Individual Satyagraha, 1940, and Quit India Movement, 1942; special magistrate. 1947; Member, Delhi Assembly, 1952; President, Delhi PCC, 1963-66; Chief Executive Councillor, Delhi, 1966; Chairman, Metropolitan Council of Delhi, 1972-77.

to whom Pakistan had given passports and sent to India to create trouble here. Also that some employees of the Pakistan High Commission in Delhi live in the heart of the city and often create mischief. Could they not live near their High Commission?

9. Mir Mushtaq Ahmed mentioned that quite a number of foreign embassy cars went about at nights especially to Muslim areas in the city. He mentioned particularly Pakistan and US in this connection.

10. He said that the absence of Muslims in the Police force in Delhi was unfortunate. If some Muslims were taken in, it would have a good effect.

11. We have decided that the evacuee property law<sup>3</sup> in regard to declaring people evacuees and taking possession of their houses, etc., should have no future application. That is that Muslims can deal with their property as they choose in future without offending any law, as is the case with other people to whatever nationality they might belong. This decision should be fully publicised.

12. I am sending a copy of this note to the Rehabilitation Ministry and the Chief Commissioner of Delhi.<sup>4</sup>

3. In fact on 25 September 1954, Lok Sabha passed the Administration of Evacuee Property (Amendment) Bill, which abrogated the evacuee property law in respect of future cases. A.P. Jain, Union Minister for Rehabilitation, said that the "object of the law is that nobody should be declared an evacuee for anything done after May 7, 1954. He becomes a normal citizen like any other citizen."
4. Shankar Prasada.

## 5. To Rajendra Prasad<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 30, 1954

My dear Rajendra Babu,

Thank you for your letter of the 29th July. Some two or three days ago, I received a similar letter but the writer was someone else. In that letter, however, there was a definite mention of satyagraha from the Janmashtami Day onwards. I have had a fairly lengthy reply sent to that letter.<sup>2</sup>

1. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to Rafi Ahmed Kidwai.
2. Nehru had a reply sent through B.N. Kaul, his Principal Private Secretary, on 29 July to a letter in Hindi, referred to here, received on 27 July.



In my reply, I have pointed out that Government attached the greatest importance to the preservation of cattle and the improvement of their breed, more especially in regard to milch cows. They have taken some steps to that end and they are at present giving further attention to the other steps that they can take. It is not true, I think, that there has been an increase of slaughter of cattle, though it is true that in the city of Bombay and Calcutta, in spite of present laws and rules, this kind of killing has gone on. This is largely due to the fact that Hindus who own the cows deliberately hand them over for slaughter, even when this is against the law. Any approach to this question has to be constructive and should prevent the economic burden of a dry cow falling on a person who cannot afford to shoulder it. No mere law can do that. Any general ban of cattle slaughter will, I am quite sure, not result in stopping it but will probably result in the best cattle being killed and the worst ones being protected. Also the quality will go down rapidly.

Religious and sentimental considerations have no doubt a value, but it is fairly patent that they are not strong enough to prevent Hindus from disposing of their cows for slaughter. That is to say, they are not strong enough to override economic pressures. The main problem before us, therefore, is how to remove this economic pressure in regard to useful cattle, more especially in Calcutta and Bombay cities where much of this slaughter takes place. Most of these cattle go from the Punjab which is gradually being denuded of useful cattle. The problem, therefore, has to be considered in some cooperation between the Governments of Bombay, West Bengal and the Punjab. I might mention that I have been taking a good deal of personal interest in this matter and have been speaking and writing to the Food and Agriculture Ministry as well as others repeatedly. I am again writing to them. I have also been speaking at public meetings on this subject explaining this line of argument and have found that it has been appreciated.

I am quite clear that any total ban would not only be not effective at all but would lead to much worse consequences. Apart from the economic consequences, in some parts of India like the North-East Frontier tribal areas, it will create a grave political situation.

I think that we should concentrate on prohibiting the slaughter of useful cattle. That is common ground. The question is how to do it effectively.

This threat of satyagraha is quite clearly a political threat, and, if it materialises, will have to be met. If these persons who talk so loudly about cow protection did something positive and constructive in that respect, it would be much more helpful. Hardly any of them moves in that direction, but they use this slogan for political purposes.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 6. To Presidents of PCCs<sup>1</sup>

Dalhousie  
August 5, 1954

Dear Comrade,

I am writing this letter to you from Dalhousie where I have been for the last two days. Before I came here, I went to Chamba in Himachal Pradesh.<sup>2</sup> It is always a pleasure to visit these mountain areas, but, apart from the pleasure, it gives me some opportunity to think of the issues that confront us.

2. Whatever the other issues might be, and they are important, it has always seemed to me that the primary consideration for the progress of India, political, social and economic, is what I would call the emotional integration of India. Politically, we are now a well-knit country. We have, if I may say so, a strong and stable Government at the Centre which itself represents an integrated India. There are also many forces which help in this unifying process. But, there are other forces also which tend to disintegrate and weaken this unity. Some of the people who encourage these disintegrating tendencies may do so intentionally, others perhaps unintentionally and not realising the consequences of what they are doing. So far as the Congress is concerned, and indeed others also, we can never grow complacent, for, complacency means a static position which leads to stagnation and decay. It means also an unawareness of these various forces at play, some good and some bad.

3. We call our State a secular one. The word "secular" perhaps is not a very happy one. And yet, for want of a better word, we have used it. What exactly does it mean? It does not obviously mean a State where religion as such is discouraged. It means freedom of religion and conscience, including freedom for those who may have no religion. It means free play for all religions, subject only to their not interfering with each other or with the basic conceptions of our State. It means that the minority communities, from the religious point of view, should accept this position. It means, even more, that the majority community, from this point of view, should fully realise it. For, by virtue of numbers as well as in other ways, it is the dominant community and it is its responsibility not to use its position in any way which might prejudice our secular ideal.

4. The word "secular", however, conveys something much more to me, although that might not be its dictionary meaning. It conveys the idea of social and political equality. Thus, a caste-ridden society is not properly secular. I

1. File No. G-12/1954, AICC Papers, NMML.

2. Nehru was in Chamba and Dalhousie from 2 to 6 August 1954.



have no desire to interfere with any person's beliefs, but when those beliefs become petrified in caste divisions, undoubtedly they affect the social structure of the State. They prevent us from realising the ideal of equality which we claim to place before ourselves. They interfere in political matters, just as communalism interferes. We have opposed communalism and continue to be stoutly opposed to it. It is, in fact, a negation of nationalism and of the national State. Communalism means the dominance of one religious community. If that community is in a minority, this is opposed to all ideas of democracy. But, if that community is in a majority, even so its dominance over others as a religious community would be wholly undemocratic. There is no chance of a minority community gaining this dominant position in a democratic set-up. It is possible, however, for a majority community to do so. If that happens, it may well be said that the majority is a religious majority, functioning as such.

5. Therefore, we have opposed communalism not only in minority communities, but also in the majority community. This argument applies to caste divisions and their functioning on the political plane. There can be no doubt that they do function often enough in this way, in elections and in other ways. We have condemned casteism in Congress resolutions. But it exists and encourages fissiparous tendencies and maintains divisions in our society, which undoubtedly weaken and prevent the growth of a real democratic spirit. Many of us perhaps do not attach enough importance to this. But I have no doubt that casteism is as dangerous as communalism and both are effective barriers, if they are strong enough, to the development of true democracy and equality.

6. We are apt to take pride in our tradition of tolerance. It is always dangerous to have this complacent attitude about oneself because it hides the truth from us. Few people can see their own weaknesses and failings although they are wide awake to the failings of others. I am mentioning this matter to you because I feel it is something which requires continuous and effective handling by us. We should not compromise with it or tolerate it for the sake of some temporary gain.

7. The Congress, during its long history, has performed many services to India; among the greatest of them is the building up of India's unity. That service was not completed by the attainment of Independence. It is still the historic destiny of the Congress to labour for the real emotional unity and integration of India. That means that we must strike at every disintegrating tendency, and communalism and casteism are undoubtedly two such tendencies which have weakened India in the past and which may well weaken her in the future.

8. Every communal organisation deliberately seeks the dominance of its own community or special privileges for it. Some Hindu communal organisations talk about a Hindu *rashttra*. It is patent that whatever that might be, it is neither nationalism nor democracy. It is a throw-back to some ideas of a medieval

period. That is clear enough. But perhaps all of us are not clear about caste. That is equally a throw-back and has no meaning in a society which claims to develop equality.

9. Our Constitution is based on this secular conception and gives freedom to all religions even freedom to proselytise. Personally, I do not appreciate attempts at proselytisation. But that is a personal opinion of my own, and I have no business to thrust it on others. I can understand an individual changing his religion because of certain convictions. I do not understand attempts at mass conversions, which can have no business with individual or personal conviction and which have often behind them some political urge.

10. The question of Christian missionaries has been much discussed lately. This refers especially to foreign missionaries in India. So far as religious freedom to propagate one's faith is concerned, every religion has that freedom in India, subject always to certain considerations. Where foreign missionaries are concerned, it is not the religious question that is at issue, but rather the question of the admission of foreigners into India for any purpose. We do not wish to close up India to foreigners, and indeed we have welcomed them. But we apply certain rules in regard to their entry which have nothing to do with religion. Large numbers of foreigners in a country may well create new problems. They may affect certain professions or some activities which we do not wish to encourage. Therefore, certain rules have to be laid down. So far as foreign Christian missionaries are concerned, there is no doubt that they have done very good work in many parts of India. There is also little doubt that some of them have not functioned to the advantage of India. They may be good-intentioned, but their objectives, political or social, might not be the same as ours. Politically, we do not wish to encourage any foreigner to live within some of our frontier zones. This has nothing to do with religion. Their presence there creates problems and we have to apply our rules with a certain strictness in these frontier areas.

11. Some difficulties have arisen in regard to missionary activities in tribal areas. I like these tribal folk very much as I have often said. They are a fine people. I should like to help them. But I do not wish to interfere with them too much. Missionary activities amongst them, whether Christian, Hindu or Muslim or any other, often create disturbances in the mass mind which might well lead to conflicts. It can hardly be said that there are individual conversions due to conviction.

12. There are at present not only Christian missionary activities but Hindu and Muslim also in various areas. There is the Shuddhi Movement,<sup>3</sup> which

3. The Shuddhi (purification) Movement was started in 1923 to reconvert to Hinduism those who had accepted other faiths.



appears to me to be very largely political. It is this political tinge, which has nothing to do with real religion, that I deprecate. There is also a tendency in some parts of India for an aggressive attitude to be adopted towards Christian missionaries. I think that this kind of thing should be sternly discouraged. It is no part of our nationalism and it gives reign to a narrow and bigoted approach to a problem which should be dealt with calmly on the national level.

13. The result of this aggressive attitude is to create a feeling of apprehension in the minds of Indian Christians who form a very considerable and important element in the national community. Anything that creates such an apprehension in the minds of any group in India is to be deprecated. It tends to disturb and it is opposed to our secular ideal. We must always remember that minority religious communities in India, such as the Muslims, the Christians, the Sikhs, the Parsis, the Buddhists, the Jains, the Jews, etc., are as much part of India as anyone else. Not to consider them as such immediately leads us away from both our secular and democratic ideals and weakens the unity of India.

14. I want all Congressmen to bear this clearly in mind. We must not allow ourselves even unconsciously to adopt attitudes which are wrong and opposed to what we stand for. It may be that, by adopting a strong attitude in these matters, we displease some people or we lose an election. It is better to do so than to lose our faith in our cause and in our ideals.

15. We have to contend against other disruptive tendencies also. There is provincialism, and now we have some kind of a tussle going on all over India on the question of the reorganisation of States. Linguistic Provinces have obviously some virtue and logic. But this idea of linguistic Provinces may well become a curse if we do not restrain ourselves and do not keep in mind the unity of India. In many States, there are vocal groups which put forward their cases for linguistic States with excessive vigour. I have found that the common man is usually not interested in this problem of reorganisation of States. Indeed, he hardly understands it, though he may be roused up by some slogan.

16. We must always remember that India is a multilingual country. It is fortunate that Hindi, in slightly different forms, is the language of a very large part of the country. But there are other great languages, which are equally part of our country and have to be respected and encouraged. Our approach must never be to crush a language, however small it might be. If linguistic States are desirable, so also is the language of a small area to be encouraged, because both give a certain psychological satisfaction and enable a community to grow. Where linguistic claims lead to exclusiveness, arrogance and aggressiveness, then they are dangerous and disruptive and have to be countered.

17. It is obvious that it is not possible to draw any map of India strictly confined to each language in a particular area. There are bound to be

bilingual or multilingual areas. If we do not approach this question in a spirit of give and take and compromise and good neighbourliness and freedom of growth for everyone, then we shall always come into conflict with each other.

18. I have mentioned in this letter some of the major disruptive tendencies in India. I would repeat that it is the historic task of the Congress to face this situation with courage and not, through fear or weakness, to compromise with any tendency that is bad for the future of India and her people. We must always keep the ideal of the unity of India and of the political and social equality of her people, to whatever group, religion or province they might belong. We must work also for the realisation of a progressive economic equality. That may take some time, but our efforts should always tend to that end. For that purpose, we must create a climate of social equality.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 7. To Presidents of PCCs<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 24, 1954

Dear Comrade,

For some time past, I have been deeply concerned at the growing tendency to indulge in some kind of violent activity in our public life. The very essence of a democratic State is its functioning in an atmosphere of peace. Problems, however difficult, are solved by peaceful methods, by discussion, negotiation, conciliation and persuasion. A decision once taken is accepted even by those who may not agree with it, who maintain the right to get the decision changed by peaceful methods. Till it is changed, they accept it. If this basic conception of democracy is not accepted, then democracy itself cannot function.

2. I recognise the right of any group to agitate for a cause, provided that agitation is completely peaceful. I can even conceive of peaceful satyagraha, although the occasions for this should be rare in a democratic society. But in no event should violent action be conceived or encouraged.

3. If we were against violence when we were carrying on our struggle for freedom, how much more so must we be now when we have attained that

1. JN Collection. Also available in File No. G-12/1954, AICC Papers. NMML.



freedom and have the normal democratic apparatus for solving our problems. And yet, the fact remains that frequent outbursts of violence take place over domestic problems. In the name of satyagraha, activities are indulged in which almost invariably lead to violent demonstrations. There have been many instances of this kind of thing happening among students as well as others.

4. I am not discussing any special incident or apportioning any blame. I am merely pointing out this tendency to try to attain some objective, however petty it might be, or to bring about a change through methods which are either violent in themselves or which inevitably lead to violence. I think that this is a very dangerous tendency. It is the business of every citizen to discourage it. It is more especially the business of Congressmen to do so.

5. What has troubled me very much have been occasional communal conflicts and violence. Some recent incidents, as at Aligarh,<sup>2</sup> Pilibhit<sup>3</sup> and Nizamabad,<sup>4</sup> have been very painful. Again, I am not analysing any particular incident or apportioning blame. But certain factors stand out. Some rumour is spread or some petty incident takes place which has no importance. This leads to excitement and conflict. Take the Nizamabad case. Some miscreant put up a Pakistani flag on a statue of Mahatma Gandhi at night. No one knew who had done it. It might have been an Indian or a foreigner, a Hindu, a Muslim or a Christian. Whoever he was, he was a mischief maker, and the matter should have been dealt with on that level. But people get excited or are encouraged to become excited and arson and conflict follow.

6. This means that we are at the mercy of any mischief maker who wants to create trouble. This is a very dangerous state of affairs. A foreign spy can excite our people and create trouble, or some goonda or other may do so, hoping to profit by the upset caused.

7. I want you and others to appreciate how ridiculous all this is, apart from its being rather shameful, and how it is discrediting us. In an organised State, people do not function in this way. If somebody misbehaves, the State deals with this matter and not the public.

8. I am writing to you briefly on this subject, but I feel strongly about it because this is bringing disgrace to our country and encouraging disruptive forces, whether Hindu or Muslim or any other. In the modern world, people do not quarrel because they belong to different religions. Unfortunately, they quarrel about other matters and even go to war, but they do not do so on the basis of

2. On 5 June, an altercation between a fruit vendor and his customer, both belonging to different communities, led to communal riots in Aligarh.
3. A rumour that a girl of one community had been abducted and confined in the house of another community led to communal tension in Pilibhit on 1 August.
4. Nearly a hundred persons were injured, seventy of them seriously, in a disturbance on 14 August in Nizamabad.

religion. To do so is a sign of backwardness and exhibits a lack of that toleration of spirit for which India has prided herself.

9. I should like you to give consideration to this matter and to make all Congressmen feel that it is their duty to fight this tendency.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 8. To K.N. Katju<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 28, 1954

My dear Kailas Nath,

You will remember my writing to you some days ago and suggesting that the Central Intelligence should enquire into these recent incidents in Hyderabad, more particularly the raising of the Pakistan flag at some places. You will have noticed that this display of the Pakistan flag is taking place repeatedly and on exceedingly unlikely places, such as a temple. Today's news comes from Gulbarga.<sup>2</sup>

It is patent that this is the work of some persons deliberately aiming at mischief. I feel almost sure that it is being done by some Hindus as it is exceedingly unlikely that Muslims will indulge in this kind of thing. Apart from this, the idea of a Muslim going up a Hindu temple is very difficult to believe.

A regular technique appears to have been evolved. A Pakistani flag is suddenly found in some place; immediately after crowds gather; they attack and burn Muslim shops and so on. It seems to me that the whole object is to drive out the Muslims from there. There is some slight hope also, I suppose, that the Muslim houses and shops will be available to others.

Anyhow, the only persons who can profit by this are the Hindu communal organisations.

1. JN Collection.

2. On 27 August, communal clashes occurred in Gulbarga town following the hoisting of a Pakistani flag on a Ganesha temple by some miscreants. Seven persons were reported to have died and 19 injured in the disturbances. Some houses were also burnt and shops looted.



I have just received an agitated request from Hyderabad MP's here, both Muslim and Hindu, to seeing me about these developments in Hyderabad. I shall probably see them this evening.

But, in any event, I think our Intelligence should look into this matter quite independently of the Hyderabad Government or their Intelligence.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

## 9. To Chief Ministers<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
September 3, 1954

My dear Chief Minister,

I have written to you about the communal disturbances that have taken place in some parts of India.<sup>2</sup> There are certain rather odd features about these disturbances. On several occasions these disturbances took place rather unexpectedly and there was no obvious tension previously. The technique also appears to be different.

2. We must take some care to find out how and why each one of these conflicts occurred. It is not good enough to treat them in the old way. I rather doubt if Police reports about them are very satisfactory. The enquiry has to be conducted by really high class men, whether police or other, and not by the normal type of junior police officer.

3. It is true that there are some Muslims in some centres who might be prone to mischief. There are one or two Muslim organisations that have been carrying on objectionable activities. I do not think there are many Muslims connected with these organisations, but they exert a bad influence. Generally speaking, the Muslims do not and cannot think of any deliberate aggressive activity. Both by virtue of their numbers and their general position in the country, they are frustrated and weak and they know well that any aggression on their part will lead to their own suffering.

4. The other side of the picture is different. The Hindu communal organisations are definitely aggressive and they can play on the religious or

1. H.B. Upadhyaya Papers, NMML. Also printed in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Vol. 4, pp. 39-41.  
2. See *post*, p. 592.

other feelings of the majority community. There is also a new motive, which, previous to the Partition, was not present. This is the lure of property. In the pre-Partition days, whatever communal trouble took place, no one ever thought of driving out the other party from their houses or shops. No one ever thought of profiting by any such action. Now this new element has come in and it is thought that if the Muslims in a particular area are frightened and made to leave, that property would naturally come to the Hindus, more especially of course the refugees. Even if it does not go directly to them, it might go into the refugee pool.

5. Thus, this new and dangerous incentive comes into play. Of course this applies chiefly to the refugees. Indeed, much of the trouble is caused or, at any rate, begun by the refugees.

6. Agitations like the anti-cow slaughter one are also used for this purpose. I have no doubt that many people who participate in this agitation are influenced by political or like motives and not so much by religious ones. The RSS utilises this for its own purposes.

7. Thus, generally speaking, it may be presumed that the aggression comes from the Hindus or the Sikhs in some cases. Even if an individual Muslim misbehaves, the real aggression comes from the majority community and that petty misbehaviour is made the excuse for such aggression.

8. There are two other aspects to which I would like to draw your attention. We have sometimes received information about Pakistani spies coming here to create trouble. It is difficult to have positive evidence of this, but there is nothing inherently unlikely about this and indeed some evidence points that way at some places.

9. The other aspect is of some foreigners (non-Pakistanis) interested in weakening our position, encouraging such conflicts. Again, we have no positive evidence, but there is some circumstantial evidence to this effect. In particular, money seems to be paid.

10. Even in Nepal this foreign money has been much in evidence behind the anti-India agitations. It would not be surprising if this was used in India also. We have had some kind of evidence from time to time also about the encouragement given by foreigners to Hindu communal organisations in various ways.

11. All these factors have to be borne in mind and it has to be realised that we are dealing with a new phase of an old problem. We have, therefore, to apply new methods or at least vary our old methods. The first thing is to be wide awake and never allow a situation to deteriorate before taking action. The second thing is to make it clear that the community that takes to aggression will suffer. I believe that this practice was adopted in the past in some States with very good results. As far as I remember, Bombay State took action on these lines some years ago when communal trouble took place. The offending



community was fined and compensation was given to the suffering party. Bombay State has been free from communal trouble for several years, although Bombay city has plenty of mischievous elements.

12. I would commend to you to consider some such procedure.

13. It would be desirable to make it known in various ways to the public that mischief-makers or foreign nationals are behind these anti-national and anti-social activities just to weaken our country through strife. We must be warned and not to fall into their trap as we do when people get excited and take the law into their own hands. If this point of view begins to be widely appreciated by the public, the mischief maker will fail.

14. I am writing this to share my thoughts with you and to make you appreciate this new phase of this troublesome problem. This requires new thinking and new action and, above all, quick action.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 10. To K. Kamaraj Nadar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
September 6, 1954

My dear Kamaraj,

You were good enough to send me on the 23rd August some figures about the representation of minorities in the Services in Madras. The representation of Muslims appears to be much below the percentage of population.

There is another matter, however, which is often referred to. It is stated that governmental policy is to keep out Brahmins as far as possible from the public services. There is no doubt that in the past Brahmins had a very disproportionate share of these services and it is right that this should be corrected. But any impression that Government is definitely keeping them out will also be not good, apart from lowering the standard of administration.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

## 11. To Abul Kalam Azad<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
September 10, 1954

My dear Maulana,

... Padmaja Naidu<sup>2</sup> has sent me a long and good report about Gulbarga. This is from her personal knowledge as she went there immediately after the incidents and enquired into them. I am not troubling you with this full report, unless you specially wish to see it. But I am mentioning some facts contained in it. There is no doubt, she says, that the RSS and the Arya Samaj people were bent on mischief and created this mischief. The authorities were very weak. In fact, the poor Collector,<sup>3</sup> who is a good man in his own way but has no administrative experience at all, did not know what to do. He was a professor of Geology for eighteen years and, in fact, he worked in our National Physical Laboratory. Now he has become suddenly a District Magistrate there and his nerves failed him completely. It might have been possible to take early steps to prevent these riots under a more competent and experienced officer.

Padmaja also points out that the activities of the Jamiat-i-Ulema in Hyderabad have done incalculable harm to the Muslims of Hyderabad. In fact she says that if these activities are not stopped, there is no way in which the Muslims can be protected. The Jamiat in Hyderabad is full of ex-Razakars and one of its members, Noorullah Iftikhari, has been making speeches exactly like those of Kasim Razvi.<sup>4</sup>

Padmaja says that it is essential for the Arya Samaj to be kept in check. She further says that Moulvi Hifzur Rahman<sup>5</sup> should not go to Gulbarga as he is arriving there for creating trouble....

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. (1900-1975); also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 1, p. 274.

3. B.V. Iyengar.

4. Syed Kasim Razvi was President, Ittehad-ul-Muslemeen, and leader of the Razakars.

5. (1901-1962); Member, Lok Sabha, 1952-62; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 16, Pt. II, p. 477.



## 12. To K.N. Katju<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
September 18, 1954

My dear Kailas Nath,

... I am becoming more and more convinced that the officers in charge of a place, where trouble occurs, must be held accountable for it. This must be made clear to them right from beginning. Of course there can be cases where they are not responsible, but they must realise that they will have to clear themselves. In such matters there must be a trace of martial law about our behaviour. We cannot deal with these situations unless the officers are made to realise that they will be punished if they fail. Also I think that the punitive tax in an area where looting and arson has taken place is desirable.

All these big troubles have happened in various places of Hyderabad. Is there going to be an enquiry? Departmental enquiries of course in such cases are no good at all.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

## 13. To B. Ramakrishna Rao<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
September 18, 1954

My dear Ramakrishna Rao,

I have been receiving quite a large number of reports about incidents at Gulbarga, Nizamabad and other places. There have been your official reports and many non-official ones. There have also been long letters from Padmaja Naidu which have given me more information than all the reports. I do not propose to deal with all the matters contained in these reports. But they have left a very bad impression in my mind. I have little doubt that there are many Muslims in Hyderabad State of the Razakar mentality and they given trouble. But the fact remains that the principal sufferers from these riots are Muslims and that Hindus have participated in arson and looting on a large scale. What

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

is worse, most of them are unrepentant and appear to think that they have done the right thing.

2. It is not an easy matter to change popular psychology, though I am quite sure it can be changed given strong and right leadership. I fear we have lost the habit of speaking or acting straight. We are afraid of displeasing this group or that group and possibly of losing an election. Our own prejudices come in the way of clear understanding, and so we forget the very principles for which we stand and ultimately lose the respect we commanded.

3. Popular leadership apart, I am convinced that the officials in charge of a place can play a very effective part in maintaining peace or in allowing disruptive and anti-social elements from having their way. Almost invariably where a riot has occurred anywhere in India, I can say with some certainty that the officials in charge were weak or incompetent or mischievous. I can understand some odd incident suddenly occurring, but, where any big affair takes place, it is partly the fault of the officials. I would show no mercy to these officials. When human lives are lost and large scale rioting takes place, what is the good of the man in charge if he cannot deal with the situation properly. We are much too afraid of saying anything about our officials and think that this affects the prestige of Government.

4. I am not condemning our officials as a whole because I think many of them are very good. But the fact remains that some are not good and some are definitely bad. Where any major riot takes place, the official must be held to blame unless he clears himself. Often enough, we ask that very official for a report which is rather absurd....

5. In Nizamabad, it appears to me absolutely clear that the DSP<sup>2</sup> is a highly objectionable person. In fact, Padmaja writes to me that, even in her presence, he behaved in a manner which astonished her. She also says that at Nizamabad open accusations were made against certain Police officers in their presence about their allowing the houses to be looted without lifting a finger. Surely this kind of thing cannot be allowed to rest there. Why is the DSP tolerated? It is not a question of his transfer, but it is a question of his being suspended and an enquiry made into his conduct regardless of what some people might say or think....

7. I might mention that Padmaja has written to me that, apart from Nizamabad and one or two other places, the people praise the Police. This shows that the people try to judge right and wrong and do not just blame the Police. In fact, in some places, they offer the highest praise for the work of the Police.

8. I do hope that you will not hesitate to take strong and immediate action



against every officer, high or low, who has misbehaved. No one should be allowed to remain where he is because that is an insult to the public.

9. Personally I think that where large scale rioting, arson and looting have taken place, that whole area should be punished by a punitive fine. Wherever this has been done in the past, it has had the most salutary effect. This happened in Delhi some time ago and produced good results immediately. People must be made to feel that looting and arson do not pay. I suppose it will be thought that this might lose votes. Possibly this might be so. But strong and honest action is not only good in itself but brings good results.

10. I am infinitely sad to learn that even women and school children took part in the looting in Nizamabad.

11. Once we submit to this evil, it grows just as a bad situation in a locality if not nipped in the bud grows to dangerous proportions; so in a whole State, if strong action is not taken, matters become worse and worse.

12. Newspapers in Hyderabad are bad, both those run by the Muslims and Hindus. I gather that you have taken some action against some of the editors of Muslim papers. But so far you have not taken such action against the editors of Hindu papers. The *Milap* is particularly bad. I think that, in such circumstances, quick action should be taken even though later on the court may decide against you. We cannot weigh the fine legalities of some phrases. We have to judge from the general results and take action and let the law courts decide.

13. One thing has rather surprised me. Padmaja writes to me that at Gulbarga Bindu<sup>3</sup> appointed some kind of a Committee consisting of all the extremists and undesirable persons of all groups.<sup>4</sup> Naturally he had trouble after that. I am told that one of these persons named Sharan Goud was particularly a terror for the Muslims.

14. I think that we have to make a clear choice now as to what policy we are to pursue. We cannot prevaricate and try to please everybody. We cannot ask the evil doers to come and help us and thus find encouragement for their evil deeds. I would punish equally, Hindu or Muslim or anybody else who misbehaves regardless of other consequences.

15. I am afraid that some of the extreme Arya Samajists in Hyderabad are very troublesome from the common man's point of view and have created a lot of mischief. Many of these Arya Samajists wield considerable authority in the Congress itself.

3. G. Digambar Rao Bindu; Home Minister, Hyderabad State, 1952-56; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 15, Pt II, p. 146.
4. On 28 August 1954, Bindu set up a peace committee consisting of the members of the Congress, the Jamiat-i-Ulema, the Arya Samaj and the Communists.

16. When such disasters occur and innocent people suffer, it is the bounden duty of Government to help them. I hope you and your Government will help these sufferers from these riots.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## VI. DEFENCE AND NATIONAL SECURITY

### 1. Recruitment in the Army<sup>1</sup>

... I have long been concerned at the fact-that Muslims are not adequately represented in our Army. This has nothing to do with Kashmir as such. For various reasons, which are well known, the recruitment of Muslims into the Army and the Police was very greatly reduced. In fact, to some extent, this applies to the civil services also. In theory, we do not recruit on class or community basis. But, in practice, it seemed to me that there was a strong disinclination to recruit Muslims. I think that this wrong bias should be checked and removed and we should always remember that the minority communities in India, e.g., Muslims, Christians, etc., (Indeed not to mention Sikhs in this connection because they are well represented in the Army) should have an adequate place in the Army.

Coming to Kashmir, may I say that while I should like to encourage Kashmiri Muslims to join the Army, I do not think the approach of "roping them in" is a happy one.<sup>2</sup>

I am quite clear that we must not lower physical standards. Also that we should not do anything which means a bypassing of present procedures.

The proposal made by the CGS appears to me to avoid these pitfalls and, therefore, I agree with it.

1. Note to the Minister for Defence Organisation, 22 June 1954. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. In June 1954, there were 1,756 Kashmiri Muslims in the Army. The Chief of General Staff suggested that 500 Kashmiri Muslims should be recruited into various units of the Army during the year 1954. The number of Kashmiri Muslims recruited in 1953 was 414.



## 2. To Rajendrasinhji<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 23, 1954

My dear Rajendrasinhji,<sup>2</sup>

...We have just learnt rather accidentally from the Counsellor<sup>3</sup> of the Portuguese Legation that his Minister, Dr Garin,<sup>4</sup> had gone to Simla at the invitation of General Thimayya<sup>5</sup> and that he was touring with the General along the new road that has been opened connecting Simla via Dalhousie with Udhampur in Kashmir. I presume this information is correct. If so, I am really surprised at it. Invitation to any foreign diplomat should normally be avoided. To visit one of the new strategic roads appears still more undesirable. But to invite the Portuguese Minister, of all persons, is really very surprising and indicates some lack of knowledge of political developments. It is well known that our relations with Portugal are not good and there is a strong feeling in the country over the question of Goa. Portuguese Minister may be an agreeable person, but he represents his country here and he would, no doubt, take care not to do anything which might be objected to by his own country's Government.

When I wrote to you on this subject in November,<sup>6</sup> General Thimayya was in Korea and very probably he did not know of these directions. I can understand that. But still I feel that our senior officers especially and, indeed, even junior officers should realise that any kind of fraternisation with foreign diplomats is not considered desirable at any time.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. (1889-1964); Commander-in-Chief, Indian Army 1953-55; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 21, p. 583.
3. Alvaro Brialhante Laborinho.
4. Vasco Vieira Garin (b. 1907); Portuguese Minister to India, 1949-55; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 9, p. 489.
5. K.S. Thimayya (1906-1965); Chairman, Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission for Korea, May 1953-April 1954; GOC-in-C, Southern Command, at this time; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 4, p. 13.
6. Nehru had written to Rajendrasinhji on 4 November 1953 suggesting that Indian Army officers should not fraternize with the Portuguese authorities in Goa or elsewhere. He considered undesirable the visit of two senior Army officers of the Bombay Area to Goa where they were reported to be guests of honour at a party given by the Military Commandant of Goa.

### 3. Chemical Warfare and Equipment<sup>1</sup>

In the summer of 1938 I happened to be in England. That was the time when Hitler<sup>2</sup> was prancing about and Mr Chamberlain,<sup>3</sup> who was then PM of UK, was paying court to him. There was talk of war. The British Navy was mobilised. I was in Paris when the French Army was mobilised. In London there was almost an expectation of an air attack from Germany without warning.

2. Everybody was asked to keep a gas-mask ready. In fact, they were told always to have it with them even when they were walking or going to their offices. As these gas-masks were being distributed to all the then residents of London, and I was interested in them, I also went to a distributing centre and got a gas-mask. That gas-mask has been in the Allahabad Municipal Museum for the last fifteen years or more.

3. Anything more ridiculous than that distribution of gas-masks all over England one cannot imagine. Even Mr Chamberlain ostentatiously went about with a gas-mask slung across his shoulder.... This story, I think, is relevant even today. Our thinking is almost always out of date. It tries to catch up with later scientific developments, but usually keeps far behind. The military mind accepts things as they are, but, nevertheless, looks with some suspicion on the scientist and the inventor who make those things.

4. It is perfectly clear that any gas equipment that our Army may possess is completely out of date and probably worthless from any point of view. The policy question as to whether we should use it or not hardly arises, because we have not got anything worthwhile with us which we can use. Anyhow, if the policy question is raised our answer should be a clear 'No'. I shall not go into the reasons for it. These reasons are practical and not merely moral. Therefore, there is no question of our keeping this old, out of date and worthless stock, and the sooner it is thrown away the better.

5. So far as the anti-gas devices are concerned, I am quite clear that they are wholly out of date and the best place for them would be where my own gas-mask is kept at present, i.e., in some museum.

6. Chemical warfare has never been really tried, though it is said that one or two minor attempts were made once. They were not successful. It has not been tried for the principal reason that it depends a great deal on the direction

1. Note to the Minister for Defence Organisation, 24 June 1954. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. Adolf Hitler (1889-1945); leader of the Nazi party and dictator of Germany, 1933-1945; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 5, p. 477.

3. Neville Chamberlain (1869-1940); Prime Minister of the UK, 1937-40; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 8, p. 111.



of the wind. Thus, it is quite conceivable that instead of harming the enemy, it might injure one's own people. There is also the fear that if one army tries it, the other would do likewise, although this particular fear does not carry one far.

7. Anyhow, the fact is that while all the great Powers were fully prepared for chemical warfare during the last War, they never tried it. Now, it is out of date, and far more effective and dangerous weapons can be used. I am not referring to the atomic or hydrogen bombs which have received a great deal of notoriety, but to the many variations of atomic weapons and guided missiles. It is a complete waste of time, energy and money to think in terms of chemical warfare.

8. The only use that I can conceive of of anti-gas-masks, etc., is during civil troubles when tear gas bombs are used.

9. In a subject of this kind, the best advice is from the scientist. I do not know if anyone has cared to consult our scientific advisers—not merely technical advisers, but scientists. I should have liked to have Professor Kothari's<sup>4</sup> opinion about the possible utility of anti-gas masks, respirators and protective clothing....

10. I am therefore quite clear in my mind that all our stocks of chemical-filled shells and bombs should be disposed of as rapidly as possible. I do not personally attach any importance to the anti-gas respirators and protective clothing, but if it is considered necessary to keep them as some kind of museum specimens, they might be kept. It is in regard to this that I should like Professor Kothari's advice.

11. All this business of protective devices has a certain psychological aspect. It is a reaction to fear, and it is a static reaction. I do not wish to encourage either the fear reaction or the static reaction.

4. Daulat Singh Kothari (1906-1993); Reader and later Professor of Physics, Delhi University, 1934-73; Scientific Adviser to the Ministry of Defence, GOI, 1948-61; Chairman, University Grants Commission, 1961-73, and Education Commission, 1964-66; Emeritus Professor of Physics, Delhi University; awarded Padma Vibhushan, 1973.

#### 4. To K.N. Katju<sup>1</sup>

Camp: Mashobra  
3 July, 1954

My dear Kailas Nath,

Your letter of June 30th from Kurukshetra.

I have had a talk with the Punjab Governor,<sup>2</sup> the Chief Minister and

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. C.P.N. Singh.

Lieutenant-General Thimayya about border problems. I think something should be done about this matter and I understand that the Punjab Government have written to us officially on the subject. I have received no such letter. Perhaps, you have received it. Anyhow, without writing for their formal letter I have moved in the matter and addressed our Defence Ministry....

I might mention that we are not particularly concerned about the defence from the military point of view, at present at least. What is required now is non-military defence, i.e., by the police and like forces. It is about this that I have written. There is a difference between the two. In these small border incidents, the military cannot function, nor can the border scouts which are a military formation. The burden, therefore, falls on the armed police. The Punjab Armed Police are good and they have done well. But their numbers are not adequate. Hence, we have to consider this matter.

The larger question of possible war with Pakistan is always before us, though I do not think it is likely in the near future. However, we have to be wide awake and prepared for any contingency. So far as I can see, the chance of such a war is not great, either in Kashmir or elsewhere. Oddly enough, I think that American policy is opposed to such a war and therefore they will discourage Pakistan. This is not for love of us, but because such a conflict would upset their larger plans in Asia.

The danger is that even without American instigation or connivance, hot-heads in Pakistan, having got some weapons, might indulge in this gamble. We have to be prepared for it in so far as we can. We are quite prepared now, and there is not likely to be any major change in the weapon situation for another year or more.

If a conflict occurs in Kashmir, undoubtedly it will spread. We cannot confine ourselves to it....

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

## 5. A New Road to Udhampur<sup>1</sup>

In the last statement of important decisions taken by the Defence Ministry,

1. Note to Minister for Defence Organisation, 14 July 1954. JN Collection.



there is reference to the construction of an alternative route from Pathankot to Udhampur.

2. Some days ago I drew attention of the Defence Ministry to another proposal. This was for an alternative route via Himachal Pradesh to Udhampur. This did not pass Pathankot at all. This road had certain obvious advantages because throughout it kept far away from the ceasefire line. Also it opened up certain areas in Himachal Pradesh. The Himachal Pradesh Government was anxious to go ahead with this. I spoke to Lieutenant General Thimayya about it and he was also anxious for us to go ahead with this road. If we approve of this road, then I imagine it would not be so necessary to have an alternative route direct from Pathankot to Udhampur.

## 6. Need for Hindi Words of Command<sup>1</sup>

I really think that it is not at all right for our defence forces to continue to use English words of command. It was good enough to continue this for some time after Independence, so as not to introduce another possible element of confusion when we were busy with other matters. But many years have passed now and we should certainly make an attempt to introduce proper Hindi words. There should be no real difficulty about this. A small committee can be appointed. They could collect the words of command used in the old State Forces which were often in Hindi. Some of them, I know, were rather absurd, but some were quite good. Anyhow, we can decide about them ourselves.

It is very embarrassing for our Army people to use English words of command before foreigners. In Korea this was particularly embarrassing and in fact there was criticism. In Indo-China we shall suffer the same fate. In India, foreigners, other than the British and Americans, point out this anomaly.

From the point of the young soldier or sailor or airman, I am sure Hindi words will be appreciated.

I suggest, therefore, that some early steps should be taken in this matter.

1. Note to Minister for Defence Organisation and Defence Secretary, 7 August 1954, File No. 2(484)/49-PMS.

## 7. Military Training<sup>1</sup>

I am not at all satisfied with our present development of the Territorial Army, the NCC, etc. It bears no relation to the problem we have to face or to the population of India. I do not think it is at all in line with modern thinking. I am afraid we are much too tied up with the old British conception of our Army. That Army is good. But from the point of view of India, it is totally inadequate in numbers. At the same time we cannot enlarge it as it is as the burden would be far too great.

Obviously the only other approach to the problem is to have a very large reservoir of trained people. In British times this was obviously disliked as they could not trust the people. For them, the Army was an entirely separate entity cut off from the people. Conditions have changed since then completely and our outlook is different. But our military thinking has not kept pace with this change.

We see in China and elsewhere vast armies being raised without that heavy rate of expenditure that we have to shoulder. Somehow they manage to fit that in with their civil work. I do not know the details and therefore cannot say much about it. I imagine that the Chinese Army is at least five million strong. Perhaps only one tenth of this army is first rate. There is no doubt that some of it is first rate compared to any standards. The rest is the big reservoir out of which first-rate soldiers can be made quickly and which can be used for many purposes, including civil works.

I am sure we shall have to face this problem some time or other and that we cannot continue in the old way.

I am not particularly anxious to have a vast army and I am not too military-minded. But I do attach a good deal of importance to large-scale training and discipline. Even that, as we do it, is too expensive. I suppose some time or other we shall have to find a way out.

What you say in your note might be worked out a little more.

1. Note to Minister for Defence Organisation, 12 August 1954. JN Collection.



## 8. Border Security at High Altitudes<sup>1</sup>

It seems to me obvious that we should have some kind of a border security force for such areas. This border security force should consist partly if not largely of men recruited from those very areas, officered by the Army. This may even be some kind of a territorial militia.

2. I do not like the idea of our regular Army being stationed there. I think that, till such time as the border security force or militia is not organised, the UP Government should place their Police there. I am inclined to agree with the UP Government that this is not a normal activity of the State Government. So far as finances of it are concerned, the Central Government should make itself responsible. But otherwise the UP Government should take charge.

3. The difficulty of keeping anybody in winter at a height of 16,000 ft is obvious, whether it is the Army, the Police or border security force. The only possibility appears to be to keep some of our forces, whatever they are, for the non-winter months there and to leave a small local guard there for the winter months. After all, there cannot be much danger of anybody trying to come there during the winter. If it is difficult for us, it is at least equally difficult for the others.

4. The Defence Ministry can certainly be asked to consider this matter from various points of view and advise us. I suppose we have to allow the next winter to pass without adequate arrangements. But we should be prepared to have our men there by spring time.

5. The question of some kind of a security force for the border should be fully examined.

1. Note, 14 September 1954. JN Collection.

## 9. To Lord Mountbatten<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

September 18, 1954

My dear Dickie,<sup>2</sup>

I received a few days ago your letter of the 5th September with which you sent me a letter of the Princess George of Greece.<sup>3</sup>

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. Mountbatten of Burma, first Earl (1900-1979); Commander in Chief, Mediterranean, 1952-54; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 13, p. 276.

3. Great-great niece of Napoleon Bonaparte and mother of Prince Peter.

The question of extending the visa of Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark has come up before us repeatedly. The present position is that his visa has been extended to the end of June 1955. So far as I know, no obstructions were placed in the way of his work, but I am enquiring about this. It is quite possible that the police might have created some difficulties.

Kalimpong, where Prince Peter now lives, has become, during the last three or four years, an amazing nest of spies. This is so because it is near the Tibet border and has been, and is to some extent even now, an Indian Tibetan market. Tibetan refugees have come there. Because of its nearness to Tibet and the constant flow of traffic through it to Tibet and from Tibet, this place has attracted Intelligence agents, professional as well as private, from all kinds of countries. There are White Russians and Red Russians, Communist Chinese and Nationalist Chinese, Americans in large numbers and probably half the countries of Europe are also represented there in this unsavoury way. It is a common joke in Kalimpong that there are more spies there than other folk. All kinds of stories emanate from Kalimpong about Tibet. Most of these stories have little or no foundation and are based on hearsay. They are, however, given considerable publicity by newspapermen, Indian and foreign. Occasionally attempts are made there for the hatching of petty conspiracies in connection with Tibet.

Americans are greatly interested in Tibet and what happens there. As a part of their global strategy, they consider Tibet as an important area and they perhaps think that it might be possible to encourage those elements in Tibet which are opposed to Chinese dominance there....

I have mentioned all this to you to indicate the background in Kalimpong. Our Intelligence reports have constantly mentioned Prince Peter's name as a person who has very undesirable connections in these matters. One or two petty incidents have also happened, which, by themselves, are not important, but have added to the general impression about Prince Peter's activities there. In consequence of all this, the West Bengal Government, which directly deals with Kalimpong, as well as our Home Ministry, have not looked with favour on the continued stay of Prince Peter and his wife in Kalimpong. They have repeatedly pressed for his visa not to be extended. Doctor Katju, our Home Minister, however, has taken a more lenient view and it was at his instance that the visa was extended to June 1955.

The position thus is that we have nothing definite against Prince Peter, but he has managed to create a good deal of suspicion about his activities. Personally, I always read our Intelligence reports very critically and I am not prepared to accept them as they are. I have had a good deal of experience of the police and of Intelligence from the other side to be easily taken in by the reports we get. But I must confess that Kalimpong troubles me very much and I do not like all kinds of people settling down there and adding to the confusion.



I have written to you quite frankly about this in order to give you the entire picture. We are further enquiring into this matter and I am writing to Dr B.C. Roy.

As I have said above, there is no ban on his activities. But I have little doubt that, ban or no ban, the suspicion of the police probably comes in the way of some of his activities.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 10. To M.C. Shah<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
September 19, 1954

My dear Shah,

The Chief Minister of Rajasthan<sup>2</sup> has sent me a copy of a letter he has addressed to you on September 15 about the Rajasthan Armed Constabulary.

I think that there is much force in his argument. These international frontiers cannot be considered the entire responsibility of State Governments, more especially when there is constant friction as with Pakistan. Even on the other side, that is, on our Tibet frontier, we are thinking of having some kind of a special force, a militia or something like that. State Governments are not capable of protecting those borders adequately.

The Rajasthan frontier with Pakistan is just a desert area with remote villages and no roads even to connect them. It is a difficult border. I think, therefore, that we should consider how far this is our responsibility. Rajasthan, as it happens, is a very poor State and, if we leave it to them, the result will be inadequate protection and risks.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Jainarain Vyas (1899-1963); Chief Minister of Rajasthan, 1951-54; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 8, p. 546.

## VII. PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS

### 1. To Kasturbhai Lalbhai<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 10, 1954

My dear Kasturbhai,<sup>2</sup>

Our Speaker, Mavalankarji,<sup>3</sup> has just seen me. He told me that you had suggested to him to retire from the Speakership and to devote himself to the many other interests that he has. I told him that I wholly disagreed with this advice and that it would be very unfortunate if he retired from his post as Speaker of the Lok Sabha.

The Speaker's position, you will no doubt appreciate, is a key position in our constitutional structure. It is of high importance. We have been fortunate in having him as our Speaker during this initial stage of our Republican journey.

I realise that his health is not too good. But I am prepared that he should not tire himself too much in this work. Also I think that, even from the point of view of his health, he should continue as Speaker.

You can help him very much in one way. Give him a really competent and efficient youngman who can be his Private Secretary to help him in his other work, such as the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, Kasturba Fund, etc.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 32(47)-48/PMS.

2. (1894-1980); prominent industrialist from Gujarat; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 19, p. 480.

3. G.V. Mavalankar (1888-1956); Speaker of Lok Sabha, from 1952 till his death; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 2, p. 614.



## 2. To A. Krishnaswami<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 18, 1954

My dear Krishnaswami,<sup>2</sup>

I have your letter of the 17th June which refers to a statement made by the Chairman of the Delimitation Commission.<sup>3</sup>

I do not wish to enter into the merits of this question discussed by the Chairman. He has the right to express his opinion, as it presumably is the right of others to express their opinion. But you have drawn special attention to certain statements of his which, according to you, are derogatory to the authority of Parliament and appear to be a contempt of Parliament.

In such matters I would hesitate to express an opinion and, in any event, I am no final authority. But, since you have written to me, I would say this that, having considered the statements you object to, I do not myself see any contempt of Parliament in them. One may agree or disagree with those statements. But it is another matter to characterise them as you have done.

You are perfectly right in saying that there was widespread appreciation from all parties in and outside Parliament about the manner in which elections were conducted. That has little to do with the delimitation of constituencies. It is probably true also that there was no criticism after the elections of the manner in which constituencies were delimited. At any rate, I am not aware of it. But there was hardly any occasion at that time to refer to the delimitation of constituencies.

It is admitted that the Delimitation Commission has a right to change the old constituencies. In changing them, they can well indicate, if they so choose, the reasons for so doing, or the fact that the previous delimitation was not right or according to what they considered the principle laid down in the Constitution. I do not myself see anything approaching contempt of Parliament in this.

As Members of Parliament, we are and should be jealous of the authority

1. File No. 16(6)/56-PMS. Copies of the letter were sent to G.V. Mavalankar and K.N. Katju.
2. (1911-1988); Advocate; Honorary Editor of the English daily, *Liberator*, 1942-52; Member, Senate of Andhra University, 1943-49, Madras Corporation, 1948-51, Railway Corruption Enquiry Committee, 1953; elected Member, UN Sub-Commission on Human Rights, 1954 and 1956; Independent Member of Lok Sabha, 1952-57; associated with several social welfare and reform movements in South India.
3. In a press statement on 5 June 1954, the Chairman, N. Chandrasekhara Iyer, explained that the changes in the limits of existing constituencies proposed by the Commission were in conformity with the provisions of the Delimitation Commission Act and the principles laid down by Parliament.

and dignity of Parliament. But may I suggest that we might perhaps become oversensitive in this matter?

It is interesting to note that recently some kind of a Committee or Commission in the United Kingdom has also been carrying out a delimitation of constituencies. The objections raised there have been, in many particulars, similar to those raised here.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 3. To G. V. Mavalankar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 19, 1954

My dear Mr Speaker,

I have today received your letter of the 17th July for which I thank you.

The Ordinance to amend the Income Tax Act, to which you refer, has already been issued.<sup>2</sup> We gave very careful thought to this matter and consulted our Law Officers. You say in your letter that the Government, which is so slow in other matters, appears to be very quick in the issue of Ordinances. I can hardly discuss the other matters to which you refer, without specific instances. But I do not remember our issuing any Ordinance, unless there was both necessity and some urgency. We have been reluctant to issue Ordinances and it is only when we have felt compelled to do so by circumstances that we have issued them. You will appreciate that it is the responsibility of the Government to decide what steps should be taken in a particular contingency. The Constitution itself has provided for the issue of Ordinances where such necessity arises, and that discretion has to be exercised by Government.

We have issued in the past a very limited number of Ordinances and we have always placed before Parliament the reasons for our having issued each one of them.

1. JN Collection.

2. On 17 July 1954, Government issued an Ordinance amending Section 34 of the Indian Income Tax Act to provide for departmental assessment or reassessment of persons who had evaded tax between 1 September 1939 and 31 March 1946, when excess profit tax was in force.



You are pleased to say that the issue of Ordinances is undemocratic and cannot be justified, except in cases of extreme urgency or emergency. I am myself unable to see why this should be considered undemocratic. Of course, this power, like any other power, may be abused and Parliament will be the ultimate judge as to whether the use of this power has been right or wrong.

In the case of the present Ordinance, it was considered necessary to issue it without waiting for about six weeks or so, because a difficult and delicate situation had arisen as a result of the judgment of the Supreme Court.<sup>3</sup> That judgment was of course accepted by us and there was no question of bypassing it in any way. Nor was there any question of our taking any new action in regard to any case in the near future. We propose to take no action, unless something happens which compels us to do so. As a result of the Supreme Court judgment, a large sum of money is with us at present and it may well be said that we hold it without any justification. We may be called upon to return it immediately. This would create difficulties. It is largely to prevent any such development happening that we have issued this Ordinance, which will enable us to deal with the situation that might thus arise in a different way.

As I have mentioned above, there is no question of our reopening cases or starting new cases. All that we wish to do is to adapt ourselves properly to the situation resulting from the Supreme Court decision. There is an allied matter before the Supreme Court still and we do not know how that will be decided. We are requesting the Supreme Court, through our lawyers, to give an early decision in that matter so that the position might be clear. The present Ordinance is meant to deal with these difficulties that have arisen or might arise. Unless we took some such step now, we might get entangled in many ways.

The Ordinance will of course be placed before Parliament at the earliest opportunity.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. The Income Tax Ordinance which was put into immediate effect in order to allow the Government to reopen certain cases that were settled under Section 5(4) of the Income Tax Investigation Commission Act. This Act was declared ultra vires of the Constitution by the Supreme Court in May 1954.

#### 4. To C.C. Biswas<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
September 29, 1954

My dear Biswas,<sup>2</sup>

About fifty Members of Parliament from the UP came to see me today and handed to me a copy of a letter they had addressed to the Chairman of the Delimitation Commission. This letter is signed by 68 Members. I believe this means practically all the UP Members.

These people were greatly agitated at the news they had received through three of the MPs associated for the UP with the Delimitation Commission.

I have no desire to interfere in this matter, because that is embarrassing for me as well as for the Delimitation Commission. But I cannot wholly ignore this universal reaction of all parties. Surely any step that may be taken should not be such as to displease and upset everybody concerned. Here was a relatively simple issue of making adjustments to the previous constituencies in view of the addition to population. Of course the Commission has every right to make such adjustments as it chooses. But to start *de novo* and upset every constituency seems to me very odd. It ignores the very basis of democratic functioning, which involves a close and personal touch of the Member with his constituency. There can be no such close association if complete changes are made and nobody knows what a constituency is. In fact, this would make democratic elections lose all their human value.

Some instances were pointed out to me which struck me as very extraordinary. Districts which were more or less normal units have been split up. In Tehri-Garhwal, the arrangement proposed makes parts of the constituency inaccessible except by a wide detour through various other Districts. The reserve seats for Scheduled Castes have also suffered, resulting in some cases to large Scheduled Castes population not having a chance to vote for a reserve seat.

I am mentioning one or two matters. But the main thing is that this universal dissatisfaction, I fear, will lead to unfortunate consequences.

I am told that the MP associate members of the Commission came away after their discussion with the clear impression that certain decisions had been made. Later they found that all these were unmade again without further reference to them. There is no particular point in having these associate members if they get this impression.

1. File No. 16(6)/56-PMS.

2. (1888-1960); Union Minister for Law, 1952-57; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 14, Pt. II, p. 74.



I believe that matters are still at a preliminary stage. I do hope that the Commission will take full advantage of the associate members before finally coming to decisions.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## VIII. INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

### (i) Organisational Questions

#### 1. Dignified Conduct in Assemblies<sup>1</sup>

...11. In particular, in our democratic Assemblies, high standards have to be kept up and proper discipline maintained. We observe all kinds of old forms of address in our speeches in our Parliament and Assemblies and some of them appear to be rather archaic and unnecessary in this cruder age. But they are not unnecessary, for they are meant to set a certain tone and to impose a certain discipline. If we lose that discipline, then even our good intentions fail to achieve any result.

12. The Delhi State Assembly<sup>2</sup> is one of the youngest of our Legislatures and if it shows a certain lack of experience, it is not surprising and there is no reason to complain of it. But legislative experience should not be necessary for courteous behaviour and for the maintenance of dignity.

13. I have drawn attention to some matters that are obvious enough, and yet, which need repetition for without this courtesy and tolerance, even to an opponent, democratic functioning cannot succeed....

1. Note, 15 June 1954. File No. PCD-6/1954, AICC Papers, NMML. Extracts. Nehru wrote this note in the wake of a controversy that was going on in the Delhi Congress Legislature Party since March 1954 regarding certain disciplinary action taken against Jag Prवेश Chandra, MLA. See also *Selected Works* (second series). Vol. 25, pp. 168-169.

2. It came into being in March 1952.

18. Meanwhile, however, I am mentioning some matters that should be borne in mind. I do so because there has not been enough appreciation of these simple rules of procedure and behaviour.

- (i) A Government, after the parliamentary model, is one united whole. It has joint responsibility. Each member of Government has to support the others, so long as he remains in Government. The Chief Minister has to support his other Ministers and the other Ministers have to support each other and the Chief Minister. It is quite absurd for any Minister to oppose or give even the impression of opposing a colleague of his. Opinions may be freely expressed within the Cabinet. Outside, Government should have only one opinion. There is no question of a member of Government being neutral on a controversial issue in which Government is concerned, except in the rare cases which we may consider as matters of conscience, where freedom is given.
- (ii) The Chief Minister or the Prime Minister is the keystone of the arch of Government. He is the Leader of his Party. He should be the Leader of the whole Party and not of a group, and the whole Party must treat him as a Leader and behave as such. Apart from his individuality, he is a symbol and that symbol should be honoured.
- (iii) In the Party, the fullest opportunity should be given for discussions and consultations. It is important that the members of Government should keep in close touch with the Party. For this purpose, frequent meetings of the Party are necessary. I have been surprised to learn of an argument as to whether the Party should meet once a month or not. I think the Party should meet much oftener during the sessions of the Assembly. When the Assembly is not sitting, the Party should meet less frequently. The Party does not meet merely for formal matters or for formal decisions but for discussions on vital issues so as to clear their own minds and train them in this way.
- (iv) There has also been some discussion about the old constitution and a new one. I am surprised that this simple matter should have been kept pending for so long and that the Delhi PCC should not have finalised the new constitution long ago.
- (v) In the putting of questions and the moving of resolutions obviously a certain restraint has to be exercised. At the same time, there should be no feeling of suppression. There may be some matters, which cannot, for important reasons, be placed before the House at that time. If so, the fact should be clearly stated. But, generally speaking, every effort should be made to take the House into confidence and place all facts before it. No impression should be created in the House or in the public that



there is an attempt to conceal anything. This leads to suspicion and all kinds of unfair inferences being drawn.

- (vi) Any matter in which the public is interested or any matter in which serious charges are brought, should be immediately investigated and action taken, wherever necessary.
- (vii) The Leader has a duty and an obligation not only to the Party but to the Assembly as a whole. Similarly, the Party especially and all the members of the Assembly, to some extent, have a duty and obligation to the Leader. Both these duties and obligations have to be borne in mind.

19. The State of Delhi may be a small one, but it comprises not only the Capital of the Republic of India, but, what is perhaps even more important, a city of hoary antiquity of great repute, of layer upon layer of history and tradition, and a long record of cultured existence. It is a privilege to serve this little State and this great city. Every member of the Delhi Legislature should remember this high privilege which is his and should endeavour to live up to it and not lose himself in pettiness, unbecoming of this high responsibility....

## 2. To Asoka Mehta<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 20, 1954

My dear Asoka,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of June 4th. I entirely agree with you that Gandhiji's picture should not be used in election campaigns or posters.<sup>3</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

- 1. File No. PEC-10(I)/1954, AICC Papers, NMML.
- 2. (1911-1985); PSP Member of Parliament, 1954-57; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 7, p. 442.
- 3. On the same day Nehru wrote to Balvantray Mehta, General Secretary, AICC, conveying that he agreed with Asoka Mehta and asking him to give necessary instructions to Congress Committees in this regard.

### 3. Attitude to Peace Conferences<sup>1</sup>

... It is also true that, generally speaking, the resolutions of these Peace Conferences, especially in India, have been in consonance with our broad policy, except for the fact that they have often gone in for condemnation of some country or the other like the USA, which we try to avoid. It is clear that the Peace Congress and its Councils, though undoubtedly working for peace, work for it in a particular way so as to praise the Communist group of countries and denounce the American group. That is not our approach to this question. In the letter from the Gujarat Youth Congress to you, a point is made that Communists in this country are exploiting the present foreign policy of our Government and therefore Congressmen and people are falling prey to their mysterious strategy and propaganda. I do not quite understand all this. Of course, the Communists will take advantage of our policy when it suits them. It so happens that in regard to some matters, it is in line with what they say. That does not mean that we should change our policy or that we should only adopt a policy which is objected to by the Communists or any one else.

6. These Peace Congresses in the world have undoubtedly been sponsored by Communist organisations. But they have attracted elsewhere a number of prominent persons who are far from being Communists, simply because they were anxious to further the cause of peace. Also, apart from the Peace Congresses, there are other organisations, probably sponsored in the same way but different in name and, to some extent, in context. Thus, there is at present a conference being held at Stockholm<sup>2</sup> for the removal of world tension. This has attracted a considerable number of eminent non-Communist persons from various countries in Europe. When I was asked by some Congressmen and others, I could not tell them not to go. I told them that they should not go at other people's expense. If they wanted to go at their own expense, they could do so. Among others who ultimately went was Shrimati Rameshwari Nehru<sup>3</sup> who, in fact, went at the last moment after having previously decided not to go. She informed me of it and said that she was paying her own travelling expenses.

1. Note to Balvantray Mehta, 24 June 1954. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. The Communist organised Stockholm Peace Congress for relaxation of international tension was opened on 20 June 1954. It was attended by 250 delegates from 35 countries. The names of the delegates and the proceedings of the Congress were kept secret.
3. (1886-1966); also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 1, p. 2.



7. It becomes difficult, in these circumstances, to issue clear and precise directions as to what should be done or should not be done.<sup>4</sup> Generally speaking, we advise expecting that advice to be followed. There are border line cases when it is not quite clear what advice to give.

8. You will remember the convention or conference that was held in Delhi which was a kind of border line case. For Congressmen not to associate themselves en bloc with it means that in an important matter of public interest we allow others to take the lead.

9. These are general considerations which apply to Conferences or Associations which incline towards the Communist line as well as towards the American line. Broadly speaking, we advise or even advise strongly. Thus far, we have not taken any disciplinary action in this matter. Because once we start doing it, there will be no logical reason why we should not take it against persons like Dr Kitchlew,<sup>5</sup> and maybe some others.

10. We are playing a very important part in the world stage at present and every action of ours is likely to have certain consequences, good or bad. In effect, the Congress has taken the leadership of the country in these broad international matters, and other organisations, including the Communists, play a very secondary role....

4. It was put up to Nehru whether disciplinary action should be taken against Chatur Narain Malaviya, a Congress member, who claimed that the AICC directive of 12 February 1954, which forbade Congressmen from attending conferences organised by certain peace organisations, did not apply to some particular organisations. In fact, the AICC directive had exempted the Democratic World Peace Congress, but a corrective to the directive issued on 7 June 1954 on Nehru's advice had withdrawn the exemption in view of further information received about this organisation.
5. Saifuddin Kitchlew (1888-1963); a freedom fighter and ex-President, Punjab PCC; was awarded the Lenin Peace Prize in 1952; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 2, p. 102.

## 5. Aims and Objectives of the Congress<sup>1</sup>

I am glad to learn that the Travancore-Cochin Pradesh Congress Committee is bringing out a Congress bulletin. I should like all Pradesh Congress Committees

1. Message sent from Mashobra to K.P. Madhavan Nair, President, Travancore-Cochin Pradesh Congress Committee, 4 July 1954. File No. G-12/1954, AICC Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

to bring out a bulletin periodically to keep in touch with their workers and the general public. The most important thing that we have to remember always is to keep in touch with the people. A living organisation must have living contacts with the people. It must speak to them and listen to them; both are necessary.

The Congress is passing through a certain difficult phase in its existence. I have no doubt that it is still full of life and answers the call of the times. It may lag behind occasionally and it is our duty to keep wide awake and pull it up. We must always remember that it has been our high privilege to keep in intimate touch with the masses of India and to march with them to freedom. If we lose touch with them, then we are enfeebled and we are not functioning as we ought to. Our minds and hearts must be in tune with them and yet must always hold on to the principles for which we have stood. If, at any time, our people seem to go astray from those principles, we must not follow suit. We must remind them of those basic things for which our country stands. Naturally, our policies, while remaining firm, have to be adapted to changing circumstances. What we said ten or twenty years ago may require re-saying in a different form and with a different orientation to fit in with changing conditions. Everything that is old is not necessarily good, and certainly it is not bad. So also, everything that is new is not necessarily good or bad. We have to take the good from the old the good from the new, and, above all, hold fast to our anchor.

The Congress has been a mighty cementing force in India, building up the real unity of India, which is something more than the mere political unity. It is a unity of the mind and the heart. That duty it has to continue to perform because disruptionist forces are constantly trying to break it. We progress only to the extent that we realise that unity and act up to it and do not allow ourselves to become too parochial, too provincial-minded, too caste-ridden, too communal-minded or anything which is reactionary in our social and economic outlook. We have to fight these disruptive forces whether they are provincial or communal or caste in order to build up this unified India of our dreams.

The Congress is a mature organisation with long experience behind it and the memory of many a struggle and many an up and down. We have profited by the ups and survived the downs. We are not an adventurist organisation which creates excitement for the moment and tries to exploit a particular situation, without thinking of the ultimate good of the country. We must, therefore, behave with all responsibility and maturity of judgement, always keeping our aims and objectives in view and not allowing ourselves to be diverted from them because of some excitement of the moment. That aim and objective is the betterment of our millions and the progressive change in our social and economic structure to bring about a society which is based on equality of opportunity and no exploitation of individual or group by any.

I write this message, sitting in the Himalayas in the north, with the eternal



snows before me. I am writing it for the people of Travancore-Cochin in the far south of India. Both these aspects of the cold and mountainous north and the lovely plains and hills of Travancore-Cochin are intimate and integral parts of this India of ours which has so many facets, and yet it is one mighty unified whole. Let us remember that always.

## (ii) The Ajmer Session of the AICC

### 1. To Presidents of PCCs<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 28, 1954

Dear Comrade,

I have just come back from the Ajmer Session of the AICC.<sup>2</sup> Most of you were present there and you must have carried back with you some definite impressions about this session. I think it is true to say that this session represented a solid step forward. I am not referring to its spectacular aspect and the large crowds that came to it, indicating the great interest that the public takes in Congress proceedings. That interest is welcome. But I think we shall have to consider how we should proceed in future in regard to meetings of the All India Congress Committee. It is difficult to have any real discussion in a committee when tens of thousands of people surround us. Some way out will have to be found for this in future so that we might have profitable discussions in committee.

2. The resolutions passed by the AICC almost all deal with internal problems of development. There were some formal resolutions, and there were two dealing with international affairs<sup>3</sup> and the foreign pockets in India.<sup>4</sup> The other resolutions are entirely devoted to our internal situation and more particularly to the various steps to be taken to build up new India.<sup>5</sup> It is interesting to note

1. File. No. G-12/1954, AICC Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

2. The AICC Session was held at Ajmer from 25-26 July 1954.

3. The resolution on international affairs welcomed the Geneva Agreement on Indo-China and called for the independence and recognition of the countries of Indo-China. It also welcomed the enunciation of Panchsheel as the guiding principles for bilateral relations between India and China, and China and Myanmar.

4. The resolution on "Foreign Establishments in India" dealt with the question of integration of the French and Portuguese settlements with the Indian Union.

5. Issues like planned development, growth of industry, land reforms and constructive and developmental work were dealt with in the other resolutions.

that, unlike the usual resolutions passed by political organisations, these resolutions do not criticise or condemn anybody, but are directed to ourselves and our own work. That is a healthy approach, because it is by our common work that we will prosper and progress and not by condemning others. This is the approach of a nation possessing self-reliance and confidence in its own strength.

3. The resolution on "Review" gives the general tone, that of a feeling of achievement and fulfilment. This can on no account be interpreted as meaning that we are complacent or smug about our work. But it does indicate, in a balanced way, that we are marching ahead as a nation and we have a right to express our satisfaction at this. We have a large number of critics in this country and outside whose chief function seems to be to run down what is happening in the country. They do not even take the trouble of finding out what is happening and the numerous steps forward that are being taken in various directions and activities all over the country. At any time this defeatist attitude would be deplorable. At the present juncture, when there is the least reason for it, it is still more surprising and unfortunate.

4. We have to keep a balanced picture before us, in no way exaggerating our successes and also in no way minimising them and always remembering what we have got to do.

5. The resolution on planned development is important as laying down the general approach to future work and planning. It is not a flashy resolution laying down some distant ideal, but a sober approach to our problems and the way we endeavour to solve them in a peaceful way in our democratic set-up. It indicates that the present social structure has to be progressively changed into a socialised economy. Further, it says that planning should not be merely a collection of projects, important as they are, but should keep the physical content in view.

6. While land reform continues to be basically important, the emphasis on industry has grown. This was natural because it is through industrial development, both in regard to big industry and cottage and small scale industry, that we can add to the production and the wealth of the country.

7. I would particularly invite your attention to the last resolution, namely, the one dealing with constructive and developmental work. This resolution is not a mere repetition of what we have said in the past, important as that was. It is a broader and more comprehensive approach to this problem, including in its scope not only the items of our old constructive programme, but also of the developmental work in the country. Congressmen should particularly interest themselves in this work because, after all, this is the most important work in India. It would be a sorry day when we think that our work consists merely in participating in Parliament and Assemblies. That is only a part of the work.

8. I trust that you will take early step to explain the full purport of these resolutions to Congressmen in your province, and take steps to give effect to



them in so far as your Congress Committees can do so.<sup>6</sup> It is important that Congressmen should know what is being done in India at present in regard to constructive and developmental work and should find a place for themselves in it in their own particular areas.

9. The Ajmer Session of the AICC has brought encouragement to all of us. We have now to build on that and go ahead in the right direction and at a faster pace.

I enclose some copies of the AICC resolutions.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. In his concluding address at the Ajmer Session of the AICC on 26 July 1954, Nehru called upon Congress workers to explain to the people the substance of the resolutions adopted, as well as how they would be worked out in practice. As Nehru put it, the Congress Party should go to the people with the slogan: "*Aaram Haram Hai*" (Laziness is a Vice).

### (iii) PCC Affairs

#### 1. Rajasthan Congress Affairs<sup>1</sup>

I saw in the newspapers today a report of a meeting of the Rajasthan Pradesh Congress Committee in which it was stated that owing to a decision of that Committee, some leading members of the Committee had offered their resignation. This included the President of the Committee, Shri Adityendra,<sup>2</sup> and also, I think, the Chief Minister, Shri Jainarain Vyas. The subject discussed in that Committee meeting was apparently the question of certain Jagirdar Members of the Assembly, who had joined the Congress, being taken into the Congress Party in the Legislature.<sup>3</sup>

1. Note, 2 June 1954. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. Master Adityendra (b. 1907); took part in freedom movement and was jailed thrice; President, Rajasthan PCC, 1949-60; Member, Rajya Sabha, 1954-60; Founder member of Samyukta Socialist Party in the State and its leader in the Assembly, 1967-69; Minister for Finance, Rajasthan Government, 1977-79.
3. On 30 May 1954, the Rajasthan PCC adopted a resolution stipulating that the Jagirdar MLAs should unconditionally surrender their jagirs before they were admitted into the Congress Legislature Party.

2. I was surprised to read of these developments. I had vaguely heard that there was some slight difference of opinion in regard to this matter. When I went to Jaipur last, I discussed this and I gathered the impression that the matter would be cooperatively settled. Later I heard that the Jagirdar Members had given an assurance that they were perfectly prepared to give up their jagirs as soon as government wanted to take them. This related principally to jagirs under 5,000 acres. As a matter of fact, thus far the law did not authorise resumption of these jagirs. An amendment of the law is going to be considered soon, probably within a week's time, to get this authority for the resumption of these jagirs of 5,000 acres.<sup>4</sup>

3. After the assurance given by the Jagirdars on this subject, there appeared to be no reason whatever to object to their being made Members of the Party in the Legislature.

4. Because of this I felt that there was no further difference of opinion on this subject and I was, therefore, greatly surprised to learn about the decision of the Pradesh Congress Committee. I have not got all the facts with me and, therefore, it will not be proper for me to give any final opinion without further investigation. But on the facts before me, it does seem to me that the action of the Pradesh Congress Committee was hasty and not justified. That action was to the effect that till these jagirs have not been resumed, the Jagirdars should not be taken into the Party. So this resumption does not lie now with the Jagirdars and in fact they have given an assurance on this subject. It is not clear what more they could do.

5. In this matter the Rajasthan Government, the Congress, and the Jagirdars have proceeded in a cooperative manner. At one stage the matter was referred to me and then, at my request, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant was good enough to consider it. Final decisions were taken.<sup>5</sup> This was an instance of settling a complicated question in a friendly and cooperative manner. So far as I know, the Jagirdars have accepted these decisions in good spirit and have behaved

4. On 8 June 1954, the Rajasthan State Assembly passed the Rajasthan Land Reforms and Resumption of Jagirs (Amendment) Bill, 1954, which provided for the resumption of all jagirs in the State, except jagirs whose income was utilised for the maintenance of places of religious worship. The amending Bill, which was intended to give effect to the agreement reached between the Rajasthan Government and representatives of the Kshatriya Mahasabha, an association of Jagirdars, also provided for compensation and rehabilitation grant to Jagirdars in lieu of the resumption of their jagirs.
5. At a meeting held at Naini Tal on 24 May 1954, it was decided that jagirdaris should be abolished in the lower income groups also and all Jagirdars having an income of Rs 5,000 or less should be paid a rehabilitation grant in addition to compensation at a uniform rate of seven times of their net income. Besides G.B. Pant, the meeting was attended by Jainarain Vyas, Adityendra, Mohanlal Sukhadia, the State Revenue Minister, and representatives of Jagirdars.



generally in this matter with courtesy and goodwill, even though their interests are affected. They have shown good sense in realising the present trend of affairs and adapting themselves to it....

7. It is the right of the Pradesh Congress Committee to consider what persons should be accepted within the Congress. So far as the Congress Party in the Legislature is concerned, normally that Party itself or the leader are chiefly concerned with such matters and their views naturally are respected.

8. I can understand that the present case was rather unusual and therefore it was desirable for full consultations to take place before any final step was taken. As a matter of fact, the matter has come up even before me on two or three occasions previously. There has been, so far as I know, no attempt to rush through this. Also the circumstances, as detailed above, are such that the only course open to us, whether in the Congress Party or in the Pradesh Congress Committee, was to accept these new Members. If one has to accept them, this has to be done with grace and goodwill and not in a manner which takes away from the grace of the fact.

9. Evidently there has been some misunderstanding and perhaps some fear that the coming in of these Jagirdar Members in the Party might upset the present balance of opinion in the Party. If, however, they accept the conditions of membership, there is no reason left for not accepting them. After all, general policies are laid down by the AICC as well as by the Pradesh Congress Committee and the Party. There is no adequate reason to think that these policies will be interfered with. On the other hand, there is a definite advantage in facing problems in Rajasthan in this cooperative manner.

10. Apart, however, from the merits of the case, I have no doubt about the merits, I feel that the action taken by the Pradesh Congress Committee at this late stage was unwise and wholly lacking in grace. I hope, therefore, that the Pradesh Congress Committee will reconsider this matter and do so gracefully. It is always our policy not to encourage disruptive tendencies in the Congress. Where there is a difference of opinion, it should be considered quietly and, if necessary, our help sought to resolve it.

11. Therefore, I suggest that the Pradesh Congress Committee should meet at as early a date as is convenient to reconsider this matter and revise the resolution it has passed....

14. I would like to add that we look particularly to the Chief Minister and the President of the Pradesh Congress Committee to guide policies and deliberations of the government and the Congress. There should be periodical informal consultations between the Chief Minister and his other Ministers and representatives of the Pradesh Congress Committee, and chiefly the President. These contacts should be maintained to avoid any misunderstandings arising.

15. In the present case the views of both the Chief Minister and the President of the PCC have been ignored and set aside at the PCC meeting. This naturally makes the position of any responsible person very difficult. Both government and the Congress are weakened thereby....

## 2. Mysore Congress Affairs<sup>1</sup>

I have read with considerable surprise proceedings in the Press about a recent meeting of the Mysore Pradesh Congress Committee. I am somewhat to blame in regard to Mysore affairs as I have not been able to give enough time and attention to them as they deserved. I am very sorry for this and apologies for my fault in this matter. I hope to give a good deal of time to this matter now and to decide these questions affecting the Congress, the Government and public life in Mysore so much. There must be final decisions about these matters instead of unending arguments and accusations and counter-accusations....

6. The meeting of the Mysore Pradesh Congress Committee was apparently held to consider certain charges made against the President of the PCC, who in his capacity as a Member of the Legislature and the Congress Party had attacked the policy of Government in strong language in the Assembly....<sup>2</sup>

7. When a meeting of the PCC was held to consider this charge against the President of the PCC, it would have been better for the President of the PCC not to have presided over that meeting because his own conduct was under consideration. I find, however, that he not only presided but took an active part in the meeting and some of his rulings were even objected to. It must be remembered that whenever such a charge is brought against the President, he must not preside on that occasion.

1. Note, 2 June 1954. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. The meeting was held on 30 May 1954 to discuss the charges made against the administration by H.K. Veeranna Gowdh, President, Mysore PCC. Gowdh said that the Chief Minister, K. Hanumanthaiya, had not implemented some of the decisions taken by the Congress President and the PCC Executive in the cases of the Mattedoddi affair, the copper wire deal and the toddy contract. The Chief Minister agreed to summon a special session of the PCC to discuss these charges and offered to resign if the verdict went against him.



8. I find also that in the course of this meeting a great deal of charge and counter-charge was made in unseemly language. I must regret this. The Congress has a different standard of behaviour and discipline. It appears that in Mysore personal animosity has gone so far as to make it impossible for any matter to be considered calmly or objectively. This must be ended or else there would be no functioning of the Congress left there.

9. The two chief representatives of the Congress in a State where there is a Congress Government are: (1) the Chief Minister and (2) the President of the PCC. These two are supposed to cooperate with each other. If there is lack of cooperation, we can try to help and remove any difficulty. But in no event there must be any conflict between these two leading personalities, and the Congress hierarchy in the State. If there is a conflict it has to be referred to the Central Parliamentary Board or the President of the Congress and finally decided this way or that way.

10. It must be remembered that the Chief Minister holds his office by virtue of a majority not only in the Assembly but also in his own Party supporting him. Also he should have the support of the Central Parliamentary Board. Normally the Central Parliamentary Board does not interfere in these matters and it is only in extreme cases that it may take action.

11. The Pradesh Congress Committee has a right to consider major matters of policy. Where there is a difference in regard to these major matters, it has to be referred to the Central Parliamentary Board or it may be the Working Committee of the Congress. The PCC cannot express an opinion in favour of the removal of the Chief Minister. That is beyond its province. In the same way, Party in the Legislature cannot express an opinion for the removal of the President of the PCC.

12. If there is any major difference of opinion in regard to the Chief Minister or the President of the PCC, then the respective organisations, i.e., the Congress Party in the case of the Chief Minister and the PCC in the case of the President of the PCC have a right to express their lack of confidence in the person concerned.

13. There appears to have been a great deal of misunderstanding on these issues and because of this many of the present difficulties have arisen....

14. I am sending this note immediately on reading the news of the PCC meeting in the newspapers and without waiting for further information in regard to it, because we have to check this very strange behaviour that has recently been exhibited in Mysore. I propose to enquire into all these matters fully and send, as I have said above, one of the General Secretaries of the Congress who will be going there for this purpose<sup>3</sup> and will report to me. This unifying conflict must end.

3. S.N. Agarwal was sent to Mysore for this purpose.

### 3. To Algu Rai Shastri<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

June 7, 1954

My dear Algu Rai,<sup>2</sup>

I have received your report of your tours and work which you have been good enough to send me. In this you refer to the municipal election at Meerut,<sup>3</sup> where we lost heavily, although we just managed to get the Chairmanship. You state that *mohalla* meetings are being organised there. That is good. But the question is why we lost in Meerut so heavily and why a new group, called the Independence Party, gained the largest number of seats. This Independence Party consists of some Congressmen also. There are, I believe, many Muslims in that Party and some Hindus.

It seems to me that our approach to this election in Meerut must have been wrong to push away so many people who normally should have been with us. This requires looking into. I understand that the position of the new Congress Municipal President cannot be a happy one because there are only 15 Congress members out of 45. The biggest group is the Independence Party and then there are odd people belonging to the Jan Sangh, the Hindu Mahasabha, etc.<sup>4</sup> I understand that the Chairman, Ram Kripal Singh,<sup>5</sup> has come to some terms with the Jan Sangh group to support him. That is not a good sign at all. In fact, many members of the Independence Party are much nearer to the Congress than these communal organisations.

It is clear to me that practically all the Muslim votes in Meerut went against us and there are about 40% Muslims living there. This matter has to be looked into. It will be a bad day if the Congress and Jan Sangh hold together and thus the Congress itself becomes more or less a communal group. If any policy of ours pushes away nearly all the Muslims, then that policy is wrong.

1. JN Collection.

2. (1900-1967); President of UPCC, 1950-55; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 10, p. 200.

3. Elections to 112 municipal boards, 264 town area committees and 33 notified area committees were held in UP on 26 and 28 October 1954.

4. Out of 45 members elected, the Independents numbered 22, while the Congress had 15 members, the Jan Sangh 6 and the Ram Rajya Parishad and the Hindu Mahasabha one each.

5. (1882-1961); Member, UP Legislative Assembly, 1948-52, and Rajya Sabha, 1952-56 and 1956-61



I gather that the Municipal Board of Meerut has stopped aid to all Muslim schools. That again appears to me completely wrong. Is this the effect of the alliance with the Jan Sangh?

Will you please look into this matter?

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 4. To Sri Krishna Sinha<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 20, 1954

My dear Sri Babu,<sup>2</sup>

About a week ago, I wrote to you enclosing a note I had written on recent elections in Bihar.<sup>3</sup> In that note, I said that I would deal with some other aspects of Congress affairs in Bihar separately....

7. In my note sent on the 13th June, I referred to the Marhaura by-election<sup>4</sup> and to the Patna Municipal Corporation elections.<sup>5</sup> I need not add to what I said there. Both these elections indicated that there was something very wrong about the functioning of the Congress organisation in Bihar. Defeats by themselves do not matter much and we have to face them in the course of democratic elections. But, if the defeats signify some grave weakness or disease in the organisation, then they are significant and we have to find the remedy. In my previous note, I have indicated some of the factors which are alleged to have contributed to these defeats. Broadly speaking, they may be said to be:

1. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. (1887-1961); Chief Minister of Bihar, 1946-61; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 3, p. 420.
3. Nehru's note, not printed here, was based on reports submitted by Mahesh Saran who had been deputed by the AICC on 19 April 1954 to probe into the causes of recent Congress defeats in Bihar.
4. Regarding the by-election held on 7 March, in which the PSP candidate, Jamuna Prasad Singh, defeated the Congress candidate, Shanti Devi Ojha, by 86 votes, Nehru remarked that the AICC had turned down the choice of a candidate made by the Thana Congress Committee, the District Congress Committee and the PCC and thus imposed a candidate against the wishes of the local people, with the result that members of the Thana Congress Committee worked against the Congress candidate.
5. In the elections held on 24 March, the Congress secured only 10 seats out of 40 while the Independents bagged 22 seats, the Citizens Democratic Front 5 and the United Citizens' Committee 3 seats.

- (1) lack of active functioning of the Congress organisation;
- (2) selection of candidates not satisfactory and made at a very late stage;
- (3) feeling of local dissatisfaction at the selection resulting in lack of co-operation of many local Congressmen in the election campaign;
- (4) actual support of the opponent by some local Congressmen;
- (5) voting on caste lines;
- (6) solid dissatisfaction of the Muslims against the Government and the Congress, and therefore their voting against the Congress candidates; and
- (7) in the case of Patna, the alleged maladministration as well as the extraordinary behaviour of the Administrator of the Patna Municipal Corporation.

8. All these matters require further investigation and action wherever necessary. Action against individuals may not be easy for lack of evidence, though, it appears that, in the case of some individuals, there is likely to be enough evidence, especially in the Marhaura election. Whether there is enough evidence or not, an attempt should be made to enquire into such individual cases. That attempt itself will indicate to the people and to Congressmen especially that the organisation is active and vigilant. I hope, therefore, that such enquiries will take place if they have not already been held in the case of Marhaura.

9. Apart from these individual cases, the other reasons should be considered by us carefully. The first is the question of the choice of candidates. We are all to blame for this, that is, including the Central Parliamentary Board. We have to be more careful in future. Unfortunately, we usually get a recommendation almost at the last moment and there is little time left for us to give consideration to it. But the real choice lies in the Province itself and great care should be exercised in the matter. A candidate must have local support and he must be locally popular. The time has gone by when we can impose a candidate either from the Central organisation or the State Committee on a local area. Therefore, in choosing a candidate the greatest care should be taken that he has local backing. That means, not only the local Congress Committee but some estimate of others in the locality also.

10. The question of Muslims voting against the Congress raises very important and wider issues. To say that Muslims or some of them are misbehaving or are communal is not helpful, even though to some extent the criticism may be justified. It is our business to win over people by our policies and general activities. If we do not succeed in doing this, we will fail and have to suffer for that failure. I am worried about this matter not only in Bihar but in the UP and in some other States. I shall not say much more about it just here except to lay stress on the extreme importance, both from the point of



view of Government and the Congress, of our producing a sense of fairplay and satisfaction among the Muslims as well as other minorities. There is at present a grave danger of these minorities, including the Christian minority, becoming somewhat frustrated and, therefore, hostile to our Government and to the Congress. In both these activities, we have to consider ourselves as specially responsible for the welfare and protection of minority interests. Democracy has cast this burden upon us, but, apart from that, it is the Congress policy, during the last 35 years at least, that has made this a major item in our programme. If, for local pressures and reasons, we weaken in that policy, both Congress and Government will suffer.

11. With this is connected the growth of casteism in elections and other activities. I fear that this is especially prevalent in Bihar though the UP is not far behind. There may be a tendency to compromise with it for the sake of election or for some other reason. That, of course, is bad in principle as well as in practice. An organisation like the Congress cannot function if it weakens on the caste front. It will be split up and there will be different loyalties.

12. Finally there is the question of the active functioning of the Congress organisation itself. In fact, this really covers all other points. If the Congress functions actively and progressively, the other failings do not matter much and are usually pushed aside. From many accounts that I have received from quite independent observers, the Congress is not functioning satisfactorily in Bihar. I am told that many MPs and MLAs have not visited their constituencies at all since the election. Many local Congress Committees do not function or function very inadequately. If this is so, then inevitably the Congress will sicken and will become a weak and ailing organisation. This matter requires our most earnest consideration.

13. I do not wish to write by way of complaint because we are all, in some measure, responsible for these unfortunate symptoms of disease that we see about us in various parts of the country. It does little good to accuse each other of failure. But the consequences of that failure affect all of us and we have somehow to meet this situation, however difficult it might be.

14. You must know, much better than I do, the reasons for the grave slackening of the tempo of Congress work in Bihar. I am told that in various ways, such as the enrolment of members, the non-appointment of various committees and sections of the Congress movement and in carrying out directions issued either by the AICC or the PCC, there is this lack of vitality.

15. In Bihar, we have had to face problems from time to time, and a year ago, you will remember that all the Congress elections gave us many headaches. We had all kinds of enquiries and the like. In spite of all this, I have never doubted that the backbone of the Bihar Congress, that is the District or local worker has continued to be strong. In no State have there been such an

abundance of good, honest Congress workers. Therefore, one always had faith in Bihar from the Congress point of view. What troubles me especially now is some kind of inner weakness or rot that appears to be working its way within our organisation. I have no doubt that this can be remedied because the people and our workers are there. But it can only be remedied by active and energetic work and a full realisation of the problem. Merely allowing matters to slide and to drift is to admit surrender. Surely we are not going to surrender. In this matter, we of the AICC are prepared to cooperate with you and your Pradesh organisation to the fullest extent. Please do not consider us as something apart from you or as some superior body issuing instructions and directives. We do from time to time issue instructions because that is the function of our organisation. But, in reality, there are no superiors or inferiors in Congress and we are all in the same body, sailing or sinking together. It is in this spirit that I wish this matter to be considered by you and by us.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 5. To President, Bhind Congress Committee<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 22, 1954

Dear friend,

Your Committee has often written to me and once led a deputation to me complaining about the state of lawlessness in your District. I enquired into this matter fully. Dacoities and lawlessness have prevailed in Bhind for a very long time past and the Chambal ravine is a difficult country. Nevertheless, we have to put an end to this and we will undoubtedly do so. What has surprised me very much is that, while you complain about the lawlessness, the Bhind Congress Committee comes in the way of steps taken by the Government and the Police to put an end to this state of affairs. For any individual to do so would be objectionable. For a Congress Committee to do so is particularly objectionable.

I understand that the Congress Committee openly opposed the activities of our officers there and interfered with the day-to-day administration. They have even objected to the posting of Indore area officers. This is most

1. JN Collection. Copies of this letter were sent to Kailas Nath Katju, Mishrilal Gangwal, Takhmal Jain, President, Madhya Bharat PCC, and Balvantray Mehta.



extraordinary. Are we dealing with the serious menace of murder and decoity or thinking of showing favouritism in the posting of officers?

This is a very serious matter and I have noted that the Madhya Bharat Pradesh Congress Committee has expressed strong disapproval of the conduct of your Committee.

Will you please send us immediately your explanation of this conduct?

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 6. To B.C. Roy<sup>1</sup>

Camp: Mashobra  
July 1, 1954

My dear Bidhan,

I am worried a little about the state of Congress affairs in Bengal and notably in Calcutta. Organisationally, the Pradesh Congress Committee of West Bengal functions fairly well under Atulya Babu,<sup>2</sup> but the Congress does not depend on the routine working of the organisation only. It has to have its roots in the people and be in constant touch with them. I find that these roots and contacts are rather lacking in West Bengal, and more particularly in the city of Calcutta. So far as I know, practically no public meetings are held by the Congress, except in connection with some election. That means that the Congress is developing into a pure electioneering organisation in Bengal. Even from the point of view of elections, of course, that is not good enough. From the larger point of view, this is still more unfortunate.

Calcutta is one of the most politically-minded cities in India. It is true that it tends to be emotional and often to go in the wrong direction. That makes it still more necessary to keep in touch with the pulse of the people there. I find that other organisations in Calcutta are constantly holding meetings, having processions, and generally making a noise. On the Congress side, a statement appears occasionally in the newspapers, but not much else is done. The State Government, of course, functions effectively under your guidance. But even the State Government is slightly cut off from the Congress organisation.

We may carry on in this way for some time, but it is clear that we shall

1. JN Collection.

2. Atulya Ghosh (1904-1986); President, West Bengal PCC, since 1950; Member of Parliament, 1952-67; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 19, p. 418.

lose hold on the people in the future, if this continues. As it is, one has the sensation of the middle class Bengali element, which has been the backbone of the Congress, gradually drifting away from it. Even more so, the younger Bengali element.

What exactly should be done in the circumstances is not clear to me. But I am sure that we must give full consideration to this matter and come to grips with it. As a matter of fact, circumstances favour us in many ways. Our international policy has been successful and has been greatly appreciated by the public. This has rather pushed out of the picture other organisations which now can only seize hold of petty local problems and make a noise about them.

I should like you to think over it and to discuss this question with Atulya Babu, as well as your other colleagues in the Congress and in the Government. We should try to give a wider base to the Congress in West Bengal and, especially, attract younger people.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawahar

## 7. Broadening Congress Base in West Bengal<sup>1</sup>

... I am much disturbed by the situation of the Congress in West Bengal. I do not give much credence to all the charges made against the present office-bearers. People in this country have a habit of making wild charges and of repeating hearsay. Nevertheless, one cannot ignore the fact that there are large numbers of people in Calcutta and possibly in West Bengal who are not happy about the Congress. More especially, I am concerned at the exclusion of the East Bengal element and the impression that the Marwaris run the Congress in Bengal.

3. There have always been strong and rival parties in Bengal. Ever since Deshbandhu C.R. Das's<sup>2</sup> death, the Congress organisation has had to deal with these rival factions. In some form or other they continue. If we do not do something about it, then we are criticised. If we interfere, then we are criticised still more.

1. Note to Balvantray Mehta, 20 September 1954. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. (1870-1925); joined Indian National Congress, 1906; leader of the Swaraj Party, Mayor of Calcutta and President, Bengal PCC; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 1, p. 139.



4. I remember the Working Committee sending prominent persons to help in solving these internal Congress troubles in Bengal. Dr Pattabhi<sup>3</sup> was sent once. Shri M.S. Aney<sup>4</sup> was also sent and my father also went there for this purpose. I have also previously tried to do so. Almost on every occasion, this attempt to help was considered an intrusion and almost an impertinence.

5. Because of this, I am a little chary of interfering in Bengal affairs. At the same time, one cannot remain wholly quiescent.

6. While it is perfectly true that the Bengal Congress is not as widely representative of the people as it should be and is run more or less by one set of persons, it is also true that in a sense it is functioning with some efficiency. It has also lately functioned in the public to some extent, and it would appear that the response was not bad.

7. But the outstanding fact about the Congress there and indeed about West Bengal today is the dominating personality of Dr B.C. Roy. There is no doubt about his considerable influence and the respect he is held in by all kinds of people in West Bengal. Although not a popular figure in the political or mass sense, yet he is a widely respected figure and his great ability and energy leads to results. His Government has done on the whole good work. In some matters, it can function with greater speed than any other Government because Dr Roy can push everybody along with him.

8. As this is the position, any step that we take should be with the consent and cooperation of Dr Roy. That seems to me important. I do not think we need bother about the various charges and the like. The point we should stress in a friendly way is the inclusion in some way of representatives of people who have come from East Bengal. That appears to me very important. Also, generally we can suggest that the Congress might be given some broader base and its doors might be open to those who wish to come back to it.

9. Many people who left the Congress in Bengal have discovered that, however bad the Congress might be, it is still better than other organisations. The PSP has wholly failed to make good and some people who looked that way are frustrated. So also a number of other groups. Of course, there are the Communists and a number of odd groups which can and do create trouble because the conditions in Calcutta invite trouble. There is a vast number of displaced persons and unemployed.

10. I think you should go to Calcutta in the normal way later and make these friendly approaches. But it is essential that you should meet first Dr Roy and the PCC President and office-bearers.

3. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya (1880-1959): also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 3, p. 285.

4. (1880-1968); also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 3, p. 12.

## IX. ADMINISTRATIVE MATTERS

### (i) Foreign Missionaries

#### 1. Policy Towards Missionaries<sup>1</sup>

... It has seemed to me that, while our practice, on the whole, has been liberal and, sometimes, even more than liberal, an unfortunate impression to the contrary has been created. For my part, I think that, in some respects, the policy might even be stricter from the political point of view, quite apart from the propagation of religion, but in statements of policy there should be no impression created that we are coming in the way of religion or even the propagation of any religion. I realise that in tribal and like areas, Christian missionary activities might possibly create trouble and unfortunate consequences. We can deal with that position separately. Broadly speaking, however, it does not seem to me right to object to evangelisation as such. During the British period of 150 years or more, Christian missionaries had many advantages, which obviously they lack today. They had the prestige of a dominating power with them, even though that power occasionally, for reasons of its own and in selected areas, somewhat restricted their activities. In spite of this great advantage, the progress made by Christian missions, from the point of view of conversion, was strictly limited. It is obvious that in the new circumstances prevailing in India that progress will be still more limited and will become progressively less. We need not, therefore, trouble ourselves about this. It is a matter of little consequence, from the larger national point of view, if a few persons are converted or reconverted from one religion to another. This may become a law and order problem, as it does occasionally, and it should be treated as such then.

4. It is always to be remembered that Christianity is one of the major religions of India and has to be honoured as such and given its rightful place in India. But where Christian missionaries from abroad tend to create political or like difficulties, then the question has to be treated on the political level and not on the religious.

5. Generally speaking, it is not desirable to increase largely the number of permanent or semi-permanent foreign nationals in India. That applies to missionaries as well as non-missionaries. Any number of people can come

1. Note, 4 June 1954. File No, 117/53, President's Secretariat. Extracts.



here temporarily as tourists or others. But if they intend to settle down here or stay here for lengthy periods, then the position has to be examined from another point of view. It is for this reason that it is desirable not to encourage the advent of additional missionaries or others from abroad, unless there is clear justification for this.

6. In a letter I wrote to the Primate of Sweden and Archbishop of Uppasala<sup>2</sup> ... I indicated briefly our approach to this question of foreign missionaries. In drawing up any note on our policy, we shall necessarily have to be a little more explicit. I do not propose at this stage to go into details.

7. I would suggest, however, that, apart from the other factors mentioned above, we should discourage much more the coming to India of representatives of all manner of odd sects from abroad, apart from the principal Christian denominations. I have seen in a list the names of the most extraordinary sects, chiefly originating from the United States of America.

8. We have also to follow a strict policy in regard to all our border regions and these must include the Nepal border. There is at present an "Inner Line" in some of these regions. We are considering extending the area covered by this line.

9. International developments are such that it is not wholly safe for us to increase the foreign population of India, in whatever guise it may come.

10. I would like to add that Quakers<sup>3</sup> should be treated as somewhat apart from others. There are not many Quakers in the world and very few in India. Generally speaking, they are helpful and useful members of the community. This does not mean that every Quaker must necessarily be admitted, but the rules relating to them should be interpreted liberally.

11. It must be remembered that there are certain communal organisations in India, notably the Hindu Mahasabha, the RSS as well as others, which are aggressively anti-Christian and which try to rouse up popular passions against Christians. This kind of thing cannot be encouraged by us. In fact, this narrow bigotry must be discouraged.

12. After we have decided about the general policy to be pursued, it would be desirable, at some suitable moment, to make a brief statement about it. The Home Minister could do this in Parliament....

2. Nehru wrote to Yngve T. Brilioth, Primate of Sweden and Archbishop of Uppasala, on 22 August 1953. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 23, pp. 248-250.

3. Members of a Christian sect known as Society of Friends which was founded in England in the seventeenth century. The Quakers emphasise simplicity in all things and are active reformers promoting tolerance, justice and peace. The service committees of the American and British branches of the Society were jointly awarded the 1947 Nobel Peace Prize.

## 2. Treatment of Christians and Missionaries<sup>1</sup>

... 2. I had a visit this morning from the Papal Internuncio<sup>2</sup> in Delhi who started by telling me that Rome feels hurt and offended by the appointment of the Committee by the Madhya Pradesh Government<sup>3</sup> and that missionaries were being treated as criminals. He spoke about the activities against those missionaries and that the petty officials more especially were becoming very hostile. He referred to articles in the Press and attacks on Christians and missionaries. He referred particularly to the *Organiser*,<sup>4</sup> the RSS organ of Delhi.

3. Not only were the lower officials behaving in this manner but there was a general impression that they were being encouraged to do so.

4. He referred to record of the Catholic Church for close upon 2,000 years. If there is any misbehaviour on the part of any individual or group, the Bishop can be called or the Internuncio. But this was not done.

5. He spoke to me in this vein using rather strong language occasionally which irritated me. I replied to him, therefore, to begin with in equally strong language, whereupon he toned down.

6. But I am rather concerned at this widespread feeling in India and abroad about our treatment of not only missionaries but Christians. Dr Cherian<sup>5</sup> ...came to see me this morning and also expressed his alarm at the turn events were taking. This may be somewhat exaggerated, but the fact is there, and there does appear to be a feeling of apprehension in the Christian world, more especially the Catholics. I have reports from Travancore too to the same effect. Probably it is not realised here that the Catholics stand quite apart from the other Christian communities. They belong to an international organisation of

1. Note to Home Minister, 19 June 1954. File No. 33(111)/ 52-PMS. Extracts. A copy of this note was sent to Secretary General, MEA.

2. Martin Lucas, Apostolic Internuncio to India, 1952-57.

3. A Christian Missionaries Activity Inquiry Commission appointed by the Madhya Pradesh Government under the chairmanship of B. Niyogi undertook a ten day tour of the tribal areas of Raigarh and Surguja districts from 5 June 1954.

4. For example, in an article entitled "Christian Proselytisation" published in *Organiser* on 14 June 1954, M.A. Venkata Rao wrote: "Friends of the Missionaries rely on Article 25, section 1, which says that subject to public order, morality and health all persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience, and the right freely to profess, practice and propagate religion. Now this is an extraordinary claim. It is mere quibbling and taking refuge under an artificially created ambiguity. The Constitution is given to themselves by the people of India and not to all mankind."

5. P.V. Cherian (1893-1969); Chairman, Madras Legislative Assembly, 1952-64; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 25, p. 228.



great force and influence. But, apart from the international implications, I do not at all like the kind of atmosphere that is growing up in India.

7. Dr Cherian drew my attention to a resolution of the Hindu Mahasabha passed recently at Hyderabad<sup>6</sup> which stated that "in certain circumstances the nation realises that a change of religion connotes a change of nationality...." This is a dangerous proposition to lay down anywhere and more especially in India at present. Dr Cherian is the President of the All-India Conference of Indian Christians.

6. On 9 May 1954.

### 3. To Amrit Kaur<sup>1</sup>

Camp: Mashobra

June 30, 1954

My dear Amrit,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of June 25 about visas to missionaries....

I am not in favour of foreigners being encouraged to come to India unless there is some very special need for them. I do not understand why there should be this rush of missionaries to come to India at a moment specially of high political tension all over the world.

In the United States, nobody is allowed to enter there even on a temporary visit, without all kinds of pledges being given, life histories being stated and the most detailed information of a person's private life even being given for a number of years. I think that is perfectly absurd. In fact, it has come to this that famous scientists have refused to go to the United States, and a resolution has recently been passed at an international conference of scientists that, in future, no international conferences should be held in the United States because outsiders cannot attend them.

I have not heard of any agitation in Europe or elsewhere about these very extraordinary measures taken in the United States. Why then should there be this outcry because we do not wish to encourage too many foreigners to come here to settle down. They are welcome to come as visitors for a short while. The question is of settling down for lengthy periods.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. (1889-1964); Union Minister for Health, 1947-57; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 11, p. 274.

#### 4. The Methodist Missionaries<sup>1</sup>

I saw a deputation today of four Methodist Bishops led by Bishop Mondol<sup>2</sup> of Hyderabad. They spoke to me about various matters concerning them and I gave them our usual reply....

2. They pointed out that the Government had in the past encouraged all kinds of semi-known and unknown denominations from America and elsewhere to send their missionaries to India, with the result that the number of missionaries had gone up, undoubtedly, and the people who had come did not represent any of the major organisation, which suffered because of this.

3. I think there is some truth in this and one of the first steps we should take is not to encourage these numerous petty sectarian organisations chiefly from America and partly from Europe. It would be better for us to deal with a few major organisations....

4. They also referred to the vast properties held by foreign missionary societies in India. These societies were prepared to transfer property to Indian ownership, but this would be difficult because of the large sums involved in deeds of transfer. I said that I did not know anything about this. It could be enquired into....

1. Note to the Home Minister, 11 August 1954. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. Shot Kumar Mondol (b. 1896); President, National Christian Council of Asia, 1950-56; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 24, p. 332.

#### (ii) North Eastern States

##### 1. To Bisnuram Medhi<sup>1</sup>

Camp: Mashobra  
July 3rd, 1954

My dear Medhi,<sup>2</sup>

You wrote to me some little time ago about the conference of the autonomous districts, etc., which was held recently. An attempt was made at this conference

1. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to the Governor of Assam.
2. (1890-1981); Chief Minister, Assam, 1950-58; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 8, p. 483.



to demand separation from Assam. But wiser counsels seem to have prevailed and they asked instead for fuller autonomy.<sup>3</sup> What exactly they meant by this fuller autonomy I do not quite know.

I have been thinking a great deal about this matter. The States Reorganisation Commission will, no doubt, deal with it and make their recommendations.

There can be little doubt that conditions, as they are at present, in these autonomous areas are not wholly satisfactory. Of course, the Naga area is the extreme case,<sup>4</sup> but even in some of the other autonomous districts there is a sense of dissatisfaction at things as they are. This found expression at that conference. The Nagas, of course, are trying to wean away others also.

In these circumstances, I should like you to consider this entire question afresh. We shall have to deal with it before long. Broadly speaking, I think that our approach should be towards somewhat greater autonomy of these districts, within the State of Assam. They have a very definite individuality of their own, and they should be allowed to feel that they are looking after themselves. That was the whole object of having these autonomous districts. If we go a little further in that direction, it may well help in solving the problem and making them contented members of the State of Assam.

You will remember that one of the grievances of the Nagas was that we did not give full effect to Akbar Hydari's<sup>5</sup> agreement with them.<sup>6</sup> I do not like any impression that we have backed out. We have to win these as well as other tribal people over and make them contented citizens. The mere law and order approach does not go far, although it is necessary.

I should like you to think over this matter and write to me.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. See the next item.

4. The Nagas had even started schools in the Naga Hills which were carrying on the campaign of the Naga National Council (NNC) for independence.

5. Muhammad Saleh Akbar Hydari (1894-1948); Governor of Assam, 1947-48; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 3, p. 5.

6. As per the agreement signed in June 1947 between the NNC and Akbar Hydari, who was negotiating on behalf of the Government of India, authority in respect of judiciary, executive, legislature, land resources, taxation, boundaries, the Arms Act and the Chin Hills was given to the NNC. The Governor of Assam was to ensure the observance of the agreement for ten years and at the end of the period the NNC would be asked whether an extension of the agreement or its replacement was required.

## 2. To S. Fazl Ali<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 10, 1954

My dear Fazl Ali,<sup>2</sup>

I have received a letter from Jairamdas Doulatram, Governor of Assam, about the Autonomous Districts of Assam.<sup>3</sup> As you will have to consider this matter sometime or other, I think that this letter might be of help to you. I am therefore sending you a copy of this letter, together with the other papers which were sent with it.

This question of the Autonomous Districts in Assam is a ticklish one and we have to proceed with some caution. You perhaps know that of the six Autonomous Districts, one, namely the Naga District, has been non-cooperating. The Nagas have refused to form their District Council and claim independence. That is absurd; and yet this shows the extent to which they are prepared to go. They are tough people, good if they are won over, and a nuisance if they are not. I am anxious to win them over, as well as the other tribes, both from the frontier as well as other points of view. There can, of course, be no question of independence, and on the whole I feel that any separate State might also create difficulties. But, broadly speaking, I would like to give these District Councils greater powers so that they may have a sensation of self-government. Those powers would have to be limited somewhere. My general approach would be to give them considerable powers, but subject to the Governor or some authority suspending or vetoing a decision.

Then, there is the case of Manipur and Tripura. They are both small areas, but very definite and distinct cultural units. I dislike the idea of any individual cultural unit being submerged with others and thus losing its individuality.

Probably, you know that the people of these autonomous areas of Assam do not like, what they consider, the domination of Assam. There has been a

1. JN Collection.

2. (1886-1959); Chairman, States Reorganisation Commission. 1954-55; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 3, p. 31.

3. On 1 August 1954, in his letter to Nehru, Doulatram wrote that the demand made by the spokesmen of the Autonomous Districts of Assam for "fuller autonomy under the Sixth Schedule is not in final substitution for a demand for a separate Hill State. The latter demand has been only kept in abeyance and will probably be pressed, in due course, if our response to their present demand does not substantially satisfy them on the two points of (a) more freedom from the State Government's control and (b) more sources of income for their programme of work."



tendency on the part of the Assamese to spread their own way and what they consider their culture over these areas. The hill people resent this and as a consequence there is some dislike of Assam.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 3. The Tuensang Frontier Division<sup>1</sup>

I have read Dr Verrier Elwin's<sup>2</sup> report on the Tuensang Frontier Division<sup>3</sup> with some care. I have also read the other papers attached to this file. I have found Dr Elwin's report so important and interesting that, in spite of other heavy work, I have found time to read it thoroughly. I think it is an excellent report and, broadly speaking, I agree with his approach to this problem....

4. The report generally speaks well of our administration and of the steps that have been taken. I am glad that a tribute has been paid to the officers and men of the Assam Rifles. I recognise that some of his recommendations might involve certain administrative and political consequences<sup>4</sup> and we have to view this matter from this point of view. But I do not see anything very revolutionary about these recommendations and I think that we should endeavour to give effect to them, though the pace may have to be regulated according to circumstances.

5. I agree with the recommendations made by the Joint Secretary in his note.

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, 19 August 1954. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. (1902-1964); Anthropological Consultant, NEFA; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 21, p. 584.
3. Verrier Elwin undertook a seven-week tour of the Division in March and April 1954, covering 195 miles on foot, and submitted his report on 24 June 1954.
4. The report warned of political troubles, including that of separatism, due to Ao colonization and listed the steps to avert them: (i) alternative posts elsewhere for Ao Government staff, special training for Ao teachers and introduction of Basic Education; (ii) replacement of Ao language by Hindi; (iii) drawing of the Inner Line between Tuensang and the Naga Hills; (iv) firm policy towards pastors and evangelists to stop their mis-propaganda against Hinduism and refusal of permission to open new missionary centres; (v) undertaking of welfare schemes like bridge construction, water supply, etc.

6. I think that we should write to the Baptist Mission authorities and inform them that we do not approve of missionary activities in these areas, more especially those carried on by the Baptist Mission. We should also put a complete stop to any extension of these activities in other adjoining areas. I agree that other Mission activities, including Hindu Missions, should not be encouraged. I do not myself see that the Ramakrishna Mission is a Mission in the normal sense of the word. It does not go in for conversion and the like. It is really a service organisation which has done excellent work wherever it has gone. But in this matter I would accept the judgment of Dr Elwin<sup>5</sup> and, for the present at least, we should not encourage even the Ramakrishna Mission to operate in this area.

7. I referred to the Inner Line some months ago and suggested that we should go into this question rather thoroughly and draw up a new line.<sup>6</sup> It appears that in some places there is a gap and there is no marked line at all. These matters should be taken up rather urgently. I do not see why they need involve any considerable delay.

8. I am horrified at the picture of these people being made to give up their old artistic clothes or even lack of clothes in favour of a dirty pair of shorts or some such thing. I am also greatly disturbed at certain shabby articles of modern civilization replacing the artistic products of these people. I am quite clear that we should prevent cheap mill cloth going there as far as we can. We are in fact encouraging hand-spun and hand-woven goods all over India. Surely we should only use these in these areas for presents and for other purposes. Indeed the right course would be to get yarn woven there into artistic pattern and encourage this artistic craft in this area.

9. I do not agree with the criticism that the preservation of tribal art and tribal dress indicates a desire to keep the tribal people as museum specimens. The danger is that these people will lose their culture and have nothing to replace it. I have no doubt that with the opening out of roads and other communications, these remote areas will be influenced by the rest of India. What has usually happened is that these artistic primitive people lose their artistry and get nothing to replace it. I would rather that they remain museum specimens than become such representatives of so-called modern progress. Of course I do not wish them to feel that we are stopping the "clock of progress",

5. Regarding the proposal to allow the Ramakrishna Mission to come and work in NEFA, he wrote that "if a Hindu Mission comes in with official backing, it will weaken our hand in dealing with the Christian Missions" and "the arrival of Hindu missionaries will be regarded as a challenge by the Baptists, who will redouble their efforts."
6. Elwin wrote that "the strengthening of the Inner Line was a matter of top priority.... A large number of check-posts would not be required; what is really needed is that our officers should have clear legal authority to check and if necessary remove undesirable visitors, and prevent outsiders settling down."



though I have my grave doubts as to whether this clock is one of progress or not. We do not wish to stop them from doing what they like, but we must not encourage them to go the wrong way and our officers should be made to realise this fully. Indeed, our officers, if they really wish to understand these people and mix with them, should not be too much of a class apart. They should have a capacity to sit, eat, dance and sing with them.

10. This is just a brief note. I want to have full particulars from the NEF Agency as to what particular steps are being taken on the lines suggested by Dr Elwin....

### (iii) Miscellaneous

#### 1. To Chief Ministers<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 4, 1954

My dear Chief Minister,

You know that we have been encouraging visitors to go to Kashmir and, in fact, large numbers of people have gone there. It has been arranged to hold a number of conferences in Srinagar also. This does not mean that those who go there should become a charge and a burden on the Kashmir Government. I am sure you realise this, but I am venturing to write to you, so that you might make it perfectly clear to all our Ministers in every State that it is hoped they will not expect free hospitality from the Kashmir State Government in the event of their going there. This applies to Ministers, Speakers and officials.

I am writing to you because I am informed that quite a number of Ministers and others expect to have this free hospitality in Kashmir and write to the Kashmir Government asking to be treated as State guests with free transport and other amenities. In fact, I have a remarkable case before me. One of our States' Speakers wrote to the President<sup>2</sup> of the Kashmir Constituent Assembly informing him that he and his family were going to Kashmir in connection with the Speakers' Conference<sup>3</sup> and propose to stay there for two months. He expressed the hope that all of them will be treated as State guests for this

1. JN Collection.
2. Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq.
3. A conference of presiding officers of Legislative Assemblies and Legislative Councils was held at Srinagar from 14 to 16 June under the chairmanship of G.V. Mavalankar.

entire period of two months. The party consisted of the Speaker<sup>4</sup> of the State Assembly concerned, his wife, six children, three grand-children, one son-in-law and one servant, that is, thirteen persons in all. You will appreciate that such a demand is not at all proper.

May I request you to make this position clear privately and informally to your Ministers, Speaker and others. If anybody goes there, he must go and stay there at his own expense. No doubt, the Kashmir Government will give facilities and make arrangements.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Kuladhar Chaliha, Speaker of the Assam Legislative Assembly.

## 2. Implementation of Cabinet Decisions<sup>1</sup>

During the emergency period beginning from September 1947, when troubles broke out after the Partition, a Special Committee was set up to deal with the situation.<sup>2</sup> This Committee was presided over, at our request, by the Governor-General, Lord Mountbatten. There were some Cabinet Ministers in it and some others who were intimately concerned with the day-to-day work. The Committee met every morning. The rule was that every item on the agenda, even if disposed of by the Committee, remained on the agenda till it was reported that action had been taken and nothing more had to be done.

The result was that we knew exactly from day-to-day what had been done and what was still pending.

This procedure perhaps is not feasible for our Cabinet decisions. But something approaching it might well be initiated. That is, a list should be kept and placed at every Cabinet meeting (though not distributed) of matters about which Cabinet has come to a decision, but where the action contemplated has not been completed.

I agree that there should be a time limit for implementing Cabinet decisions and where the time limit is exceeded, the matter should be referred to the Cabinet. The reference should be to the Cabinet itself and not merely to the Cabinet Secretariat. I do not know what a suitable time limit would be. To

1. Note to Y.N. Sukthankar, the Cabinet Secretary, 8 June 1954. JN Collection.

2. See *ante*, p. 195.



some extent, this depends on the subject. But, broadly speaking, a month should be quite ample. In some matters it should be less. The Ministries concerned to be informed of this.

### 3. Wastage of Electric Power<sup>1</sup>

Yesterday, as I was leaving my office at about 7.45 pm, I noticed that the fan in the corner verandah was functioning vigorously. I went to switch it off, but found that the switch was inside the room of one of the States Ministry officials. I tried to find out how to get that room opened. There was no one who could do it for some time. I spent about ten to fifteen minutes over this business. Ultimately someone was found who opened the door and switched off the fan.

2. Presumably, the fan had been working needlessly (as no one was there) for the previous two or three hours. It would have probably continued in that way for whole of the night and till people came the next morning if I had not noticed it and stopped it.

3. I think a little more care should be taken in the use of electric power. We cannot afford to waste it in this way. Please issue instructions accordingly. When a person goes out of the room he should switch off the fans and lights.

1. Note to the States Ministry, 10 June 1954. File No. 7 (103)/56-65-70. PMS.

### 4. Serving of Liquor at Parties<sup>1</sup>

I agree that wherever possible our Embassies should give parties to meet the Vice-President, when he goes to Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro.<sup>2</sup> I understand that he is going to Mexico also. This should apply to Mexico.

2. I do not understand why liquor should be invariably associated with the party. No doubt this may be the custom in South or North America. It is not

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 23 June 1954. JN Collection. Extracts. A copy of the note was sent to S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of India, and Secretary General, MEA.
2. Radhakrishnan visited Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro in the middle of October 1954, during his tour of South America.

and should not be our custom. It is particularly inappropriate for a party given by us in favour of the Vice-President to have liquor. In fact, the non-serving of liquor itself makes our party somewhat different than others. It makes people think that we function differently. People who drink regularly can well do without it at a single party. They will no doubt survive.

3. I remember an incident when a party was given in Paris by Vijayalakshmi Pandit.<sup>3</sup> The Prime Minister and other Ministers came to it. The Prime Minister of France came to Mrs Pandit and congratulated her especially for not serving liquor. He said that it was a pleasant change not to have it. He added that if he dared, he would follow this example himself. Therefore, I am quite clear that there should be no alcoholic drinks of any type at these parties. Indeed, I am surprised that this kind of question should be put to us again and again when our directions are clear on the subject.

4. There is considerable scope in providing non-alcoholic drinks. Little attention is normally paid to this and no ingenuity exercised. Generally some tomato juice or some pink or green stuff is provided without any attempt being made to think out how a soft drink can be made agreeable and attractive.

5. If, as is said, parties are not appreciated without liquor, I am afraid we shall have to accept the fact that our parties will not be appreciated, but I am not prepared to believe this. Even if it was true, the sooner other people got to know our views and habits in this matter the better....

3. (1900-1990); first woman President of UN General Assembly, 1954; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 1, p. 1.

## 5. Rehabilitation of Refugees from East Bengal<sup>1</sup>

About a month ago, some Members of Parliament came to see me<sup>2</sup> to discuss the question of rehabilitation of refugees from East Bengal. I told them that they were mistaken if they thought that there was any discrimination as between refugees from East or West Pakistan and that we attached the greatest importance to this problem of rehabilitation of East Bengal refugees. It so happened that the first flood of refugees came from West Pakistan in very large numbers and also that there was a certain finality about their coming. Hence to begin with, attention was naturally paid to them. The flow from East Bengal came somewhat

1. Statement to the Press, New Delhi, 24 June 1954. Published in *The Hindustan Times* and other leading newspapers, 25 June 1954.
2. N.C. Chatterjee, M.N. Saha and Tridib Chaudhury met Nehru in May 1954.



later and was relatively more gradual. Also, the position there was much more fluid and, from time to time, many of them went back to East Bengal. There were other points of difference also as is well known. The evacuee property laws, etc., were passed to deal with the situation created in the Western region. These did not apply to the Eastern region. Because of this fluid character and other factors, it was not easy, in the earlier period, to take steps similar to those taken in the West. Gradually, however, the position in the Eastern region stabilised itself much more and had to be dealt with in a big way. There is no doubt that, at present, the problem of rehabilitation is much more important in so far as the Eastern region is concerned than in the West.

2. I assured the Members of Parliament who met me that we attached the greatest importance to this problem and that every attention would be given to it in cooperation with the West Bengal Government.

3. I was under the impression that our talk and my assurance were considered satisfactory.

4. I have been much surprised, therefore, to find some of these gentlemen starting a new agitation and laying special stress on the discriminatory treatment by the Central Ministry of Rehabilitation.<sup>3</sup> Some of them have even asked for the resignation of the Minister of Rehabilitation. There seems to be an effort to make this vital question into a party and political issue. I must deplore this because this cannot be to the advantage of the displaced persons whom we all desire to help.

5. I should like to pay a tribute to my colleague the Minister of Rehabilitation who has faced this problem with ability and perseverance and has succeeded in a large measure. I know that the Minister of the Bengal Government dealing with rehabilitation has also worked hard and with the fullest sympathy for the displaced persons. I am astonished that charges should be levelled against them in a somewhat irresponsible manner.

6. I do not propose to go into this matter in detail, but, if necessary, our Ministry of Rehabilitation will place all the facts before the public.<sup>4</sup> There is nothing secret about them.

3. Addressing a press conference in Calcutta on 14 June, M.N. Saha and Tridib Chaudhury demanded immediate resignations of A.P. Jain, Union Rehabilitation Minister, and Renuka Ray, West Bengal Rehabilitation Minister, to make room for more sympathetic and efficient persons, as they had not been able to evolve proper schemes of rehabilitation of East Bengal refugees for the last five years and bungled in implementing the meagre plans they had made to date.
4. On 28 June 1954, A.P. Jain, said in a press statement that the allegation of lack of sympathy and of discrimination had "hurt and pained him." He further said that nearly 26 lakhs or 81 per cent of the migrants from East Bengal were crowded in West Bengal and "efforts to settle them outside have not met with much success", for "our work was upset by some interested political leaders." He added that "a recent judgment of the Supreme Court declaring the West Bengal Land Development and Planning Act of 1948 as void has further added to the difficulties."

7. One of our main difficulties has been to settle displaced persons from East Pakistan outside West Bengal. Repeated attempts have been made to offer land and other inducements elsewhere, and, in fact, many of them have actually agreed to go. But, for some reasons which certainly have nothing to do with the rehabilitation of the displaced persons, these persons have been induced not to go outside West Bengal. In fact, recently 300 families agreed to be rehabilitated in the UP, Orissa, Bihar etc. But some political leaders tried their best to persuade them not to go. I gather that these 300 families have now gone to Calcutta and are squatting there.

8. I am wholly unable to appreciate this deliberate attempt to prevent the proper rehabilitation of these families. There is obviously paucity of land in West Bengal and it is very difficult, therefore, to find land for them there. To prevent them from going outside is not to solve the problem but merely to add to their misery.

9. I would earnestly appeal not only to the displaced persons but to all others concerned not to make this a party or political issue but to cooperate together in dealing with this major problem of human well-being.

## 6. Provision for Drinking Water<sup>1</sup>

I am sending you a letter and a report which the Health Minister has sent me about the recent Conference of Ministers of Local Self-Government which was held at Simla.

Apart from the various decisions and resolutions of this Conference, the Health Minister has drawn my special attention to the necessity of providing pure drinking water in rural areas as well as small urban areas. This is certainly important from the health point of view, probably more important than many other things that we do. I hope it will be possible to take this up in the second Five Year Plan.

1. Note to V.T. Krishnamachari, Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission, 5 July 1954. File No. 17(5)/56-PMS.



## 7. To K.N. Katju<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 19, 1954

My dear Kailas Nath,  
Your letter of 18th July.

I entirely agree with you about the appointment of a Law Commission. Whether it should be more or less permanent or appointed every year, is not quite clear to me. Perhaps we might appoint it for two years, to begin with, to make a survey of our existing laws and after that an annual Commission would do.

Could we not utilise the services of the ex-Chief Justice of Calcutta, Sir Trevor Harris<sup>2</sup> in this matter. I should say that he would be excellent.

I am writing to the Law Minister on this subject.<sup>3</sup>

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection.
2. Arthur Trevor Harris (1892-1959); Chief Justice, Calcutta High Court, 1946-52; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 8, p. 197.
3. A Law Commission was appointed on 5 August 1955 under the chairmanship of M.C. Setalvad. Its terms of reference were: to review the system of judicial administration and suggest ways and means for improving it and making it speedy and less expensive; to examine the important Central Acts and recommend the lines on which they should be revised and consolidated.

## 8. To Chief Ministers<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
30th July, 1954

My dear Chief Minister,

General Cariappa<sup>2</sup> made a suggestion some time ago that we should observe one minute's silence on the 26th January in memory of those who gave their lives in the struggle for India's freedom.<sup>3</sup> The idea appealed to me and I asked

1. H.B. Upadhyaya Papers, NMML. Also printed in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers, 1947-1964*, Vol. 3, pp. 618-619.
2. K.M. Cariappa (1900-1993); High Commissioner to Australia and New Zealand, 1953-56; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 2, p. 376.
3. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 25, p. 272.

the Coordination Committee, which is in charge of the arrangements for Republic Day in Delhi, to examine it and find out how far it was practicable.

2. This Committee considered the suggestion. While some of the members were in favour of it, others felt that January 26th would not be a suitable day. It would be difficult to organise one minute's silence at the time of the Republic Day parade when the whole parade was in motion. It was suggested, however, that January 30th might be a more appropriate day for this one minute's silence.

3. It seems to me that January 30th would be both more appropriate and more feasible. That day is already observed as a day of remembrance for Mahatma Gandhi. We might perhaps fix some time on the morning of that day, say at 10 am for one minute's silence. It might be possible to have a simple ceremonial in Delhi itself at Rajghat at that time, such as the placing of some flowers. In other places in India we should try to have this one minute's silence and stoppage of movement as far as possible.

4. I am communicating this idea to you for your consideration and for your comments. If the general idea is approved, the matter can be examined more fully.

5. I shall be grateful if you will kindly let me have your reactions to this proposal soon.

Yours sincerely,

Jawaharlal Nehru

## 9. Civilian Honours<sup>1</sup>

... This question of Honours is likely to be raised in some form or other in Parliament. Probably there will be a question to which an answer will be given. It would be better for us to consider it after Parliamentary reactions have been known.

3. If we give previous intimation to the recipients of the honour, this can be done either just before publication or before final choice. In the former case, it would be a courtesy which is desirable but which does not affect the choice because all the necessary steps for publication have already been taken and cannot be stopped. If enquiry is made before final choice, there is likely to be publicity of many such names which does not appear desirable. The President suggests that the provincial Government should informally ascertain the wishes

1. Note to the President of India and the Home Minister, New Delhi, 22 August 1954. JN Collection. Extracts.



of would-be recipients in the case of such persons as it recommends. All the recommendations of a provincial Government need not be accepted, and, in fact, many have not been accepted. It would be embarrassing to enquire from a person and then not to choose his name.

4. The only possibility, therefore, is to make some informal enquiry after a choice has been made at the Centre but before it is formalised. Even that, of course, would lead to much publicity. Perhaps the best course would be for this enquiry to be made only from such persons as may be considered necessary for this purpose.

5. As regards the question of precedence, I should like further thought to be given to it. I am myself inclined not to include any of these persons in the regular Warrant of Precedence. We have drawn up that Warrant for officials only, and I do not see why a non-official, even if he has got an honour, should be included in the Warrant. Non-officials may well have a status higher than many people in the Warrant, and, on every such occasion, a non-official should be given a proper place on, if I may say so, individual merits. That place may be a fairly high one.

6. A person having a Bharat Ratna Order should normally be given a very high place. In regard to other Orders, I should not reserve any particular place for them except on individual grounds.

7. As for Shri Vaikunth Mehta's<sup>2</sup> suggestion that such Honours should only be given for those who have withdrawn from public activities, I think that this would rather defeat the purpose of such Honours. They are given not only for long continued service of a distinguished nature but for special services which should be honoured immediately....

2. Vaikunth Lallubhai Mehta (1891-1964); Finance Minister, Bombay, 1947-52; Member Finance Commission and Taxation Enquiry Commission, 1952; Chairman, All India Khadi and Village Industries Board, 1953-54; Chairman, All India Khadi and Village Industries Commission, 1957-63.

## 10. To Mahavir Tyagi<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 25, 1954

My dear Mahavir,<sup>2</sup>

Some little time ago, I asked Vellodi to find out what had happened to the 155

1. JN Collection.
2. (1899-1980); Minister for Defence Organisation, 1953-57; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 5, p. 211.

jeeps that had been sent to us as a result of the jeeps' contract with Anti Mistant from London six years ago.<sup>3</sup> You will remember this business which caused us a great deal of trouble<sup>4</sup> and there were so many enquiries about it. We lost an odd sum of money.

Some days ago I learnt that the Director of Audit in the Defence Services had enquired into this matter. So I sent for him and asked him to give me a note and to send copy of that note to you and the Auditor-General. I have now received this note from him<sup>5</sup> and I presume that you have received it also. This note reveals an extraordinary state of affairs. The jeeps we obtained then had been condemned as very bad, but are still functioning after some repairs and doing very good work. In fact, they are said to be better even than the new jeeps we purchased. If this is so, it puts quite a new complexion on this affair. How these jeeps were simply rejected by some persons on behalf of the Defence Ministry then I do not know. Anyhow, this has cost us large sums of money and much discredit to our Government.<sup>6</sup>

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. The order for purchase of reconditioned jeeps in connection with the Government of India's action in Hyderabad and Kashmir was placed in London in 1948 and an advance payment of \$ 8,000 was made to the company by the then High Commissioner of India in UK, V.K. Krishna Menon. In March 1949, a shipment of 155 jeeps reached Chennai where they were examined by Defence experts and rejected as unserviceable.
4. There was a lot of adverse criticism on this deal, that the jeeps supplied by Anti Mistant were practically junk and not anywhere near the standard of a Class I vehicle required as under the contract.
5. In his report of 24 August, R.P. Sarathy noted that the Army Inspector's observation that the condition of the 155 jeeps was Class IV was not wholly correct and that their condition must have been actually much better than that considering that no heavy repairs were needed to bring them to Class I. The contract with Anti Mistant did not include mechanical inspection and therefore their rejection on the basis of inspection carried out in India was "hasty and ill conspired."
6. The note further mentioned that the vehicles were lying in the open in Chennai from 1949 till September 1951 and it had greatly affected their condition. As the repairs were delayed, the Government of India suffered a loss of Rs 18 lakhs.



## 11. To Jainarain Vyas<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 29, 1954

My dear Jainarainji,

In the course of a report I have received, I have read that on the 15th August, in the course of the Flag hoisting ceremony, some kind of a puja was performed before the National Flag and that you took part in it, although you did not approve of it at that time. I must say that I think any kind of puja on such National Days are out of place. Our National Days are meant for everyone and not for one particular community.

Personally I think our Ministers should keep religion completely out of their public functions. That should be reserved for their private and personal lives. But more especially on the occasion of a National Day celebration, this is quite out of place.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 2(430/49-PMS).

## 12. To Rajendra Prasad<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
September 26, 1954

My dear Mr President,

You were good enough to write to me a few days ago suggesting that a pension should be provided to Governors when they retire from their Governorship.<sup>2</sup> I have consulted some of my colleagues, both in the Cabinet and the Working Committee of the Congress. They were of opinion that this would not be desirable and would set a bad precedent which would be criticised by the public.

If any Serviceman becomes a Governor, he will naturally get his normal pension on retirement. The proposal, therefore, applies only to men and women engaged in public affairs. As a matter of fact, Governors have, on retirement,

1. File No. 1(4)/54, President's Secretariat. Extracts.
2. Referring to a special provision under which the President of India was entitled to get pension after retirement, Rajendra Prasad, in his letter of 22 September, suggested a similar provision for retiring Governors of States as they "will not be always free from anxiety" and "will not be in a position to maintain themselves in the way expected for lack of resources."

become Ministers. They may become Members of the Planning Commission and there are some other kinds of work which they might do. There is no bar to that. But, in any event, it would be rather a novel step to provide pensions for them. They will be considered as pensions for political party men and women. The only precedent that can be cited is that of the pension for the President. The President, however, stands on a very special footing.

There has been criticism in the past about the salaries and sumptuary allowances, etc., of Governors.... Governors are provided with many amenities and a fairly good monthly salary, apart from the honour of the post. There appears to be no particular reason why we should add to the financial burdens of the State by providing pensions for them.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 13. Norms Governing Retirement<sup>1</sup>

The Director General or the Deputy Director General of Health Services probably does not treat patients directly. But he has to look after hospitals which treat patients. Medical administration is highly specialised work which no one but a specialist can do. In the same way, the administration of our scientific laboratories is highly specialised work which can only be done effectively by a senior and experienced scientist. Such administrators have to deal with specialists in their own line, to advise them, to be quite up-to-date about modern methods and equipment. No person outside the medical or scientific field can possibly do this effectively.

We are so short of these men in India that I am alarmed at the future prospect. In that, our entire Plan programme for the future is likely to founder because of this shortage of experienced specialists in the medical, scientific or technical fields.

The question of some junior people feeling frustrated can hardly arise. These are selective posts which must go to the best men and the best men are exceedingly few. In fact, in very few countries in the world, so far as I know, are scientists or expert medical men retired before they die or drop down by sheer age. We have got into a bad habit, I think, of thinking in terms of the old ICS, which was supposed to do everything.

1. Note to the Home Minister, 29 September 1954. File No. 35(9)/56-66-PMS.



If we progress as we intend to do, the opportunities for service in all grades will increase greatly.

I think that the normal age limit should not apply at all to these specialised vocations except in so far as to permit the Government to retire a man if we do not think him good enough. To give him brief extensions is to produce instability in his mind and in his work and encourage him to look elsewhere. As I have said, some of our good men have been drawn away by foreign agencies even after retirement and are doing very well there.

The proper course appears to me to give a longer extension to such an individual subject always to the annual examinations of health and fitness.

I have recently seen the records of scientists in other countries as well as in India. Where there are the routine Government service rules, normally scientists do not do very good work. There is no special encouragement to them as in any event they will get normal promotions year after year. In institutions which, though Government controlled, are yet run on other lines (not Government service lines), the work is much better.

In India there is a great difference between the work of our National Laboratories and those Institutes which are directly run by Government. The National Laboratories are under the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, which is an autonomous body helped by Government and therefore it has free play to employ any person they like, for any period they like and to give any promotions to them as they like. Recently this subject was considered in Australia and the same difference was pointed out.

## X. STATE MATTERS

### (i) Reorganisation of States

#### 1. To Presidents of PCCs<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 7, 1954

Dear Comrade,

I am writing to you about a matter of grave importance which has troubled me greatly. This is the growing agitation in regard to the formation of new States or the dismemberment of old States or other changes in the present boundaries of our States. We know that there is considerable feeling in this matter and the

1. File No. G-12/1954. AICC Papers, NMML. Also published in *Congress Bulletin*, June-July 1954, pp. 251-254.

question of linguistic States has been before us for many years. The Congress considered this matter repeatedly and passed a resolution at its Hyderabad session,<sup>2</sup> which you will no doubt remember. This resolution laid stress, not only on the linguistic and cultural aspect of this problem, but on others also and, most of all, on the vital importance of nothing being done which might impair the unity and progress of India.

2. Subsequently, the Government of India appointed a high-powered Commission, which is functioning now.<sup>3</sup> The Congress Working Committee has issued directions to Congressmen as to how they should function in regard to this Commission. They have been given the largest freedom to express their views individually or in groups. It has even been stated that the minority in a Committee or Party can express its views in opposition to those of a majority. There could be no greater freedom in this respect. But the Working Committee has made it perfectly clear that there must be no public agitation by Congressmen, and this question of the reorganisation of States should be considered calmly and dispassionately.

3. I regret to find that these directions of the Committee have not been observed, as they should be, and some Congressmen have taken an aggressive part sometimes in these agitations.

4. This problem was originally largely confined to the South of India. Now, it appears that every part of India has caught this infection and all kinds of astonishing demands are being put forward and hotly contested. Many people seem to suffer from a passion for bigness. Naturally the bigness is at the expense of somebody else, and conflicts arise. In these conflicts charges and counter-charges are brought and, sometimes, threats held out. One would imagine that independent and hostile countries were dealing with each other. People of one State not only threaten the people of another State but also run them down and refer to them as if they were foreigners and intruders. The whole past history of our struggle for freedom and of the Congress movement is forgotten. Even our present Constitution is ignored.

5. This is an impossible situation for Congressmen. It has been the pride and the virtue of the Congress to have laboured for the unity of India and of the Indian people. We built up a mighty organisation where no difference was

2. At its Hyderabad session held from 15 to 18 January 1953, the Congress had approved the steps taken by the Government of India in the matter of the formation of a separate Andhra State and drawn "special attention to the other factors which must be taken into consideration in any reorganization of the present states in India, such as the unity of India, national security and defence, financial consideration and economic progress, not only of the whole nation but of each state."
3. On 22 December 1953, Nehru announced in the House of the People the setting up of a Commission to inquire into and report on the reorganisation of States in India. The Commission, under the chairmanship of Saiyid Fazl Ali and with H.N. Kunzru and K.M. Panikkar as its other members, was to report not later than 30 June 1955.



made between men of different States or religions or class or caste. Have we fallen so low now that we should forget the main purpose and basis of the Congress and allow these disruptive tendencies to flourish? It is time that every Congressman pulled himself up and put this question to himself and to his colleagues.

6. We want the problem of the reorganisation of States to be tackled calmly, dispassionately and with a view to further the unity and progress of India and the wishes of her people. That purpose will be negated if these acrimonious agitations, accompanied by threats and mutual condemnation, are carried on. Does anyone believe that he is furthering his own cause by acting in this manner? Speaking for myself, I react strongly against him. Any such cause, which required violence and threats to support it, is likely to be weak.

7. In any event, I want to make it perfectly clear to all our Congress Committees and to our comrades in the Congress that this is a challenge to the very basis on which we stand. We are not opposed to a proper redistribution of States taking into consideration all the factors involved. Let us proceed about it, by all means. But we are entirely opposed to the manner in which this subject is being tackled in many places and to the agitations that are being built up around it, sometimes real and sometimes artificial. We are entirely opposed to anything that sets one Indian against another or one State against another or weakens the idea of India's unity. We, as Congressmen, are also opposed to anything that weakens the Congress organisation.

8. I call upon you, therefore, to do your utmost to put a stop to Congressmen at least participating in these undesirable activities and agitations. We can no longer be passive lookers-on to something that we consider bad for the country.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 2. To P. Ramaswamy Pillai<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 18, 1954

Dear Shri Ramaswamy Pillai,<sup>2</sup>

I have received your letter of the 16th July and have read it with care.

2. You refer to the Travancore Tamil Nad Congress agitating for the past eight years for the merger of certain Tamil taluks with the adjacent State of

1. File No.7(300)/54-PMS. Extracts.

2. President of the Travancore Tamil Nad Congress (TTNC).

Madras. I am aware of your stand in this respect. But the question is what purpose is served by your starting satyagraha.<sup>3</sup> As I wrote to you, at any time this would have been an unwise step. At the present moment it seems to me, from every point of view, completely unjustified. It is perfectly clear that no step could be taken in regard to this matter, and indeed it cannot even be considered, till the report of the States Reorganisation Commission. Surely, you do not expect that the Central Government is going to break up any State without waiting for the Commission's report. If we can do this in one part of the country, there is no reason why we should not do so in another part, and the whole purpose of the Commission is frustrated. If again, it is possible for a satyagraha to take place in favour of a certain proposal, it can also take place against it. And so, in many parts of the country we would be reduced to utter chaos with rival satyagrahas and the like. No Government can tolerate this, whatever the merits of a proposal might be.

3. You refer to Sardar Panikkar<sup>4</sup> and assume that his views are of a certain type.<sup>5</sup> I have no idea what his views are and I have not discussed this matter with him. Indeed it would be improper for me to discuss it with him at this stage. If you base your assumption on the enquiries being made by the Commission or the questions put by them to witnesses, then you are likely to be misled completely. In examining a witness, questions in the nature of cross-examination are often put. These questions challenge the viewpoint put forward by the witness, whatever that might be. This has nothing to do with the views of the questioner or the Commissioner. He tries to test every point of view by examining it from all aspects.

4. You refer to the present PSP Government favouring the continuation of the TC State as it is. Surely it is quite open to them to hold that opinion, as it is open to you to hold a contrary opinion. I do not suppose you are likely to convince them to the contrary by satyagraha.

5. You refer to a policy of discrimination followed by the Government against the Tamils of the State. About this, I have no knowledge and can form no opinion. But surely the way to deal with such a complaint is not to start

3. Pillai wrote that by electing twelve TTNC members with an overwhelming majority in the last general elections, the people of the nine Tamil-speaking taluqs of Travancore-Cochin, which were contiguous to Madras State, had unequivocally declared themselves in favour of merger. It was for the realization of their expectation that a decision to launch a satyagraha had been taken.
4. K.M. Panikkar (1895-1963); Member, States Reorganisation Commission, 1954-56; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. I, p. 384.
5. Pillai wrote that "Sardar K.M. Panikkar is assuming an attitude inconsistent with the real state of facts, and proposing the formation of Aiykya Kerala with the Tamil Taluqs of Devikulam and Peermade in it."



satyagraha and break laws. There are other ways of peaceful approach and even agitation.

6. You complain of the use of the police and of Section 144 CrPC, etc., being utilised.<sup>6</sup> It seems to me very odd that a group or a party should challenge the State and deliberately break its laws, and then protest if the State tries to protect itself. Naturally I cannot say anything about specific instances, as I have no knowledge.

7. I am quite clear that the method you have adopted is most unwise and uncalled for and, as I have stated previously, it will yield no result whatever. Even a right objective cannot be attained by wrong methods. You have every right to aim at your objective and to work for it. But employing methods which, according to me, are patently wrong in the circumstances, do not help that objective; in fact they hinder it....

Yours sincerely  
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. Pillai alleged that the State Government had promulgated Section 144 CrPC in Devikulam to prevent two MPs and an MLA belonging to the TTNC from meeting and consoling "their Tamilian brethren in distress." See also *ante*, p. 29.

### 3. Evidence by Government Servants on States Reorganisation<sup>1</sup>

The States Reorganisation Commission is somewhat different from the normal type of Commission for which we have existing rules. It may well be that some Government servants can give very useful evidence on this subject and there should be no bar at all to their doing so.

2. I agree that Government servants should not volunteer to give any evidence.

3. There should be no question of compulsion in this matter. A wish from the Commission should be enough. That wish should be conveyed through Government instead of directly to the witnesses.

4. I do not understand why the witness should receive directions from the Head of the Department as to what evidence he should give. The evidence will

1. Note to the Home Minister, 17 August 1954. JN Collection.

presumably be his personal evidence embodying his personal views and he should be left free to express his views. The evidence will, of course, be given in camera. Of course, if the Government servant is called as a representative of Government, or to give any particular information on behalf of Government, then he should take the directions of the Head of the Department. Probably, only rather senior Government servants are likely to be invited to give evidence.

## (ii) Princely Privileges

### 1. To Rajendra Prasad<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 14, 1954

My dear Mr President,

You were good enough to write to me on the 4th June<sup>2</sup> regarding the draft letter which I intended to address to the Princes. I have given earnest thought to what you have written.

I had not thought of this primarily from the point of view of raising large funds for developmental work, although any amount raised for this purpose is desirable. I had rather thought of it from the point of view of proprieties and, even more especially, for, if I may say so, the good of the Princes. Some Princes with whom I had discussed this wholly agreed with me. They realised the strength of public opinion and felt that some gesture of this kind would somewhat lessen that opposition and do credit to the Princes in the eyes of the people.

After my letter of September 1953,<sup>3</sup> I could not very well leave matters in the air. I have to follow it up and, in fact, the Princes are expecting me to

1. File No. 134/54, President's Secretariat.
2. Rajendra Prasad wrote that the total amount of voluntary contribution from the Princes, if all of them accepted Nehru's suggestion in their entirety, would come to Rs 80,97,350 and the amount of investment which they could make to Rs 70,04,533. If the contribution had to be distributed among various States for development purposes, the amount available would appear to be insignificant. Moreover, those who were opposed to a voluntary cut would take it to be a command and raise the objection that Government was going back upon the covenants under which the privy purses were fixed.
3. For Nehru's letter of 10 September 1953 to the Princes, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 23, pp. 213-220.



follow it up. I can tell them of course that I do not propose to do anything further in this. That, I think, would be difficult to justify in Parliament and would have adverse reactions in regard to the Princes. Therefore, I have to do something and write to them and that something has to be a suggestion of what they might do. In my draft, I had made, what I thought, the minimum possible suggestions.

However, I have reconsidered that draft fully, in view of what you have written, and have made a number of alterations from paragraph 10 onwards. These alterations make it clearer than before that this is not any kind of a directive but a suggestion for their consideration.

I enclose a copy of this letter, which I propose to issue tomorrow.<sup>4</sup> I hope you will agree with the changes made.

It might interest you to know what the Nawab of Bhopal,<sup>5</sup> who is not one of the more cooperative of our Princes, said the other day. Returning from England, he said that the friends of the British aristocracy told him that the Government of India had treated the Indian Princes with great generosity. The lot of the great landowners and peers of the United Kingdom was compared with that of the Indian Princes here much to the advantage of the latter.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. See the next item.

5. Hamidullah Khan.

## 2. To the Princes of States<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 15, 1954

Dear Friend,

Over nine months ago, on the 10th September, 1953, I sent you a letter in which I discussed the question of privy purses. In this letter I ventured to share with you my own thoughts and difficulties on this subject. I did not make any positive suggestion then, but I pointed out that events were moving fast in this world of ours and we had to keep pace with these events, or else, we might well be overwhelmed by them. I invited you to give thought to this matter and to suggest how best we could deal with it.

1. File No. 134/53, President's Secretariat.

2. My letter elicited a reply from a number of Princes, though I regret that a considerable number did not even acknowledge it. I am grateful to those who were good enough to reply to me. Some of them replied at length, others sent an acknowledgment and a promise to give earnest consideration to this matter.

3. I have given full thought to these replies and I appreciate the personal difficulties pointed out by some of the Princes. I understand that some of the Princes have taken counsel together also in this matter. I have also had the advantage of receiving some positive suggestions from some of them.

4. You will agree with me that I have not tried to hasten any decision. I have allowed enough time to pass for the fullest consideration of this question which affects each one of the Princes personally and which also affects the people of India as a whole. I think the time has arrived when we should come to closer grips with this problem and I seek your cooperation in this matter. I need not draw your attention to the pace of changing events in the world and in our own country, India. Even as I write this letter, matters of the utmost importance, involving the future of peace and war in this world, are being discussed at a conference in Geneva. Eminent statesmen are struggling with these problems and seeking some way to ensure peace in our time. The forces opposed to peace are also formidable. I do not know what the result of these discussions will be and whether they will bring us hope or despair about the future of the world.

5. In our own country, we have come to realise more than ever that our freedom, and indeed our very existence, depend on our own strength and progress. We have to rely on ourselves.

6. If this is the position, then we have to do our utmost to strengthen our country and contribute to the best of our ability to its rapid progress. The Five Year Plan has run through half its course and already we are thinking of the second Five Year Plan. Great industries have sprung up and many more are in their infancy. We have achieved a notable success on the food front. The Community Projects and the National Extension Service have, in a brief year and less, abundantly justified themselves and laid the foundations of a new life in our hundreds of thousands of villages.

7. These are substantial results. And yet, when we compare them with the necessities of the situation, we feel that the pace has to be swifter and the progress much faster. Indeed, little choice is given to us, for this pace is set by events beyond our control.

8. It is in this context that I would like you to consider this matter of the Princes' privy purses. I realise that it is not easy to apply some kind of a general rule which would suit all the persons concerned. Each one of them is an individual case with his own duties and obligations. Yet, apart from one's personal obligations, there is the obligation to our country, which everyone of us, whoever he or she might be, has to shoulder.



9. You must be aware also of the new loan that has been floated, the National Plan Loan. This is something different from the old loans which the Government of India or the State Governments used to float. It is directly connected with our development schemes and the progress of India. It is addressed not to a limited number, but to the people of India as a whole to whom I have appealed, with all earnestness, to subscribe to the best of their ability.

10. After giving the fullest thought to this matter and consulting some friends, I have come to certain conclusions which I venture to place before you for your earnest and early consideration. I have necessarily to make some kind of a general and uniform proposal. I realise, however, that this may require variation in regard to individual cases.

11. I would suggest that all Princes whose privy purse is between Rs 2 lakhs and Rs 5 lakhs should make a voluntary contribution of 15 per cent of the privy purse and, further, should invest 10 per cent of the privy purse in the National Plan Loan.

12. Those Princes whose privy purse is between Rs one lakh and Rs 2 lakhs, might perhaps make a slightly lesser voluntary contribution than 15 per cent, though I would hope that they would also, in addition, invest 10 per cent in the National Plan Loan. In regard to those Princes whose privy purse is Rs 5 lakhs or over, I would suggest that they might invest 15 per cent of the privy purse in the National Plan Loan, in addition to the 15 per cent as voluntary contribution.

13. Voluntary contributions made in this way should, I think, be reserved for developmental schemes in the States concerned.

14. You will, I hope, agree with me that the suggestions I have made are moderate and fair under the present circumstances. So far as the National Plan Loan is concerned, this is not a gift but a wise investment for the future. That future, in the world as it is today and is likely to be in the future, lacks certainty, and such an investment is a wise provision for that uncertain future. In fact, where possible, the investment might be greater than I have suggested. Thus, not only is provision made for the future but an act of present good for the country is done. The voluntary contributions would, as I have suggested, be reserved for the people of the States concerned in whom the person contributing takes a personal interest.

15. What I have said above is, I need hardly repeat, a suggestion and should in no way be considered a directive. I have made this suggestion in all good faith and keeping in view all the circumstances. It is your friendly cooperation that I seek in this, as in other matters. I invite you, therefore, to give thought to this and let me have your views on it.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## XI. THE PRESS

### 1. PTI and the Geneva Conference<sup>1</sup>

I am very anxious, as you know, to encourage and develop a national news agency. For the present, the only news agency that is big enough to be considered in this connection is the PTI. And yet, I must confess that the way the PTI works does not deserve commendation. The biggest thing that is happening in the world at the present moment is the Geneva Conference. Not only is this big in itself, with far-reaching consequences, but it is especially dealing with Asian problems. India is particularly interested in this and, from all accounts, India, though not in the Conference, is playing a very important part in the deliberations.

Normally we get news chiefly through Reuters or some American agencies. Both have their own special slant. If we get any news from or via Soviet or Chinese agencies, they have their own slant. It was of big importance that India should have competent newspaper men in Geneva.

I understand that there are at present 1,200 journalists from all over the world in Geneva. India is now represented practically by one person, Dr Shelvankar<sup>2</sup> of *The Hindu*....<sup>3</sup>

And so we have to rely almost completely at the biased news that other agencies send at a moment of the highest significance for the world and for India and when we should have made a special effort to be properly represented in Geneva.

This is bad enough, so far as our leading newspapers are concerned, but it is far worse for our leading news agency to behave in this manner. It indicates that they have no sense of proportion or news value or of the importance of events.

I do not wish to interfere with the PTI, but I think that the PTI or the Chairman<sup>4</sup> should be told what we think of this kind of behaviour.

1. Note to B.V. Keskar, Union Minister for Information and Broadcasting, 8 June 1954. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. K.S. Shelvankar (1905-1996); foreign correspondent of *The Hindu*; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 5, p. 180.
3. D.R. Mankekar of *The Times of India* and D.P. Wagle of the PTI who visited Geneva in connection with some other assignments were not allowed to cover the Geneva Conference by their head offices.
4. A.D. Mani was Director, Press Trust of India.



## 2. The Role of the Press<sup>1</sup>

Mr President,<sup>2</sup> Editors and friends,

I am grateful to you for inviting me today, for the third time, I think, to inaugurate this Conference. Most of you are not only concerned with but rather excited about the Press Commission's Report,<sup>3</sup> but I shall not say anything about it. It would not be proper for me to discuss that Report at this stage though it may be very proper for you to do so. And, secondly, if I may confidentially tell you, I have not read it yet. But the fact is that the Press Commission consisted of very eminent persons, the Chairman, one of the most eminent persons in India in this kind of work, and the others,<sup>4</sup> both from the press and public, men well known for their wide knowledge and experience. It was a strong Commission and any report coming from that Commission is bound to command respect.

Often in these conferences and in your resolutions you discuss, well, what is called the freedom of the press, and you take exception to any restrictions on it. You are perfectly justified in doing so, because the freedom of the Press is not only included in the various freedoms in our own Constitution but, if I may say so, is the basis for our outlook, political and other. But I often wonder what exactly is meant by freedom, either of the Press or anybody else. The more I have thought about it the more I have come to the conclusion that there is no such thing as abstract freedom. Freedom is always accompanied by responsibility, freedom always entails an obligation, whether it is a nation's freedom or an individual's freedom, or a group's freedom or freedom of the Press. Therefore whenever we consider the question of freedom we must think of the responsibility that goes with that freedom. If there is no obligation attached to it, then surely, whether it is a nation's freedom or any one else's, that freedom

1. Address to the 11th session of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, New Delhi, 13 August 1954. AIR tapes, NMML.
2. A.D. Mani, President, All India Newspaper Editors' Conference.
3. A preliminary summary of the important recommendations of the Press Commission, constituted on 3 October 1952, was published by the Government of India on 26 July 1954. The creation of an All India Press Council with the task of safeguarding the freedom of the Press, the formulation of a code of ethics for journalists, the appointment of a Press Registrar, the establishment of a State Trading Corporation to deal with the supply of newsprint, and minimum wages and long-term benefits for journalists were among its principal recommendations.
4. G.S. Rajadhyaksha was the chairman of the Press Commission. C.P. Ramaswami Iyer, Narendra Deva, Zakir Husain, V.K.R.V. Rao, P.H. Patwardhan, T.N. Singh, Jaipal Singh, J. Natarajan, A.R. Bhat and M. Chalapathi Rau were the other members of the Commission.

will wither away. That I think applies as much to the press as to any group, organisation or individual. So it is in this integrated way that I would like you and others to think of this question of freedom of the Press. After all, this question of freedom of the press or any other freedom is an expression of that viewpoint which may be called a broad tolerance of thought and expression. In a democratic set-up one is supposed to function with that broad tolerance of thought and expression. There are some limits and limitations, of course. And I think it is important that there should be that broad tolerance of thought and expression.

Then again I come up against this difficulty in my mind, that sometimes even the freedom of the Press might curb thought in its expression, might limit it, might rather terrorise the public to some extent, might regiment the public and prevent that tolerance for expression. All this may happen. So the situation becomes one which cannot be considered as some abstract formula but has to be looked at in all these various aspects.

Now, in our Constitution, which is an expression of that democratic urge which came to us, which has been with us all this time and functioned in the Constituent Assembly that framed that Constitution, we have said many things about fundamental rights, about directive principles of policy, about assuring freedom here and freedom there. We have thought of India as a whole, we have got our State, though I do not think we have used that word there, a secular State, giving equal opportunity to every group, whether it is a religious group or any other group, to every part of the country, every State, province, area. Nevertheless, you will agree with me that some parts of the press, at any rate, instead of stressing these aspects of our Constitution and our outlook, stress the disruptive aspects, the separatist aspects, whether it is provincial or whether it is called the linguistic aspect or whether it is a communal aspect based on religion or caste. I would beg of you to consider whether in doing so you are actively helping freedom of thought and expression. I want you to recognise and put before the public our great achievements in India. Sometimes you do it, sometimes you are too wrapped up perhaps in local problems.

Our friend, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, spoke of Delhi throwing out its ideas of light to the rest of India.<sup>5</sup> No doubt Delhi

5. Pointing out that this was the third time the Newspaper Editors' Conference was holding its annual session in Delhi, Ranbir Singh, Chief Editor of Urdu daily, *Milap*, and Chairman of the Reception Committee, said: "The task of building a great and prosperous India is being directed and guided from here, a task in which the newspapers of the country have to play as important and significant a role as they did in the struggle for freedom. It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that we should gather here again in order to seek inspiration and gather fresh strength in our onerous task of blazing the trail of a new India."



might do that to some extent but I think the time is coming when neither Delhi nor cities, great cities like Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, will have the monopoly of throwing out light. If you wish to find out what is happening in India it will not be enough for you to sit in the gallery of Parliament but you have to visit innumerable unknown villages of India. You have to visit the great works which are being constructed in various parts of India. You have to see this process of building up this great country, this very exciting process that is going on, and which I should have thought is much more important than any other arguments which we as politicians or you newspapermen are concerned with from day to day. It is a very exciting business that is going on; because we live in it we do not quite realise it, although occasionally, no doubt, talk about it and write about it. I should like you to pay more attention to that. I should like you, in fact, as the Chairman of the Reception Committee himself said, to be very important partners in this tremendous work that is being done in India, which is a very big work. And I think that not only our country but the world is beginning to recognise that because something very basic and fundamental is happening in India. And for the moment I am not talking about, well, the big river valley schemes and the big factories and the other big things that are being put up—they are big enough. But what I am referring to is something entirely new and that is the spirit of the people in the villages today. It is something entirely different from what it has been and it is something which I find enormously life-giving and strengthening whenever I go through villages. And, after all, if India changes, her villages also change and that process is taking place today and that is why there is strength and resilience in India today which it has not had for a considerable period past.

So I should like to draw your attention to that, and I should like you to become partners, as indeed you are, in all these processes, I should like you also to think of this business of freedom, of change, of progress, as an integrated process. We have talked and worked and laboured and suffered for the political freedom of India and achieved it. I think it is obvious that political freedom by itself is not enough. We talk of economic freedom, we talk of social freedom and all that, and in these words are included many things. I do not see how you can separate them. For me it is an integrated conception, political, social and economic, which cannot be separated, which should not be separated and which will be incomplete if it is cut up into bits. Most of you have grown up in talking about political freedom; you are used to that line of thinking in India or elsewhere. To some extent, of course, you are used to other lines of thinking also. Economic freedom, we talk about that too. I wish we talked more about it, but we talk about it often enough. But I feel that we do not talk or write as much about the social freedom as we ought to, because I do not think you will have either real political freedom or real economic freedom without real social

freedom. They, of course, overlap and they are interconnected with each other. The test of a country really going ahead, really undergoing some kind of a revolutionary change, is not some change at the top in the political apparatus but some change in the common people, some change in their relations with the Government, with each other, their own social relations and economic relations. That is the real test of a major change.

Now, while we may take pride, as we should, in our achievements and what is happening, I do feel that the pace of social change in India is too slow. The attitude towards women, for example. Our women are, and I say so without disrespect to anybody, among the finest in the world. And yet, by and large, women have not got their share in public life and other fields of life as they should. I have an idea that this is largely due to some kind of inferiority complex in the men, who are a little afraid of their women.

Think again, we talk about Harijans and the like. You all know that Mahatmaji gave great importance to this question. He made it almost his life-work more than any other. To him the freedom of India had no meaning unless it included the freedom of all those people who were sat upon and crushed for centuries. Well, we have enshrined the abolition of untouchability in our Constitution, in our laws, but the fact remains that when you go to any of our villages, that old vicious sentiment still prevails there. Even in regard to simple matters like drinking of water out of a well or something—they have to suffer hardships. That is a bad thing, an evil thing; it is a thing to be fought against today, without mercy, without compromise, and that is the sort of thing in which our newspapers and others can help tremendously by creating that background, public opinion and that continuous pressure.

Take again the question which is sometimes raised here, well, the question of religious minorities in India. We say our State is a secular State and the Government tends to function that way and, I think, with a very large measure of success. I think, by and large, our people are very tolerant but I am very surprised occasionally to see in some sections of our Press not only an absence of that idea of secularism but the existence of a narrow-mindedness, verging on extreme bigotry. I do not mind if a person is keen on what he thinks, but I do mind when his thinking becomes anti-somebody else and attacks that person. It becomes a dangerous thing then. It attacks the very foundations of our secular State. I see some petty incidents happening in Delhi or somewhere else made into a tremendous thing with huge headlines. It is an individual case, right or wrong, and passions of the people are roused. I may say so with all respect that that is a very primitive way of thinking. A mature people do not think that way or act in that way, whether they agree with the thing or do not agree with it. I am pointing this out not because these are matters of dispute amongst you or me but because I should like to emphasise certain aspects because they weaken our country, they prevent the bringing about of that real integration of



the Indian people which we seek. It is not enough to have a political unity. We must have something deeper than that—an emotional unity which does away with provincial barriers or caste barriers or communal or religious barriers. Only then can you talk about a real, unified India. And you come back again here to that broad, to that basic thing, that broad tolerance of thought and expression which you lay stress on in regard to the freedom of the press but which is even more important in our general relations between different groups, between different parts, etc.

We criticise and condemn what we call communalism because it is the very opposite of the conception of broad tolerance of unity of India, that emotional unity, integrated unity which we talk of, because it is separatist, because it disrupts India. But another phase of communalism is casteism. I think that we have not given that intensive thought to the removal of this scourge and curse that we should have done. We have taken it for granted and sometimes I fear we have been afraid of saying much lest we lose an election, lest this group or that caste-group may vote against us. Well, so far as I am concerned, I am prepared to lose every election in India but I am not prepared to give any quarter to communalism or casteism. Our fight would be relatively easy if our newspapers threw themselves into the fray in the right direction, on the right side. Indeed, it would be helpful if they kept away from the wrong side, which they do not. Perhaps it may be that they think that some kind of approach of that kind, some kind of sensational way of putting these things appeals to the people, to the public, and enhances their circulation and the like. Well, it may, of course; I am no judge of that but I am a judge of the Indian people and I claim to be a better judge than any editor in India. I know my people. I tell you why I know them better—because—it is rather a foolish way of saying things—because I am intensely in love with them, and because I approach them with affection and because they have been most generous, extravagantly generous in their affection for me and I have the highest opinion of the Indian people and I think it is degrading them by imagining that they require sensationalism all the time to tickle their palate, to excite their passions. Of course, none of us are angels, we have our faults, we have the evil side of us and the good side of us and you can lay stress on either side but I am quite sure that there is a very great deal of the good side in the Indian people and if we appeal to it and if we go to it we shall always get the right response, and if our newspapers kept this in view and appealed to that side and helped in this emotional and other integration of India, whether it is in different parts of India, whether it is in the religious frame or the caste frame, they would do a tremendous service. Let us not think of these things that separate or disrupt; let us think of the great things that we have to do together in India, that we are doing together in India. Let us think not only of our past common heritage, which belongs to each one of us, but of what we are building up, which will

also be a common heritage for all of us in India. That, I would submit to our friends, the editors, is not only a tremendous service that they could perform to the people but ultimately to themselves also.

By this I am not in any way suggesting that you should stop criticising governmental activities, governmental measures or what the politicians do. I do not wish in any sense, whether it is by legislation or any other, to come in the way of the widest criticism of, or if you like, condemnation of Government policy. I do not mind that. Of course, you will give me the freedom to reply in kind, and the reply in kind not merely in the chambers of Parliament but in the marketplace and in the field and with the common people. We should have criticism—that is essential—provided it is, if I may use the word, *bona fide* criticism, not merely sensationalism, not merely something that often, I regret to say, verges on vulgarity. In fact when people talk about restrictions of the Press I have not been of the opinion that there should ever be any restrictions on the widest expression of opinion. But I must confess to you I have often wondered whether this question of freedom implies all kinds of vulgar and obscene approaches in the Press. My idea of freedom does not include them. I am not going into the question of how one deals with that. But it does do a major harm because gradually it degrades public taste. Degradation of the public taste is terrible. We have to resist this. In this respect also, the newspapers can be of great service.

I wonder what are the dominating features of the age we live in. It is difficult to say—they are so many. But one is that people are not using the art of thinking. Many take other people's opinions for granted. They are content to be regimented. They are regimented, mind you, not only in the countries that are called authoritarian but in other countries also. They are not allowed to think and the person who does not fit in with the majority opinion, with the dominant opinion, has a very unfortunate time of it. Not many, therefore, go against it. In this matter, newspapers can perform a tremendous service, although newspapers too have become more and more, well, public digests than anything which enables people to think. I do not know how far it is possible to get out of that difficulty. But it is a dangerous thing when people think less and less, when people, instead of reading worthwhile books which make one think, are simply satisfied with magazines or even newspapers. Newspapers have their place but newspapers do not often help one to think. How many of you can remember what you read in the newspaper of a week ago? You will find that you have almost entirely forgotten it. It is not because it was of no interest. At the moment you are excited, you may talk about it; three or four days later you have forgotten it. Probably the man who wrote it has forgotten it too. This business of our getting out of the habit of serious thought is a very dangerous thing. I do not see any reason why I should not accept somebody else's thought. Of course, all of us cannot be creative artists or original thinkers but we can



accept their thoughts after thinking ourselves, not blindly. So I would like you to think of this major adventure of India that is taking place today. Criticise it hard whenever there is any weakness, whenever there are failings—push and criticise as hard as you like. But try to understand, try to appreciate that something magnificent and colossal is happening in India.

I find many of our friends—I am not talking of journalists—going to foreign countries to see what is happening there. I should like people to go out to widen their horizon, and to learn from what other countries have done. We have much to learn but sometimes it surprises me that people are not equally interested in making a tour of India and seeing what is happening in India. They will rather travel 10,000 miles to see what is happening elsewhere than 2,000 or 1,000 miles in India to see what remarkable changes are taking place here. I would suggest for your earnest consideration that you might think of what is happening in India today and, what is more, make other people in India think of what is happening outside their own narrow sphere in other parts so that we may have a sensation of not only achievement and fulfilment but a certain common purpose. Something that is happening down South in Madras is as exciting to me here and should be as exciting to a person in the Punjab as Bhakra-Nangal might be exciting to persons in Madras. It is a common heritage that we are building up.

Now, we have endeavoured in the past under Gandhiji's guidance and leadership to try to follow in our own very imperfect way certain principles that he laid down for us, certain basic thoughts and ideals that he impressed upon us. I fear we are all very imperfect vehicles for carrying his thought or message much farther. Nevertheless we were all powerfully influenced in the whole of India to a greater or lesser degree, for millions of Indians were powerfully affected by his thought. No doubt, we have forgotten it occasionally, yet it remained at the back of our mind. I am convinced that those basic things that he said and which enabled us to attain our freedom continue to be, and will remain, basic and most important for us, and if we forget them we shall do so at our peril. In a measure, we have tried to translate that policy, which was a national policy for us, into the international sphere. What we did in the international sphere was a definite result—it came out of our national policy of Gandhiji's days, as well as out of our international thinking of those days. Nothing very new has happened. It is only following that policy and that line of thought, naturally adapting it to changing circumstances. If we have been able in some measure to serve the cause of peace in the world, it is because we have done that. In the same way, to the extent that we succeed in India, I am convinced that it will be because we follow those basic things that Gandhiji taught us.

I spoke of adjusting those basic principles always to the needs of different circumstances. Take something that was very dear to Gandhiji, almost the whole

basis of his life, non-violence. I do not pretend to define non-violence as Gandhiji defined it. To him, non-violence was everything. It was truth and truth was everything. But, without going into the wider and almost metaphysical conception of non-violence, it does mean a certain approach to life's problems, a certain approach to political problems, to national, domestic, as well as international problems. I know that very often a person, who may be called a leader or a person who is in a position of governmental responsibility, has to face very difficult problems, and for him to talk of non-violence seems not right because he functions in some other way—obviously, because he feels that he cannot function in a different way, in a certain set of circumstances he has to face. I am not going into these fine matters. There is bound to be that conflict; in a democratic set-up more so. Conflicts do occur. Maybe a very powerful leader, whether he is a tyrant or a benevolent dictator, whatever he may be, might get away with it, but not the most powerful leader can ignore the public opinion in the mass. So there are these conflicts in a democratic set-up. But if the basic idea of non-violence is appreciated and understood, it should govern our national, international and, if I may say so, our internal relations.

When I talked about this larger tolerance, what is it? If you have a so-called non-violent approach, whether it is between different parts of India, different religious groups or different caste groups, immediately the position is different. It is a friendly approach. It is not an approach bringing about conflict. It is not an approach just of condemnation of the other. It is certainly not surrendering to the other side. So it was that non-violent approach of Mahatmaji which welded the unity of India. As a part of that non-violent approach, he spoke about communal unity; he spoke about the uplift of the "untouchables", and the Scheduled Castes and the Harijans as parts of an integrated whole. His conception was of a kind of cooperative commonwealth of India where people had equal opportunities and people behaved as civilised people should behave to one another. That is tolerance. Where there is lack of tolerance, it is a sign of lack of civilisation. If you are intolerant you are uncivilised to that extent. So, that non-violent approach of Mahatmaji was an integrated view of life which affected the political, the social and the economic sphere, which was based on this tolerance of each other, on cooperation with each other and not in submitting to evil, certainly, and in not submitting, suffering yourselves. I am not going deeper into this question of non-violence except to lay stress on the fact that in our relationships—whether it is between provincial, linguistic, religious groups or caste groups—that is the basic approach and there is no other. The other approach is of conflict and disruption. In the international plane—which is of course, much more difficult—it should be basically that same approach.

Here I am the Prime Minister of India. We keep an Army and a Navy and



an Air Force. They are not symbols of non-violence; they are symbols of violence. Of course, that Army and Navy and Air Force is very small compared to the great countries and their great fighting forces. We do not come in the picture at all. But when a conflict comes, I cannot do without them. There are many things I should like to do away with in the future when the world is different and my country is different. Nevertheless, in so far as I can, I try to prevent the development of a militarized or a militant mentality, although I want to maintain an efficient Army because if I did not, I fear, the consequences would be much worse. In international relations, we have constantly to deal with the strong, passionate urges of the people. How to deal with them? Here again newspapers can play a very important part. While they can and should express their views of what they consider right fearlessly, they should not excite people's passions whether against a nation, against a country or against a group. If they do so, they drift away from that non-violence approach which we should try to cherish.

I claim no great credit for what our Government has done in the international sphere. The only credit I claim is that we have consistently, deliberately and continuously tried to think in one way and tried to act in that way. Whether we have succeeded or not, I do not know. That is for you to judge. But we have never quite forgotten that basis of our thought though we have occasionally made mistakes. Naturally, we do not agree with many things that some other countries might do or might say but when we have to express our opinion, whether in the United Nations or elsewhere, we have expressed it. You will notice we have always avoided merely criticising or condemning any country as a Government. If we have to express our opinions we express them, of course, avoiding criticism of the other country, because we have found that this business of criticising other countries does not win them over at all; it alienates them. It makes it more difficult for them to understand us and for us to understand them. Of course, to remain quiet is also wrong; when an important matter is happening, we have to express our opinion. But my point is that, on the whole, our basic approach must be a non-violent mental approach and that will naturally be translated into right action.

Now, fortunately, we are at peace all over the world and the world is at peace today, as has been pointed out, such as it has not been for 30 or 100 years. Day before yesterday, when the ceasefire was proclaimed by bugle-call in Indo-China, for the moment peace between nations reigns in the world.

Meanwhile, in the last few days, in the last few weeks, there has been a good deal of excitement, or some in India, much more outside India, about this question of the foreign possessions in India. There are, as you know, two sets of foreign possessions, the French and the Portuguese. So far as the French are concerned, certain developments have taken place in the last few weeks. Certain

things have happened which I have regretted and many things, I have no doubt, have happened which the French Government have regretted—individual actions and others. But it has been our endeavour and, I believe, the French Government's endeavour to find a peaceful solution of that problem. We have a very difficult position in regard to these foreign possessions. Our policy in regard to them is very clear. We have said repeatedly that to us it is inconceivable that any foreign foothold like this, colonial foothold, should remain in any part of India. This has nothing to do with my Government or any other. No Government in India, no kind of thinking Indian, would tolerate it. I would not go into the reasons. But, during the last seven years, we have very deliberately checked our own people, restrained them, because we wanted to settle that problem peacefully. We knew that it was quite inevitable that these foreign possessions should be integrated and merged into India. We were prepared to hold ourselves in patience and so again and again we restrained people, not only our own people but even those over whom we had no direct influence or control, we advised them. And so seven or seven and a half years have passed. Then other circumstances happened and all these developments have taken place.

Now, in spite of certain regrettable happenings in the French possessions, there was, if I may say so, a large measure of civilised dealing on both sides. I will give you one instance, with which my Government was not concerned at all. We were not there. In one of the French enclaves, Mahe, the local people—the local municipal councillors and others—declared themselves in favour of merging with India as with the rest of the enclaves.<sup>6</sup> Well, when the change over there took place—mind you, we have not interfered in that—the changeover took place in an extraordinary way, probably in the whole of history, in such cases, that the then Administrator or whatever he was called there, the French Administrator, peacefully, quietly and in a friendly way, invited some of the popular leaders to take charge and then they all had a tea party.<sup>7</sup> Now, this is

6. The inhabitants of the enclave Cherukallai in Mahe declared their adherence to the Indian Union on 27 April 1954; on 8 May 1954, another enclave, Naluthara, was taken over by the Nationalists; and on 1 May and 30 June 1954, the ten municipal councillors of Mahe demanded immediate merger of the settlement with India without a referendum.
7. On 16 July 1954, the French Administrator, M. Deschamps, transferred the de facto control of the Settlement, at a farewell function in his honour, to I.K. Kumaran, President of the Mahajana Sabha and of the Joint Action Committee of the Liberation Movement.



what I call a civilised way of doing things and it shows a degree of civilisation on both sides which I wish would be more in evidence elsewhere in the world. Of course, these problems are difficult and intricate. In many ways, they are intricate in themselves and they are intricate because there are so-called parliaments, democratic assemblies, peoples and newspapers. At times they become very difficult. So they take a little time, but, as I said, we have waited for six and a half years because we did not wish to take a wrong step.

I feel assured in my mind that so far as the French settlements are concerned, we shall find fairly soon a satisfactory settlement and I only hope that the people residing there will avoid anything in the nature of an incident or anything that may embitter feelings. We want a friendly settlement leaving no trace of bitterness behind. We want those French settlements, even when they have merged into India, to be centres of French language and French culture.

Now, unfortunately, in the other part, that is, the Portuguese settlements, a different kind of development has taken place and in these small parts you will have noticed that some persons, calling themselves volunteers, have taken possession of a number of villages which are cut off from the rest.<sup>8</sup> As I said the other day, I was totally unaware about it till I read about it in Press telegrams.

Naturally, I know that people had been wanting to do that kind of thing for ever so long, but for us to be accused of organising that or of having supplied people with arms and the like or of stationing troops all over is just fantastic nonsense. From the military point of view, do you mean to say that the Indian Army cannot take possession of Goa in a trifle if it wants to? Of course, it can, in spite of such armed preparations that might be made. We just do not want to do that and we have not done it and we will not do it. It is quite absurd that in this little territory of Goa, there are a number of troops, chiefly African troops; poor Africans, they appear to be used as cannon fodder for other people. Now, a situation has arisen there which might lead to all kinds of complications. My chief apprehension is that some of our Portuguese friends on the other side have not quite caught up with the 20th century and it is very difficult to pull them out a hundred years or more. It is difficult to talk to them. For the last six or seven years, we have been wanting them to talk to us and they have been refusing. What better evidence can there be of our peaceful and friendly intentions than our repeated attempts to talk? We have

8. The village of Dadra was liberated on 22 July 1954; several villages in Nagar-Haveli were liberated on 29 July; and Selvassa was liberated on 3 August 1954.

sent them notes; they have refused even to accept them. That is the position and now large numbers of Goans—Goans, mind you, and not Indians—feel strongly about it. We have no right to prevent them from feeling that way or from giving expression to their feeling. It may be said that we should not encourage non-Goans from going to Goa; yes, under the circumstances I am prepared to accept that. I do not know what the developments there may be, but, normally speaking, I do not want non-Goans to go to Goa; I do not want any interference, military or civil, but I am not going to stop Goans from functioning. How can I? Even so far as they are concerned, even so far as anybody is concerned, I want them to remember our basic policy of non-violence. We have stressed that repeatedly and we go on stressing that, and that non-violence, you will appreciate, is not from any fear of our being defeated in violence there. There is no question of that but because we do believe that problems are not solved in that way. Even a military solution is not a real solution; it leaves a trail of bitterness and conflict and international ill will behind. We do not want to be in future unfriendly to Portugal. Why should we? Therefore we do not want conflict of that kind. I would appeal to the Press to deal with this matter so as not to encourage sensationalism or any attempt at violence because our advice to our people as well as to the Goans is to proceed peacefully and non-violently, even more so, because the other party is apparently inclined to violence and can think of nothing else. I have no doubt—and everybody must know—that there can be only one ultimate result in regard to Goa, and that is that Goa will have to merge with India. There is no question about this. Every sensible person in every part of the world realises that but the only difficulty is, as I said, there are some people thinking in terms of 100 or 200 or 400 years ago, not catching up to what has happened in India or in Asia.

I do want to emphasise to you gentlemen of the Press and others, that non-violence is not merely a negation or absence of physical violence. It is a way of thinking, a way of approach to problems. I am afraid many people who call themselves non-violent satyagrahis often are more violent than persons who take guns and shoot. That is not non-violence.

So, in our internal relations, in our communal relations, at the level of State, group or province, you must lay stress on this mental approach of non-violence, peaceful approach of integration, and condemn everything that is separatist. In our international relations also we should do that. Even though the other party often appears to be very irritating, we should continue with our non-violence. In this present little storm in the teapot, that is the Goa affair, we should also advise our people that they must remain not only non-violent but must not give cause for violence on the other side.

Well, I have talked to you about many things, some important, some perhaps unimportant. I thank you.



### 3. To B.V. Keskar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
September 22, 1954

My dear Balkrishna,

Your letter of September 22nd about pressmen going to China. The matter is still, I believe, in a very inchoate stage and we are awaiting the Chinese Government's response as to whether any pressmen can go. Nevertheless it would certainly have been desirable for External Affairs to consult you at all stages.

I might mention that when I went to Indonesia,<sup>2</sup> we had much trouble with the pressmen accompanying me. Some of them misbehaved very much, more especially in regard to women. It was bad enough when they do it when they go independently. It was much worse when this was done when I was there also.

It is particularly important that pressmen, if they go to China, should be very carefully selected from the point of view of behaviour. In China they are very strict about it and such behaviour will damage our cause greatly.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Nehru visited Indonesia from 6 to 17 June 1950.











1. To Balvantray Mehta<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 16, 1954

My dear Balvantray,<sup>2</sup>

I wrote to you the other day about the activities of P.L. Lakhanpal, who calls himself the Chairman of 'End the Kashmir Dispute Committee'.

He has now sent me another long letter.<sup>3</sup> I do not propose to answer and to enter into an argument with him. I am sending it to you to show how this man is behaving. What help he may be getting from other sources I do not know, but his entire attitude is in keeping with the American approach. In regard to other matters too, i.e., the World Democratic Peace Congress, it was suggested that he was receiving help from foreign sources.

I am sending this to you because Lakhanpal pretends to be a Congressman and exploits that fact.

This attempt to run down the Kashmir Government, by calling it Communist controlled,<sup>4</sup> is the American approach to the problem. The Praja Socialist Party is also adopting this line. As a matter of fact, there is less communism in Kashmir than in many other States in India and even the few Communists that are there do not function.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. General Secretary, AICC.

3. In a memorandum sent to Nehru, and which was also published in the *Dawn* of 7 August, Lakhanpal characterised the Kashmir dispute as a "major impediment" in the way of cooperative relations between India and Pakistan and the "solidarity and stability of Asia and world peace." He also said that the dispute constituted a "heavy drain on the resources of India."

4. Lakhanpal said in the memorandum that "in the name of defence and emergency, the present Communist controlled State Government has established a virtual police rule in the State."

## 2. A Talk with Farooq Abdullah<sup>1</sup>

Farooq Abdullah,<sup>2</sup> son of Shaikh Abdullah,<sup>3</sup> came to see me this evening and I had a talk with him. He began by thanking me on behalf of his mother<sup>4</sup> for our having arranged to have Shaikh Sahib examined by Colonel Chopra<sup>5</sup> and for Colonel Chopra paying a visit to his mother in this connection.

2. He spoke about his father and said that, if his father had committed any error, he should be told what this was so that he could remove any misunderstanding. Anyone can commit a mistake and it was possible that his father had done so. Possibly, there was misunderstanding. In any event, it is desirable that there should be a frank talk so as to remove any misunderstanding. He suggested that some responsible person might pay a visit to his father in prison and have a frank talk with him. Shri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai's name was suggested for this purpose. Farooq also suggested that Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed<sup>6</sup> might be present then. He pointed out that this could be done without much fuss. Someone could visit Kashmir by road and stop on the way to see Shaikh Abdullah.

3. He then said that Shaikh Abdullah naturally brooded over these past events, as a person in prison always looks back to the time of his arrest. This was the main occupation of his mind. He was unhappy that, after twenty years of friendship with him, I should have dropped him in this way. It was due to him that I should point out his errors, whatever they were, and discuss them with him.

4. It was absurd, he said, that anyone should think that Shaikh Abdullah was in favour of Kashmir going to Pakistan. Anyone knowing the present state of Pakistan could not possibly suggest this.

1. Note to Vishnu Sahay, Secretary, Kashmir Affairs, Government of India, 17 August 1954. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. (b. 1937); Member of Parliament, 1979-82; Chief Minister, Jammu and Kashmir, 1982-84, 1986-90 and since October 1996; President, Jammu and Kashmir National Conference.
3. Shaikh Mohammed Abdullah (1905-1982); Prime Minister, Jammu and Kashmir State, 1947-53; he was arrested on 9 August 1953, and was under detention at this time; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 7, p. 308, and *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 23, pp. 309-316.
4. Akbar Jahan (Begum Abdullah).
5. Ram Nath Chopra; Director of Health Services, Jammu and Kashmir Government; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 11, p. 395.
6. (1919-1971); Prime Minister, Jammu and Kashmir State, 1953-63; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 9, p. 440.



5. Farooq referred to stories about his (Farooq) shouting slogans in favour of Pakistan. He said this was completely untrue....

11. He told me that conditions in Kashmir were very bad although superficially they might not be seen. There was great bitterness. The reports of deaths owing to police action in August last year as put out by the Jammu and Kashmir State Government were completely wrong. He himself had seen at one place 30 persons being shot down. This was stated as three by me in Parliament here.<sup>7</sup>

12. I spoke briefly to Farooq and told him that it had always been a matter of distress to me that Shaikh Sahib was imprisoned. Even so, my respect for him did not diminish. But, sometimes, circumstances were such that a person got entangled in them and it was not easy to extricate him. Kashmir was important enough in itself, but had become an international problem, and a false move might have far-reaching consequences. In present circumstances, the Government of India could either support the Jammu and Kashmir Government or not support it. We decided to support it for obvious reasons. We could advise them, of course, in any matter, but the responsibility and discretion rested with them about all such matters.

13. I said nothing to him about his suggestion that someone should go and visit Shaikh Sahib.

14. I think that every effort should be made to put an end to any petty harassments that Shaikh Sahib's family might suffer from. It would be desirable to issue specific instructions to this effect. It is unbecoming for these petty pinpricks to take place, and politically it is unwise. As I told you, the Kashmir Government should repeat its offer of an allowance to Begum Abdullah. The services of their doctors should also be placed at her family's disposal.

15. There should be no difficulty and no delay in the family having interviews with Shaikh Sahib, and I see no objection to the wife or the son staying with Shaikh Sahib for some days at a time.

16. I had no valid answer for Farooq to his suggestion that someone should see Shaikh Sahib and have a discussion with him. I think that this is a legitimate demand. I do not know how long we can go on even refusing such a suggestion. Some time or other responsible people should see him. I have suggested this to Bakshi Sahib many months ago, and indeed said that it would be a good thing if he himself saw Shaikh Abdullah. He might do that casually on his way to Jammu or back. This might perhaps not be liked by some of his colleagues, but I have no doubt it would have a good effect generally. The point is that more and more normality should be brought into this business.

7. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 23, p. 316.

17. I think that some time later, some responsible person from here might also visit Shaikh Sahib. But that visit ought to take place after Bakshi Sahib himself has been there.

18. The suggestion that was made to me today about Shaikh Abdullah being released in some other part of India is worth considering. This may not take place immediately, but one can work gradually towards it....

### 3. To Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 22, 1954

My dear Bakshi,

...I am anxious that developmental work should proceed fast in Kashmir. I have a feeling that the pace has been slow thus far. I hope you will push it ahead, and, if we can help in any way, we shall try to do so.

In particular, I am interested in the Banihal Tunnel and the scheme for the prevention of floods, etc., in the Kashmir valley. Both should be expedited to the utmost. The Tunnel perhaps must take some time, but the valley flood protection works can certainly be hastened up very greatly. It all depends upon the number of persons employed and their proper organisation. Uppal, whom I saw about a month ago, told me that this would take about 2½ years. I said, "Nonsense, why don't you do it in 2½ months". He was a little taken aback, but he replied that it could certainly be done in a much shorter time than provided for if there were enough workers available. I asked him if winter would come in the way. He said, "No, not much, at the most for about ten or twelve days."

I am quite sure that this flood protection work can be pushed through with great rapidity and between two seasons. A little bit of it may remain over, but the main part of the flood diversion can certainly be built if enough people set about it. I do hope that you will look upon it from this point of view. This rapid work would create a tremendous feeling of achievement in the whole valley. It is more important than almost any other step that you can take. It will mean no doubt more money to be spent in a limited period of time. But that obviously is worth while. Ultimately, it will cost less, and good results will flow immediately from a practical point of view. From a psychological point of view, the gain would be tremendous.

1. JN Collection. Extracts.



Vishnu Sahay<sup>2</sup> will be going to Kashmir soon. I have had some talks with him about which he will no doubt speak to you. I have, however, had longer and fuller talks with D.P. Dhar.<sup>3</sup> I am seeing him again tomorrow. He will tell you all about these talks. I feel that we must take a longer view and prepare for the future. We cannot forget that circumstances do not always fit in with our wishes. Things happen, and we have to be prepared for them and even to take steps before they happen.

Farooq Abdullah saw me about a week ago. He made the usual complaints about his father and his family. But the main thing he said was his father would like someone to visit him. I did not say anything definite to this except that some time or other of course people visit him and that of course, he cannot be kept indefinitely in prison. Some time circumstances happen which compel certain action....

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. (1901-1989); Secretary for Kashmir Affairs, 1949-51 and 1953-57; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 11, p. 142.
3. (1918-1975); Deputy Home Minister, Jammu and Kashmir State, 1948-57; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 14, Pt. II, p. 153.

#### 4. To Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
7th September, 1954

My dear Bakshi,

I returned yesterday evening from my tour of the flood affected areas. Among my papers I found a letter from Norman Cliff,<sup>2</sup> the Correspondent of some English papers in India for many years. Probably you know him. He has been a friendly Correspondent and has often helped us.

I enclose a copy of his letter to me. You will see that he is going to Kashmir on Thursday, that means day after tomorrow, and he wants to have an

1. JN Collection.

2. (1894-1977); British journalist; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 4, p. 499. In his letter of 5 September to Nehru, Cliff wrote that in view of his past associations with Kashmir he should be allowed "to see Shaikh Abdullah—not as a journalist, but as a friend, under any conditions that the Government might wish to impose."

interview with Shaikh Abdullah. He will, no doubt, approach you directly for it.

Sadiq<sup>3</sup> was here this afternoon and I showed this letter to him and spoke to him about it.

It is true that this is a novel request and few journalists have been allowed to go to Shaikh Saheb. To refuse it, however, might well have somewhat harmful consequences.<sup>4</sup> You will notice that he refers to his visit to Goa. It will not be a very good thing if he says that Kashmir is under a worse dictatorship than Goa.

He says he wants to see Shaikh Saheb as a friend and under any conditions that the Government might wish to impose. This seems to me that he does not want to write about his interview and, in any event, if he is allowed to have this interview, he can be told quite clearly that he must not write or say anything about it.

On the whole, I think it would be advisable to allow him to see Shaikh Saheb. In any event, not to do so might have harmful results.

So far as I am concerned, I am merely having you informed and this matter, no doubt, will be dealt with by you.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq (1912-1971); Health and Education Minister of Kashmir. 1953-57; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 2, p. 271.
4. Replying on 22 September, Bakshi said that though it would be a good gesture to permit Cliff to interview Shaikh Abdullah, it might create a precedent and would lead to many such demands from foreign and local papers. To this Nehru replied on the same day: "I think you are right in saying that if Norman Cliff is given permission to see Shaikh Saheb, the other newspapermen from India might complain. It is for you to judge about the right person and the right time."

## 5. To Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
September 21, 1954

My dear Bakshi,

I have read in the *Pakistan Times* a report<sup>2</sup> (said to be from Srinagar) that there

1. JN Collection.
2. On 17 September 1954 the *Pakistan Times* had reported: "Panic is gripping the Muslim population of Kishtwar, Bhadarwah, Doda, Wamban and areas around the Province of Jammu as the free and lavish distribution of firearms among the non-Muslim communal elements continues in what appears to be a strange and sinister manner."



has been a free and lavish distribution of firearms among the non-Muslim communal elements in Jammu, presumably by the Praja Parishad there, and that this has created some panic in those areas among the Muslims.

It is also stated that Prem Nath Dogra<sup>3</sup> has been attacking you in very offensive language.<sup>4</sup>

I do not know how far this is true and probably it is grossly exaggerated. But even such a rumour will no doubt have a bad effect and must be countered. If Prem Nath Dogra and his people are out for mischief, they should certainly be dealt with with vigour. Prem Nath Dogra saw me about a month ago on his way back to Kashmir from Indore or some such place. I told him I thoroughly disapproved of the Parishad's activities. He assured me that wrong reports had reached me and that they realised that they must support the Bakshi Government fully.

I hope you are keeping well.

Yours sincerely  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. (1882-1972); President, Praja Parishad; also see *Selected Works* (second series). Vol. 16. Pt. I, p. 374.
4. Prem Nath Dogra was reported to have said in an address at Bhadarwah that Shaikh Abdullah was comfortably placed in Kud jail, but when "we get our hands on Bakshi we shall rot him in Gajpat Fort (a rock jail on a hill top in Doda in which once dacoits and murderers were kept.)"

## 6. To Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
September 22, 1954

My dear Bakshi,

Dr Katju met me today and he has given me an account of his talks with you. He mentioned that there was a rumour in Kashmir about Shaikh Abdullah's imminent release<sup>2</sup> and that this had created a great deal of excitement.

I have no doubt that this rumour must have been spread by Shaikh Saheb's sons and possibly by some of your Kashmir Members of Parliament here. Mridula Sarabhai of course has been associated with them closely and has

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. Shaikh Abdullah was eventually released in January 1958.

done a good deal of harm.<sup>3</sup> Although she comes to my house often, usually when I am having dinner, for the last year I have not spoken to her about any public matter. There has never been any mention of Kashmir. Sometimes she has sent me copies of letters and papers which she has issued. On the last occasion she did so, I was very much irritated and returned them to her and told her that she was doing a good deal of harm and I wanted no such papers from her in future. I have not met or talked to Maulana Masoodi<sup>4</sup> or the other Kashmir Members here for nearly a year....

To Farooq or Tariq<sup>5</sup> I have said nothing about Shaikh Saheb's release except that some time or other of course he would be released. Farooq had talked about somebody going there to see his father. I mentioned this to D.P. Dhar and Sadiq and suggested that it would be a good thing that someone in your behalf should see Shaikh Saheb. I did not want anyone from here to go to see him.

What I pointed out to both Sadiq and D.P. Dhar was that it was becoming increasingly difficult to justify publicly Shaikh Saheb's long detention. Every argument that we had put forward about Badshah Khan's<sup>6</sup> detention in Pakistan was hurled at us. In foreign countries too, we find it difficult to answer the questions put to us. Nevertheless, I realised the difficulties of the situation and therefore I suggested that we must think this out carefully and gradually prepare for it. The first step in preparation seemed to me for someone to see him.

In this matter, my attitude throughout to individuals or to the public has been that this is for the Kashmir Government to decide, as they have to shoulder the responsibilities for affairs in Kashmir. Privately I have hardly spoken to anybody here except to intimate colleagues like Maulana Saheb, Dr Katju or Rafi Ahmed Kidwai and all I have said is that we may be taken unawares by some development of the situation in the UN or elsewhere and we should, therefore, not ignore these factors and be prepared. I realise fully the difficulty of the situation and ultimately have to rely on your judgment.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. On 10 September, Mridula Sarabhai, said in a press statement that she had got an authentic copy of the political detainees of the Jammu and Kashmir State sent to the Chief Secretary of the State. The letter, signed by persons detained since 9 August 1953, excepting Shaikh Abdullah and Mirza Afzal Beg, had alleged that they had not been given an opportunity "to explain or represent their case to any competent authority" and their long detention had "deprived our dependents of their sources of livelihood and subjected them to unmerited hardship."
4. Mohammed Saeed Masoodi (1905-1990); also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 18, p. 397.
5. Tariq Abdullah (b. 1937); second son of S.M. Abdullah; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 25, p. 315.
6. Khān Abdul Ghaffar Khan (1890-1988); detained by the Pakistan Government for demanding Pakhtoonistan, 1947-55; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 4, p. 293.



## EXTERNAL AFFAIRS





## I. FOREIGN POLICY

### (i) General

#### 1. The Virtue of India's Policy<sup>1</sup>

I have read the article by Nirad C. Chaudhuri<sup>2</sup> in the *Sunday Statesman* of June 20th. If Nirad Chaudhuri has a reputation of being an Indian Liddel Hart,<sup>3</sup> he has written nothing to deserve it. I happen to have met Liddel Hart and to have read some of his books. His thinking was completely different.

2. It is rather difficult to deal with Nirad Chaudhuri's article.<sup>4</sup> It is based on certain assumptions which I think have no meaning today or rather which are completely overshadowed by other facts. He says that our thinking is very parochial and is completely unreal because it is isolated from the world setting. That appears to me to be an example of the very thing he warns us against. It is because we are thinking much more of the world setting than of some local application of it that we adopt the policy we have done.

3. Nirad Chaudhuri's analysis of the situation might well have been written by someone in the Pentagon in Washington. It is almost an exact reproduction of the American army mind. There is not much originality about it.

4. The first thing to remember is the fact that is widely recognised today. This is that American thinking, and especially Pentagon thinking, has been so often wrong in the past that it has landed America and, to some extent, the Western countries, into a hopeless impasse out of which there is no easy escape. In fact, that thinking ignored almost every other factor except that of war.

1. A critique of Nirad C. Chaudhuri's article entitled, "Is American Aid to Pakistan a Danger to India?", sent to Anil Kumar Chanda, Deputy Minister for External Affairs, 23 June 1954. JN Collection.
2. (1897-1999); Indian writer; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 6, p. 51.
3. Basil Henry Liddel Hart (1895-1970); English author and military strategist; military correspondent, the *Daily Telegraph*, 1925-35, and the *Times*, 1935-39; adviser to British War Minister, 1937-38; among his numerous books are: *A History of the World War, 1914-1918* (1934); *The German Generals Talk* (1948), *Memoirs* (1965) and *A History of the Second World War* (1970).
4. Nirad Chaudhuri wrote that the Soviet bloc countries might make an expansive movement towards South Asia and, in such an eventuality, the West would be mainly concerned with denying it to their opponents. He argued that US military aid to Pakistan was meant for countering Soviet pressures and would not be permitted to be used against India. Chaudhuri added, "By isolating the issue of war and peace between India and Pakistan from its world setting we have taken it to a plane of complete unreality."

Short of big-scale war, therefore, American policy has been almost invariably in the wrong, whether in Europe or Korea or Indo-China.

5. In Europe the grand alliance of the Western Powers often threatens to break up though it is strong enough just to hold together at present. The rifts between the UK and the USA become increasingly obvious; even more so between the USA and France. The conception of a European Defence Force remains a conception and there is very little chance of France agreeing to it.<sup>5</sup>

6. In Korea, the three years' war has not brought a solution and there is a stalemate which is largely in favour of the Chinese and the North Koreans. It is recognised that short of war on a big scale, South Korea will fall into the lap of Communists. That is, even apart from military considerations, feeling in South Korea tends that way and an open election will probably have that result. From the military point of view, America is weak in South Korea and cannot do much more than it has done in the past, probably not even that.

7. In Indo-China, there has been a collapse of the French military and political power, in spite of abundant help in the shape of supplies being given to Vietnam. Everybody recognises that ninety-five per cent of the people of Vietnam, if given the chance, will support the Vietminh. Thus, both politically and militarily, France and America are in a pretty hopeless position in Indo-China.

8. The only alternatives, therefore, are large-scale world war or some kind of a settlement which can only be based on the realities of the situation. Faced by this very uncomfortable dilemma, American policy thinks of war, that is, world war. That too is not easy on this issue because America's allies, the UK and, more, especially, France, will not like that prospect. And so, in a mood of utter frustration, Americans think of letting Indo-China go to the devil and drawing up their line of defence elsewhere, again thinking of a big war, if not now, a little later.

9. Meanwhile this big war becomes more and more an uncertain proposition. It is likely to be governed very much by atomic and hydrogen bombs. No one quite knows what the result of this will be. But it is clear that America and her allies would not have it all their way. In fact, a fear is growing in the United States that Russia has already caught up, and may go ahead, in regard to nuclear weapons.

10. The result of all this has been the development of a complete mood of frustration in America. They have based their policy in the past on ignoring realities, such as the People's Republic of China, the changes in Asia generally, the powerful anti-colonial urges of the Asian people, etc.

5. Three reports recommending rejection of the Treaty of the European Defence Community had been adopted in the French Parliament during June 1954—one each by the Foreign Affairs Committee and the Defence Committee of the National Assembly and one by the Defence Committee of the Assembly of the French Union.



11. India's policy has been primarily to throw her weight in favour of peace and in the avoidance of world war. Naturally, India cannot do much in this respect, but when the scales are balanced, even a little makes a difference. We proceed on the assumption that a world war is, in any event, a terrible disaster, out of which nothing good will emerge, and which will anyhow put an end to all our plans for progress in our country and in Asia. The virtue of India's policy was never so well demonstrated as in the Geneva Conference recently.<sup>6</sup> That, of course, was the culmination. Before that came the Colombo Conference<sup>7</sup> and our statements in Parliament,<sup>8</sup> etc., in regard to Indo-China. Because India has functioned as a neutral, anxious for peace, her influence has been great on both sides. I think it might be said that recent decisions in Geneva, which are likely to result in a cease-fire in the Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, have been much influenced by India. In other words a world war has been averted, partly at least, because of India's policy and her influence, which has little to do with her military strength. We need not shout about this, but the fact remains that India has played a very important role in this matter.<sup>9</sup>

12. If India had been aligned with any of these blocs, she could not have played that role and, indeed, world war would have become inevitable. The fact that Pakistan has joined the American bloc brings us a step towards this world war. Fortunately, Pakistan does not count for much.

13. Nirad Chaudhuri talks about the great sea power of the West and the great land power of the Soviets and makes out that we are quite helpless between these two. That inference is completely unjustified and ignores far more important factors. All the sea power and air power of the West did not help too much in Korea and Indo-China. It is quite inconceivable that that sea power and air power plus expeditionary force can even think of conquering India. I need not go into this argument because it is patent.

14. It is equally obvious that the Soviet Power, however great it might be, cannot think in terms of coming down to India partly because of the tremendous difficulties due to the mountain ranges, etc., and partly because, in case of war, the real arenas of conflict will be elsewhere. Neither the Soviet group nor the Western group can afford to fritter their strength in India when they have to fight a life and death struggle elsewhere.

6. See *post*, pp. 344-364.

7. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 25, pp. 423-436.

8. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 25, pp. 437 and 439-444.

9. Nirad Chaudhuri wrote, "The danger of war is far greater in neutrality than in a clear and prompt alignment with one bloc or the other. In the first state, we shall tempt the potential aggressor by our weakness, in the second, discourage him by at least a modicum of strength." He felt that India's involvement in the rivalry between the two camps was inevitable.

15. The real basic approach is this: Do we seek peace or do we think world war inevitable? If we seek peace, then we must not take any step which endangers it. Nirad Chaudhuri's mind, first of all, is out of date and has little conception of modern weapons even. Secondly, he is politically even more out of date and, thirdly, it is so out of tune with the vast revolutions and urges of Asia and he can only think in the most limited way.

16. I have written at some length because I wanted to clear up some misconceptions. There are many other things in Nirad Chaudhuri's article which deserve a reply. The real reply, of course, is the manifest success of the policy we have been pursuing—a success which is recognised almost everywhere, except partly in the United States.

## 2. Preventing War: the Basic Aim<sup>1</sup>

William H. Attwood:<sup>2</sup> Many Americans feel that you are pro-Communist. How would you answer this criticism?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, first of all, I don't think of myself as being pro or anti anything. But this sort of question strikes me as an example of thinking in clichés. I would answer it with another question—what do you mean by Communist? As I see it communism can mean three different things: an economic doctrine, a political technique or the policies of nations that have more or less adopted the doctrine and the technique. Now, the Communist economic doctrine is not so different from the Socialist. Yet Socialists vigorously oppose Communists because they disagree on techniques—on the means to be employed. Or take the conflict which divides the world today. I don't agree that it is essentially ideological. I regard it rather as a power conflict in which communism is used as a tool by one side and as a target by the other. In any

1. Record of interview with William H. Attwood, Correspondent of *Look*, New Delhi, 31 August 1954. JN Collection. Extracts. The interview was published in *Look*, 2 November 1954.
2. (1919-1989); was in succession foreign correspondent and editor of *Look*, 1951-60; US Ambassador to Guinea, 1961-63, and Kenya, 1964-66; editor-in-chief, Cowles Communications, publisher of *Look* and other magazines, 1966-69; president and publisher of New York daily, *Newsday*, 1970-78; author of *The Reds and the Blacks: A Personal Adventure*, 1967, *Making It Through Middle Age: Notes While in Transit* (autobiography), 1982, and *The Twilight Struggle: Tales of the Cold War*, 1987.



case, however you define the word, the people who feel I am "pro-Communist" are quite wrong.

Q: You said you don't like to be pro or anti anything. This seems to be a reflection of India's policy of not taking sides in the cold war. Do you feel this policy is helping promote peace in Asia?

JN: Yes—or I wouldn't endorse it. The basic aim of any policy today should be to prevent war, for war would be disastrous beyond measure. It would not lead to the attainment of any objective, for we have reached a stage where war—even for the victor—holds no advantages. Neither side can foretell the consequences.

I can say this about our policy: if war comes it will be in spite of India.

Avoiding war, of course, does not mean surrender to evil. We should all be vigilant and prepared for the worst. But we should also resist any steps that may lead to war. I realize that it is easy for people to use the words "Munich" and "appeasement" in criticizing India's policy of non-involvement. During the Munich crisis I happened to be in England and in the heart of it emotionally. I was very much opposed to the Chamberlain policy because it seemed obvious Hitler could not be stopped that way. But conditions are different today. Among other things, war has become an outrageous proposition in the nuclear age.

Q: Do you think this fact—that war has become an outrageous proposition—is appreciated on both sides of the iron curtain?

JN: I do—yes....

Q: Do you see any alternative to SEATO<sup>3</sup> that would discourage further Communist aggression?

JN: Why must we have anything as an alternative? Naturally we want to prevent aggression but we mustn't get bogged down in slogans with an emotional appeal. Theoretical arguments about the ideal way to prevent aggression will get us nowhere. I remember that before Independence we formed a committee<sup>4</sup> to

3. South-East Asia Treaty Organisation, providing for the security of South-East Asia and South-West Pacific, was set up at an eight-power conference held at Manila from 6 to 8 September 1954. The SEATO treaty was signed by Australia, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, the UK and the US.

4. The reference is to the National Planning Committee set up by the Congress Party in 1938. See *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 9, pp. 365-402.

plan the future government of India. It included financiers, engineers, trade union leaders, agricultural experts, Socialists — even Communists. Well, our first meeting almost broke up over theoretical questions. Each group had its own plan for India. Finally I asked them to concentrate on concrete matters — on food production, housing, education, health services. I suggested we forget our differences and our theories and simply figure out how we could do what had to be done in a given time. This approach brought agreement.

Now this may not be a solution to the South-East Asia situation but it can be helpful. The thing we want is an end to armed aggression. Is SEATO the ideal way of achieving this goal in a world where circumstances keep changing? Or will it make it harder for you to sit down with the other side and work out your differences? There are no easy yes-and-no answers to the problem. It is not like a high school debate where issues can be decided by the best oratory.

Q: Why do you feel the United States should recognize Communist China?

JN: The real question is — why should America not recognize China? Apart from liking or not liking its present government, how can you ignore its existence? Your anxiety about the future course of events in Asia does not justify your refusal to face facts today. In fact, not recognizing China may well aggravate your problems in Asia, for it makes communication almost impossible.

Q: But isn't there a moral issue involved? Recognizing China means admitting China to the United Nations. And how can you justify granting UN membership to a government that attacked UN forces in Korea?

JN: Recognition naturally implies admitting China to the United Nations. Otherwise the Chinese will feel they are outside the world community and therefore not bound by its rules.

As to the Korean argument, I don't know all the facts and would hesitate to give a simple moral answer. But I can say this much — that the Chinese had a very real fear of being attacked through Korea. When General MacArthur<sup>5</sup> moved north from the 38th parallel and Syngman Rhee<sup>6</sup> spoke of hitting

5. Douglas MacArthur (1880-1964): Commander of UN forces in Korea, 1950-51; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 7, p. 253.

6. (1875-1965): President of the Republic of Korea (South Korea), 1948-60; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 12, p. 391.



Manchuria this fear became a certainty. They reacted as you Americans might react to a Communist army approaching the Rio Grande.

Q: After your talks with Chou En-lai<sup>7</sup> this summer do you believe that his government now sincerely wants peace and doesn't intend to impose communism on neighbouring countries?

JN: Yes, I had that impression. I am convinced that this generation of Chinese statesmen, at least, regards war as undesirable. Their country is still backward and primitive in many respects and they are passionately concerned with improving conditions at home. Even from a purely opportunist point of view, war would interrupt their work. Had they wanted war the Chinese already had an adequate excuse to invade Burma and attack the Chinese nationalists based there. But they never did.

The only thing which might provoke the Chinese is fear of being attacked themselves. That is why the Indo-China settlement will eliminate a dangerous situation and lessen fear. If all goes well, neither side will be able to use Indo-China as a springboard for aggression elsewhere. It must become a kind of buffer area . . . .

Q: Chou En-lai also said recently that China has a right to take Formosa by force.<sup>8</sup> Do you agree?

JN: I do not want anything to happen which might lead to a war — therefore I do not agree. But we should remember, first, that everyone agreed after the last war that Formosa was Chinese territory, and second, that Chiang Kai-shek<sup>9</sup> is continually threatening to invade China himself.

I don't know Chou En-lai's plans but I rather suspect he was talking for domestic consumption. All politicians do sometimes. I do myself.

Q: If the Chinese Communists did attack Formosa would you approve United Nations or United States action to repel the invasion?

7. (1898-1976): Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of China, 1949-76: also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 15, Pt. I, p. 118. For Nehru's talks with Chou En-lai held in Delhi in June 1954, see *post.* pp. 366-396 and 398-406.
8. In a foreign policy report presented to his Government on 11 August 1954, Chou En-lai called for "determined action" to "liberate" Taiwan and declared that any attempt by "foreign aggressors" to prevent the liberation of the island would constitute "an infringement of China's sovereignty and an interference in her internal affairs."
9. (1887-1975): President of the Republic of China in Taiwan, 1950-75: also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 10, p. 74.

JN: Well, if fighting breaks out, the situation changes and of course you take whatever action is necessary under the Charter to stop it. But again I want to emphasize that both Chiang and Rhee are continuing threats from the Chinese point of view, and we must ask how long China will allow itself to be threatened without reacting.

What I would like to see is an attempt to solve the Formosa problem without warfare. The present state of affairs is fraught with danger.

Q: The Chinese give you the impression of not wanting to meddle in the internal affairs of their neighbours. Yet in July, two Communist exiles, K.I. Singh<sup>10</sup> of Nepal and Pridi Phanomyong<sup>11</sup> of Siam, were feted in Peking and hailed as "public leaders" of their countries. What is your explanation of their sudden popularity with the Chinese?

JN: It is odd, I agree. I don't have an explanation, but I will say that K.I. Singh is no Communist, just a freebooter who tried to seize power and failed....

Q: This year India will receive about eighty million dollars in economic aid from the United States. Would you welcome more American aid?

JN: American aid has been very helpful, particularly in developing Community Projects in our villages and in teaching our peasants the skills they need to produce more and live better. But we are anxious not to weaken the urge to work in India. We don't want to rely on outside help to the extent that people here feel that others will do their work for them.

Now we are training doctors, engineers, agronomists and experts of all kinds to work in teams of four or five per unit of ten to hundred villages. We have staffed fifty thousand villages already and in seven years we hope to include all six hundred thousand villages in India in the scheme. Here is where American aid and advice have given us the push we needed. But now, so far as we can, we should do the rest ourselves.

Q: Does India want capital investment from the West and if so, what guarantees would investors have against nationalisation or expropriation?

10. (1906-1982); arrested in 1951 for indulging, along with his followers, in violent activities in Nepal; escaped to China where he took political asylum, 1952-55; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 15, Pt II, p. 402.

11. The Thai Premier, Pridi Phanomyong, after being ousted in a military coup in 1947, was granted asylum in China.



JN: Naturally we welcome investment from other countries. As for guarantees, the State would always give full compensation for any property expropriated. But these details are usually worked out in special agreements between the Government and the companies concerned. Standard Oil recently made such an agreement with us covering a twenty-year period.

Q: Is communism a major problem in India?

JN: I wouldn't call it a major problem. Of course, we have a hard core of dedicated party workers, but most people who call themselves Communists are just against the Government for one reason or another. A few trade unions are Communist controlled but on the whole their strength is declining. They have barely thirty seats out of 500 in Parliament and this participation in the business of Government has toned down their activities in the country.

The Communists could only be a threat in India if we relaxed our efforts and did not work to improve social and economic conditions. And we are not relaxing....

Q: One thing that bothers Americans about India is that you are so ready to suspect us of ulterior motives. You seem to be more concerned about Western colonialism than about Soviet imperialism. For example, American arms shipments to Pakistan caused much more alarm in India than the building of Communist airfields in neighbouring Tibet. Why is that?

JN: Yes, you are right to some extent. Asians are inclined to be suspicious of American policy.

But you mentioned the airfields in Tibet. Now, they don't frighten us at all. Practically speaking, I cannot conceive of an attack on India across the Himalayas from Tibet. Those airfields are being built because there are hardly any other communications in the country. We do the same in the more inaccessible parts of India. I realise that communism is expansionist but they only go where they can go easily. Steps must be taken to prevent their creeping in elsewhere, but Tibet is not a problem.

You also mentioned American arms for Pakistan. Well, we all know that America would not support an attack on India by Pakistan—in fact Americans would be a restraining influence. But when we see the political turmoil in Pakistan and read their papers calling for an invasion of India, well, we can't help feel a twinge of alarm that American weapons should be put in their hands. But you asked for the basis of Asia's undue suspicion of American actions. Perhaps it is because you have become identified with colonialism by backing the French in Indo-China and with reaction by supporting discredited

and unpopular figures like Chiang and Rhee and Bao Dai.<sup>12</sup> You might call it guilt by association.

Q: Speaking of Pakistan, a recent article in the *London Times* stated that even now India is not reconciled to the existence of Pakistan.<sup>13</sup> Is this true?

JN: That statement is utterly without foundation. We did not favour Partition at the time of Independence, but nothing would alarm us more today than the prospect of absorbing Pakistan into our economy. It would pose terrible social and economic problems. Eventually, we hope for closer cooperation between the two countries. But Partition cannot be undone.

Q: What about your dispute with Portugal about Goa? In America we wonder why the status of this colony can't be settled by a vote of the people concerned. Would you object to a plebiscite?

JN: Conditions do not exist in Goa for a free vote. Only recently a distinguished Goanese surgeon happened to remark that he did not think Goa was a part of Portugal. The next day he was arrested and deported to Lisbon.<sup>14</sup> The people are too terrorized to express their opinion.

Talks with the Portuguese won't solve the problem of Goa either. The last time we tried they went so far as to produce a Papal Bull of the 16th century to support their claims. But Goa will eventually become part of India because its economy is too dependent on ours for the colony to exist alone.

Q: To sum up, in what respects would you say the policy of the Western powers has been wrong in Asia in recent years?

JN: Your biggest mistake was underestimating Asia's nationalistic aspirations. The best—or worst—example was Indo-China. As late as two or three years

12. Bao Dai, head of the State of Vietnam, 1949-55; also see *Selected Works* (second series). Vol. 12, p. 390.

13. *The Times* reported Ghulam Mohammad, Governor General of Pakistan, as saying in a speech on 13 August that many of the difficulties faced by Pakistan were "created in most cases by our neighbours, some of whom have never taken kindly to the creation of Pakistan and some of whom even now are openly working for its annulment. We have had particularly many difficulties with India."

14. P.D. Gaitonde was arrested on 17 February and deported to Lisbon on 20 February. On 9 July, he was sentenced by a Lisbon court to three month's imprisonment.



ago the French could have reached a settlement with Ho Chi Minh<sup>15</sup> that would have been far more advantageous than the one reached at Geneva. But they continued to fight a hopeless unpopular colonial war with the aid of American money and equipment. As I said before, this is what made Asians identify you with colonialism. You may say that denouncing colonialism is flogging a dead horse—but people who still live in colonies don't feel that way....

Q: Do you believe that World War III can be prevented?

JN: Yes.

Q: Then how do you foresee the end of the so-called cold war?

JN: Every generation feels that its problems are the greatest and the most insoluble in history. The French Revolution seemed like a catastrophe in Europe a hundred and fifty years ago. In Napoleon's time, people did not see how his power would ever be broken. Think of the Crusades that aroused all of Christendom to recover the holy places and destroy Islam. Well, that subsided too and both Islam and the Christian world emerged from the conflict stronger and more tolerant of each other. Europe's religious wars dominated men's minds and passions in the sixteenth century but these passed away too and were forgotten.

Today some people feel that there is no way out of this conflict we call the cold war except by an inevitable armed clash. But war has become so destructive that both sides are likely to avoid taking the fateful step.

I am more inclined to think that with time both sides will develop a greater capacity for adjustment. As we get used to living together as neighbours and as the fear of war recedes, both the Soviet nations and the democratic nations will modify their policies. In China and the Soviet Union the patterns that now seem so rigid may well be altered. The areas of agreement will grow and the areas of conflict will shrink.

And eventually, I think, both sides will see that there was not so much to fight about as they thought. By then the cold war will be just another phrase in our history books.

15. (1890-1969); President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, 1945-54; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 1, p. 519.

### 3. The Broad Policies<sup>1</sup>

...Recently, certain major developments have taken place, more especially in Asia. The House knows, of course, about the Geneva Conference resulting in certain agreements in regard to Indo-China.<sup>2</sup>

The first thing to remember about the Geneva Conference is this, that it was a conference to deal with Asian affairs, Indo-China and Korea. In that Conference, apart from the belligerents or parties directly concerned, no Asian country was present at the conference table, in regard to Indo-China.<sup>3</sup> I am not complaining of that. I am merely pointing out the odd way in which things continue to be done. That is the conception that affairs of Asia are predominantly to be decided by other great countries whom we respect and honour. But, nevertheless, the fact is, this conception that the affairs of Asia could be decided or may be decided by other countries without much reference to Asia.

Now, you will see the reality of the picture. Because an artificial attempt was made to deal with this question forgetting the reality of Asia and the countries of Asia, the reality crept into the picture. Although Asia was not present, although Asian countries, apart from the belligerents were not present at Geneva, Asian opinion was always there for them to consider. Asian opinion, as represented by certain decisions or recommendations of the Colombo Conference,<sup>4</sup> which, if I may remind this House, were largely based upon what was stated, what was suggested in this House early this year in regard to Indo-China.<sup>5</sup> So, even in Geneva Asian opinion was there present—a shadow of it—and it had to be considered.

1. Speech while initiating a debate on the international situation and the policy of the Government of India, Lok Sabha, 29 September 1954. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. VII, Pt. II, 1954, cols. 3672-3697. Extracts.
2. The Geneva Conference on Korea and Indo-China was held from 26 April to 21 July, 1954. Although no solution of the Korean problem was found, separate ceasefire agreements covering Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia were signed on the last day of the Conference, bringing to an end the war in Indo-China which had lasted for nearly eight years.
3. The powers which participated in the Conference on Indo-China were: the UK, the US, the Soviet Union, China, France, the three Associated States of Indo-China and the Vietminh regime.
4. The Prime Ministers of Sri Lanka, India, Pakistan, Myanmar and Indonesia met in Colombo from 28 to 30 April and at Kandy on 1 to 2 May 1954, to discuss problems of common interest. The Conference adopted resolutions advocating, among other things, a speedy ceasefire in Indo-China and complete independence of the Associated States.
5. The reference is to Nehru's statement in Lok Sabha on 24 April 1954. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 25, pp. 439-444.



Now, Geneva ended with an agreement and the war that has been going on for 7½ years in Indo-China stopped. As we have often said, for the first time in many many years there was no national war in the world. A new atmosphere of concord, of relative peace was established in Indo-China. In Asia, tensions relaxed. Nobody was foolish enough to think that problems have been solved. Of course, no problem had been solved either in Indo-China, much less in Korea or elsewhere, but certain steps had been taken towards the solution of the problems, or, if you like, towards creating an atmosphere which would help in the solution of those problems. That was something and the whole world, I believe, every country in the world heaved a deep sigh of relief that at last we were going at least towards some kind of peace.

Recently, another conference was held in Manila in the Philippines. We had been invited to that conference also but we expressed our inability to attend or participate in any way.<sup>6</sup> Now, why was that so, because normally it is our desire to participate in conferences of our neighbour countries or in other countries and to understand other peoples' viewpoints and to put forward our own? Why did we not participate in the Manila Conference? Apart from every other reason, big or small—I should, probably, refer to some of them soon—it is obvious that our participation in the Manila Conference would have meant our giving up our basic policy of non-alignment. That is patent. Surely, we are not going to give up that basic policy, which we have followed for so many years, merely to participate in that Conference.

Secondly, our going there would obviously have affected our position in Indo-China as Chairman of the three Commissions there.<sup>7</sup> We had gone there and we had been chosen by all parties for those responsible posts because we were thought to follow a certain policy. Now, if we change that policy and go behind that, our whole position in Indo-China would have changed. That would have been a very improper thing to do. That relates only to India joining this conference or not.

I have often wondered what was the special urge, the special drive towards having this Manila Conference and this South-East Asia Treaty that emerged from it? What was the sudden fear that brought the countries together—there were some countries together. Was any aggression going to take place? Was the peace of South-East Asia or the Pacific threatened suddenly? Why was that

6. For Nehru's attitude to the SEATO Conference held in Manila from 6 to 8 September 1954, See *post*, pp. 414-424.

7. The ceasefire agreements reached at Geneva provided, among other things, that three armistice commissions, one for each of the Associated States and consisting of representatives of India, Canada and Poland, would supervise the implementation of the agreements and that an Indian member would be chairman of each of the three commissions.

particular time chosen, just after the Geneva Treaty? I have been unable to find the answer. Now, I understand that there are fears—I refer to the French fears on two sides<sup>8</sup>—and their trying to balance which is the greater fear and how to deal with the situation. I can understand there are fears in Asian countries, in Australia, in New Zealand—maybe in other countries roundabout—there are those fears. I do not deny them. It is no good denying the fact. But, how do we meet these fears, how do we get rid and how do we counteract them all or deal with the situation, so as to create more security?

Now, I put it to the House, has this Manila Treaty<sup>9</sup> relaxed tensions in South-East Asia or increased them?... Has it taken South-East Asia or any other part of the world more towards peace and security or has it not? I confess, I neither see any lessening of tension nor any advance towards peace. In fact, the reverse. The good atmosphere that was created by the Geneva agreements has, to some extent, been vitiated. Now, that is not a good thing. Has the Manila Treaty created any bulwark for peace and security? The Treaty, itself, as a matter of fact, does not go very far. Those who were of a certain notion, I presume previously, have expressed their opinion, if you like, in a more corporate way. It does not add to the strength of those countries, even increase the strength for their strength as such was there; it may develop a little more. So, positively, it has little contribution to make. Negatively, it has definitely added to the tensions and fears of the situation.

I do not suggest and it would be unrealistic for me to suggest that any country in South-East Asia or India should just live in a sense of, shall I say, false security. Nothing is going to happen and let us sing the song of peace and nothing will happen. I realise that responsible governments and countries cannot merely behave in that manner. They have to take precautions for any eventuality, but, they should also, I suggest, fashion their policy so as to go in a certain direction and, if that is peace, in the direction of peace.

Now, another aspect of this SEATO or SEADO—whatever it is called—is a curious thing. I can understand a number of countries coming together for their own defence and coming to some agreement and making an alliance. Now, this particular SEATO Treaty, although the alliance or the agreement

8. Earlier in his speech, Nehru spoke about France not ratifying the Treaty of the European Defence Community because of her fears of the Soviet Union and of German rearmament. On 30 August 1954, the French National Assembly had carried by 319 votes to 264, a motion which amounted to rejection of the Treaty by which a European army including German divisions was to be raised.

9. The Manila conference ended on 8 September 1954 with the signing by all the delegates of a South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty, which was accompanied by (a) a unilateral US declaration in the form of an "understanding" that the pact was directed against Communist aggression; (b) a protocol on Indo-China; and (c) a general statement of principles by the eight signatories in the form of a "Pacific Charter."



that emerges is not very strong so far as the military aspect is concerned, goes somewhat beyond those very countries. There is constant reference in that agreement or treaty to an area, an area not of the countries concerned, but, of course, to an area beyond those countries which are parties to that treaty; an area which those countries themselves can designate: "this is also in our area".<sup>10</sup> That, I submit, is a dangerous extension of this idea. I am not for the moment challenging or criticising the motives of those countries which were parties to this Manila Treaty. I do not know what their motives were and I presume their motives were to get a measure of security and I do not challenge that; but, I do submit that they have set about it in the wrong way. Now, they have mentioned this 'area', an area which is partly determinate and partly indeterminate; because the countries concerned can expand that area, if they so agree unanimously saying "this is also in our area", and if anything happens in that area—that is, even outside those particular countries or the treaty powers are concerned—they can take such steps as they feel like taking.

Our honourable Members may remember the old days—they appear to be old days—when Great Powers had spheres of influence in Asia and elsewhere—of course, the countries of Asia were too weak to do anything. The quarrel was between the Big Powers and they, therefore, sometimes, came to an agreement about dividing the countries in spheres of influence. It seems to me, this particular Manila Treaty is looking dangerously in this direction of spheres of influence to be exercised by powerful countries; because, ultimately, it is the big and powerful countries that will decide and not the two or three weak and small Asian countries that may be allied to them.

Another fact I should like to mention is this: in this Treaty there is reference, of course, to aggression. One can understand that external aggression, but there is reference also to a fact or situation created within this area which might entitle them to intervene. Now, observe the words, "a fact or situation created in that area".<sup>11</sup> It is not external invasion. That is to say, some internal development in that area might entitle these countries to intervene. Does this not affect the whole conception of integrity, sovereignty and independence of

10. Article 4(1) of the Treaty said: "Each party recognizes that aggression by means of armed attack in the treaty area against any of the parties, or against any State or territory which the parties by unanimous agreement may hereafter designate, would endanger its own peace and safety, and agrees that it will in that event act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes...."

11. Article 4(2) of the Treaty said: "If the integrity of the territory or the sovereignty or political independence of any party in the treaty area... is threatened in any way other than by armed attack, or is affected or threatened by any fact or situation which might endanger the peace of the area, the parties shall consult immediately in order to agree on the measures which should be taken for the common defence."

the countries of this area? This SEATO Treaty, if you read it, a great part of it reads well. There are phrases about United Nations Charter, about their desire for peace, about their desire even to encourage self-government in colonial territories provided they are ready and competent to shoulder this heavy burden: all this is said and it reads well. But I do feel—I have read it carefully—that the whole approach of this Manila Treaty is not only a wrong approach but a dangerous one from the point of view of any Asian country. I repeat that I realise the motives may be quite good. I repeat that countries in Asia as well as outside have certain fears and those fears may have justification. But, I say, the method of approach of this Treaty is a wrong approach and it is an approach which may antagonize a great part of Asia. Are you going to have peace in this way and security by creating more conflicts, more antagonisms and making people think that instead of bringing security you bring insecurity into that region?

Again, we have ventured to talk about an area of peace<sup>12</sup> and we have thought that, perhaps, one of the major areas of peace might be South-East Asia. Now, the Manila Treaty rather comes in the way of that area of peace. It takes up that very area which might be an area of peace and almost converts it into an area of potential war. So all these facts, I find disturbing.

Some years back there was the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation created and when it first saw the light of day it was a defence organisation of certain countries associated in joint defence. I must say, at that time it seemed to me—well, I agree, not in any other matter—nothing but a justifiable reaction of certain countries who were afraid of certain developments to join together in defence. But, observe how this NATO developed. It developed geographically, supposed to be the North Atlantic community, but it spread to the Mediterranean, to the coasts of Africa, Eastern Africa and to distant countries which have nothing to do with the Atlantic community. Internally too it began to extend itself. The various resolutions of the NATO powers, meeting from time to time, gradually extended its scope. When the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation was first envisaged it was for defence, but gradually we find that it is supposed to cover the colonial possessions and all those powers also. How the maintenance and the continuation of the authority of those colonial powers over their dependent countries is a matter of defence of the North Atlantic community, is not quite clear to me. However, that idea extends itself and becomes a North Atlantic Treaty giving a protecting cover to the colonial domains of the powers concerned.

Recently, I hope this House will remember, a reference has been made by the Portuguese authorities that the North Atlantic Treaty covers Goa too in its

12. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 25, pp. 439-444.



wide scope.<sup>13</sup> Now, we are not concerned and we are not bound down by any treaties to which we are not parties. We have stated that and I am not quite sure if the North Atlantic Powers, or most of them are quite happy about this assertion by the Portuguese Government that Goa is also their concern. What I wish to point out is this: how these treaties meant for a particular purpose might be understood gradually to extend their scope and nature and ultimately become something much bigger and wider than what people imagined them to be. Now, if the North Atlantic Treaty has managed to extend its scope to Goa, I wonder whether the South-East Asia Treaty will extend too. It starts at our doorstep; where will it go to?

These treaties, especially the South-East Asia Treaty, take the shape of certain colonial Powers, of certain Powers not colonial in themselves but interested in colonialism and certain associated countries trying to decide or control the fate of this great area of South-East Asia. I think the world is too small now for any few countries, including the Asian countries to say that nobody else will interfere with us and that this area is our sole concern. I am perfectly prepared to admit that what happens in South-East Asia is also the concern of the rest of the world—not only of South-East Asia. But the rest of the world may be Europe or America or anybody and we have all to consult together; we cannot live in isolation. But I do submit that when decisions are made of vital significance excluding the views of the vital part of that very area, then there is something wrong in that procedure. I have said this about this South-East Asia Treaty Organisation because we have felt strongly about this. We have felt not that by itself this Treaty carries events far but the direction it takes is a dangerous direction; it is a direction which may not be obvious at the present moment to everybody but I have no doubt that, unless something is done to it, it will become more and more harmful to the interests of peace in South-East Asia and the world at large.

Now, I have said that there are dangers. People say: eminent statesmen have said in defence of this Treaty how can we trust the Communist countries? How can we trust China or Russia? Others have said: how can we trust the other countries? Well, I suppose in the final analysis, no country can trust another country; or, if I may put it differently, no country should rely 100 per cent on trust alone. It has to think of possible developments, changes in views

13. The Portuguese Foreign Minister stated at a press conference at Sao Paulo on 22 September, "If the US are threatened in Alaska, if England is threatened in her islands in the Pacific, France in Madagascar or Portugal in Goa, NATO would be consulted." Addressing his nation on 12 April 1954, the Portuguese Prime Minister, Salazar, also had drawn attention to Article 4 of the North Atlantic Treaty which called for consultation among the parties whenever, "in the opinion of any of them, the territorial integrity, political independence or security of any of the parties is threatened."

and policies, etc. Governments change in democratic countries; in other countries too other forces may come up. Therefore, it is not a question of my trusting any of these big or small countries; but it is a question of our following a policy which is not only right in itself but which makes it more and more difficult progressively for the other country to break trust. We need not live in a fairy world where nothing wrong happens. Wrong does happen. But we can create an environment wherein it becomes a little more dangerous to the other party to break away from the pledges given. Surely, that is not only good morality but good commonsense.

I submit that all these statesmen, by all these SEATO and other treaties, create an atmosphere, the reverse kind of atmosphere. It is not a question of trust but creating an atmosphere so that the countries and the parties concerned have to keep in step and if they go out of step they suffer for it. According to the SEATO, you threaten them that if you do this and that, we shall take strong action. Now, this business of carrying on diplomacy by threats has not proved very successful in the past and it is not likely to prove successful in the future because you are immediately brought up to this: If something happens either you live up to your threat with whatever the result is—war, etc., or you simply pipe down and do nothing which is bad after talking too loudly. So, this whole approach of threats does not help; it hinders; it creates a wrong atmosphere: it creates actually an atmosphere when the other party need not live up to certain pledges given because you have broken them. Therefore, all this business—whether it is on the side of China or North Korea or North Vietnam, whatever it may be—has a certain result of putting fear in the other party and therefore, producing reactions of that type. And so also these alliances in this side.

The House will see how many countries in the world are getting more and more entangled in these alliances. There are a series or alliances of the Soviet Union, the People's Government of China, North Korea and some other countries. On the other side, if I may mention some, there is of course the North Atlantic Treaty, then the ANZUS—Australia, New Zealand and the United States; and there is the United States Treaty with South Korea, with Formosa—they are secret treaties presumably—and then there is this South-East Asia Treaty—all these curious circles of alliances overlapping with some common factors. There is—it is not an alliance exactly—but there is the military friendship between the United States and Pakistan. Some of them are supposed to have common reservoirs and common pools. It is presumed that great countries involved in these alliances are cautious, wise and restrained and that they will not act in a hurry. But some of those with whom they are associated are neither cautious nor wise and they are all the time—as we know in the Far East—threatening of war and all that. Now, as it is, one of these uncautious and unwise participants of these groups of alliances takes a rash step—it is



quite conceivable in the world—and suppose one step leads to another and a big country which is roped in, though not liking that step, will be dragged in with the result that something happens. So all the circles of alliances are built one way or the other and because one big country is being dragged in, another big country is being dragged in. The whole approach that has been carried on for the last few years has been fundamentally—if I may say so with exceeding respect to those countries—not a system which produces peace or security. I do not mean to suggest that countries should just live within themselves in the hope that nothing will happen; I do not say that. Let all countries—if they want to—be as strong as they like; let them even have understandings—even some alliances. But this whole system as it is going is trying to envelope every part of the world.

Remember we have still got—I do not know what the developments might be—MEDO somewhere in the background. We may have sometime or the other some Far Eastern States' association. The whole conception is one which is no doubt meant to frighten the opposite party just as the conception on the side of the opposite party and the alliances is meant—maybe—to frighten the other party. But, in effect, all this is producing such a tremendous entanglement that all clear thinking and clear action become more and more terrible. As I said, the evil deed of one country may drag in other countries. So, gradually, we are getting into a stranger realm, which reminds me of my early reading of *Alice in Wonderland* or even more so Alice,<sup>14</sup> through the looking glass, getting all things upside down. We talk of peace and always prepare for war; we talk of security and take steps which inevitably bring insecurity; we talk of freedom and liberation and we come in the way of freedom and liberation of colonial territories. So this trend seems to me to be unhappy. Again, I repeat that we must recognise the need to do something, not merely to wait till we are all swallowed by evil forces or other developments which we do not like. What can we do about it? I submit that we can do something about it and the way is to deal not amongst yourselves, because you are together, but to deal with the opposite parties. There are two parties, and if both the parties face each other today, keep apart and merely threaten each other and combine with their own groups against the other, then obviously it is no way. It is only when the two deal with each other, as they did to a certain extent in Geneva, that you settle the problem. I do not say that settles the problem finally, but there is no other way, because remember the basic thing today, that we have always to keep in mind is that in the opinion of every intelligent person in any part of the world, war has been ruled out as a method to attain a certain objective. War is no good today. War is too dangerous, because the first thing it does is to put an

14. Alice, a character in Lewis Carroll's well-known story, *Alice Through the Looking Glass*.

end to your objective itself and put an end to you. If you rule out war as a method of solving problems, you must have some other way of solving them. It is no good taking steps which lead to war. Therefore, the only other step—I do not say it will solve the problem that way—is the way of peaceful negotiation and approach. It may take time, but it is better than war or even cold war. In Geneva, this was tried and it has led to certain satisfactory results. It did not go too far, nevertheless there are results. If these methods are adopted to the solution of the problems that face us in the world, you create a certain atmosphere, a better one, and you tie down the countries which may want to do mischief. They may still make mischief. If you think that Communist countries are up to mischief, what is the best way of dealing with them? It is not by threatening them, “unless you are prepared to go this way.” The best way is ultimately to talk to them, to talk to any opponent of yours, and if it is in the interests of both parties, some agreement will be arrived at. The House knows about the five principles which were included in the joint statement that we issued here when Prime Minister Chou En-lai came here.<sup>15</sup> I do not think anyone present can possibly take exception to these five principles or any of them. What were they? They were recognition of territorial integrity and sovereignty and independence, non-aggression, non-interference, mutual respect, etc. Can anyone take exception to that? And yet people have taken exception to it. On what grounds? “Oh!”, they say, “How can you believe that this will be acted upon?” Of course, if you cannot believe in anything, there is no fun in talking or writing and the only thing left is to live in isolation or to fight and subdue the other party—there is no other way. It is not a question of believing the other party's word; it is a question of creating conditions where the other party cannot break its word, or if I may say so, where it finds it difficult to break its word. Maybe the other party breaks its word and it is likely to find itself in a much worse quandary. Those conditions are created by the joint statement that was made both in India and in Rangoon<sup>16</sup> and if those five principles are repeated by the various countries of the world in their relations to each other, they do create an atmosphere. That does not mean that all the forces of aggression and interference and mischief in various countries have been ended. Of course not; they are there, but it does mean that you make it slightly more difficult for them to function and you encourage the other forces, and that is the way for human relationship whether of the individual or of the bigger groups.

15. For the joint statement of Nehru and Chou En-lai issued on 28 June 1954, see *post*, pp. 410-412.

16. See *post*, p. 409.



I submit that here is a question of South-East Asia. Obviously, the countries round about, especially like China, are very much concerned. Obviously, the way to have security there is to deal with China and the various other countries there and not sit down there, get angry about something that might happen and then take action afterwards.

Take another thing. One of the basic things that emerged out of the Geneva settlement was that Laos and Cambodia were to be, what is now called, the South-East Asia pattern of countries—this phrase is gradually coming in<sup>17</sup>—in other words, should be countries not aligned to any group, or to use a word which I do not like, 'neutral' countries. That was the basis of the agreement of Geneva, because on the one hand, the other Governments concerned, whether it was the French or whatever Governments on this side, were very much concerned at the prospect of Laos and Cambodia being absorbed or interfered with in any way by China and on the other hand, China was very much concerned that Laos and Cambodia should not be made bases for action against China, whether it is atom bombing or any other bombing. What was the possible way out? Obviously, the only way out was that Laos and Cambodia should not allow themselves to be used by either party against the other; that is, in a sense, neutral and that was the basis of the Geneva Agreement. There was something added to it which was objected to, but basically, the agreement was that Laos and Cambodia must be considered as neutral States, and neither party should use them against the other, I am not quite sure in my mind that this SEATO agreement does not, to some extent, go against that basic approach of the Geneva conference, because they have brought Laos and Cambodia in that area to which I referred. There are these difficulties that have arisen, and I wanted to put them to the House because I feel that in spite of the advance made in Indo-China peace, we live in very dangerous times. On the east coast of China, recently there has been fighting on a fairly big scale in the island of Quemoy and actually the mainland of China has been shelled and bombarded.<sup>18</sup> But nobody knows when a petty incident might not grow into a big thing.<sup>19</sup> It is an odd thing to think of. The island of Quemoy is, I believe, only a few

17. This phrase was used by Chou En-lai during his conversation with Nehru on 26 June 1954. See *post*, p. 395.

18. On 3 September, Chinese batteries opened a heavy bombardment of the Taiwan-held island of Quemoy, lying in the Formosa Straits four miles off the port of Amoy held by China. Further Chinese bombardments on 4 and 5 September were followed by a series of air attacks by Taiwan on military targets in and around Amoy.

19. A British plane on a flight from Bangkok to Hongkong was shot down off Hainan island by a Chinese fighter plane on 23 July 1954. While regretting the incident and agreeing to pay compensation for the loss of life and property, the Chinese Government rejected the US protest of 4 August on the ground that the incident concerned no one else except themselves and the British Government.

miles from the mainland. Quemoy is supposed to be essential, presumably, to the security of Formosa and the security of other countries. Presumably it has something to do with the security of China itself—it is right there at its doorstep. So this kind of thing is going on. That is why I say that any action of the Government of Formosa or the Government of South Korea might result in dragging in these Big Powers and these big circles of alliances may be all dragged in and war would result.

Now we may not be in the war. We have no intention to be pushed into any war and the only fighting we propose to do is if anybody threatens India. But let us be clear about it that if war occurs, it would be a terrible disaster for the whole world, including us, because the whole conception of war has changed....

In regard to the United Nations, this House knows that we have stood for the People's Government of China being represented there. Recently the United Nations have passed a resolution that this matter will not be considered for a year or so. I have long been convinced of the fact that a great part of our present-day difficulties—certainly in the Far East, but I would like to go further and say in the world—is due to this extraordinary shutting of one's eyes to the fact of China. Here is a great country and it is totally immaterial whether you like it or dislike it. Here is a great country and the United Nations, or some countries of the United Nations, refuse to recognise that it is there. The result is that all kinds of conflicts arise. I am convinced in my mind that there would have been no Korean war if the People's Government of China had been in the United Nations—it is only guesswork—because people could have dealt with China across the table. It adds to the complexities and difficulties of the world problems.

Remember this: that it is not a question of the admission of China to the United Nations. China is one of the founder-members of the United Nations. It is merely a question of who represents China. This fact is not adequately realised. It is not a question really of the Security Council, or anybody else deciding, as they have to decide, of new countries coming in. China is not a new country. It is a founder-member of the United Nations. It is really a question, if you like, of credentials,—who represents China, a straightforward question. And it surprises me and amazes me, how this straightforward question has been twisted round about and made the cause of infinite troubles. There would be no settlement in the Far East, or South-East Asia till this major fact of the People's Government of China is recognised. I say one of the biggest factors towards ensuring security in South-East Asia and in the Far East is the recognition of China coming into the United Nations. There would be far greater assurance of security that way than through your South-East Asia Treaty Organisation, or the rest.

If China comes in, apart from the fact that you deal with China face to



face at the United Nations and elsewhere, China assumes certain responsibilities in the United Nations. Today it is a very odd position. Sometimes the United Nations passes resolutions directing the People's Government of China to do this or that. The response from China is: "Well, you do not recognise us; we are not there; we are not a part of it; how can we recognise your directions?" which is an understandable response. Instead of adding to the responsibility and laying down ways of cooperation, you shut the door of cooperation and add to the irresponsible behaviour of nations in this way, and call it security. There is something fundamentally wrong about it. The result inevitably is that the influence of the United Nations lessens as it must. I do not want it to lessen, because, whatever it may be, it is one of our biggest hopes of peace in the world.

May I refer to one other matter? Among the causes of fear among the Asian countries or countries of South-East Asia, of this great country China, has been large Chinese populations in these countries.... In the old days and uptill now the Government of China did not recognise the right of any Chinese person to divest himself of Chinese nationality and a very peculiar situation was created. Sometimes there was some kind of dual nationality. That also was a factor in making the position of the Chinese communities in all these South Asian countries very embarrassing to that country....

An interesting development is taking place, and reference has been made to it recently both by the Prime Minister of China, Mr Chou En-lai and the Chairman of the Republic, Chairman Mao Tse-tung.<sup>20</sup> The development is they say that they are going to consider Chinese communities living outside, well, not in the old way, but they will have to choose, those communities will have to choose, either becoming nationals of the country they are living in, and if they do so then they are cut off completely from China, they have nothing to do with its or retaining Chinese nationality and in that event they must not interfere in the internal affairs of the other country. That, I think, is a helpful move which will remove some of the difficulties and apprehensions in these South-East Asia countries.

Let us take another matter. Let us be frank about it. Most of these countries are afraid, not of what Governments do officially, but what they might do sub rosa through the activities of the Communist Party in those countries. And the fact of the matter is one of the serious difficulties that have arisen in international affairs is that previously one country was against another; you knew where you were; there might be some people in your country, a handful who might sympathise with the other; two nations came into conflict. Now we have this new development that in national groups there are, what I might call, if you

20. (1893-1976); Chairman, People's Republic of China, 1949-59; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 10, p. 75.

like, international groups who oppose the national group and who psychologically, emotionally, intellectually if you like, are tied up with another nation's national group. That creates difficulties. In fact that is one of the essential difficulties of the situation. I am not discussing communism, its theory and practice. I am merely pointing out the essential difficulty of the situation of all these countries. And if there was such a thing as the Communist Party in a country, that is national Communist Party, that is a party which had nothing to do with another country, that is a different matter. It has got a certain policy, economic, political, whatever it is. It is one of various parties. The difficulty comes in because that party in your country is, as I said, intellectually, mentally and otherwise tied up with other groups in other countries. And the other country might well utilise that for its own advantage. That is the fear that comes to all these South-East Asia countries, whether it is Burma or Thailand or any other country; with the result, unfortunately, that problems, economic and other problems which could be considered by themselves get tied up with these extraneous issues, and different types of reactions are created. Therefore, I think that just as in the old days there was the Comintern, that international Communist organisation which was wound up some time during the last War, then later the Cominform which was, I suppose, something of the old type in different garb, I think that these organisations and the activities that flow from that idea have caused a good deal of apprehension and disturbance in various countries and nations. And now, as a reaction to this we have other forms of international interferences in national affairs growing up in various countries, not in that ideological way, but in a practical governmental, sub rosa way. It is extraordinary how this kind of thing is growing in most countries, not on one side but in every side.

So we have; if you want peace in the world to come to grips with this problems, not by threats, not by having these treaties of military alliance and the like, but by coming to grips and coming face to face. Because if once you recognises, as I believe it is recognised the world over, what I said, that war is no solution of this—the two major protagonists are too powerful to be dismissed one by the other—if you have no war, then you have to co-exist, you have to understand, you have to restrain and you have to deal with each other. And the question of co-existence comes in. If you reject co-existence the alternative is war and mutual destruction....

About the French Settlements, for the last two weeks or so, representatives of the French Government and representatives of the Government of India have been having consultations....I am happy that this difficult and intricate matter is being settled. Because however small in size Pondicherry and the rest of the places may be, big nations, proud nations are involved. There is the pride and interest of India involved in not having any foreign territories in India. There is the pride of France involved, not to do anything which makes that pride



suffer. We do not want that to suffer. France is a great nation. Whatever we want to do, we want to do in friendship and cooperation with France, so that whatever action we decide upon should, instead of straining our relations, make them better. We have chosen this way and I am very happy that this way is likely to yield substantial results.<sup>21</sup>

We tried to choose this way in regard to the Portuguese possessions also. But, unfortunately, it has led to no result and what the Portuguese Government has done, in recent months especially, does not make the prospect hopeful so far as they are concerned. We are determined, however, to solve this problem by peaceful methods and we are convinced that we are going to solve this by peaceful methods.

Honourable Members have often expressed some, shall I say, dissatisfaction at our not encouraging Indian nationals who are not Goans, Indian non-Goan nationals, from entering these territories in large numbers. There is no, if I may say so, high principles involved in this that Indian nationals will not go there. The Indian nationals have every right to go there. It is not on high principle that we have done that, but for a variety of reasons. We did not think it desirable to encourage them, because, if we encouraged them, the aspect of Goans' struggle would be eclipsed, the aspect that it is essentially a struggle of Goans whether in Goa or outside, would be eclipsed. It would be said that non-Goan Indian nationals are doing it in spite of and against their wishes. We wish to make it clear to the world that it is Goans whether outside or inside Goa who want this association with India and to get out of Portuguese association. I think that gradually the world is beginning to realise that.

In Goa itself, of course, it is a hundred per cent police state. There is no question of meetings or anybody expressing any opinion. Papers cannot go, opinions cannot go from outside and the slightest expression of opinion in the mildest way against the Portuguese Government means long term imprisonment, exile and all that, whatever your position. Even so, inside Goa, so far as we know, quite considerable numbers of persons have been arrested for some kind of satyagraha or otherwise. Outside Goa, in Bombay city, more especially, as the House must know, there is a large body of Goans, many of them occupying high positions in professions and in various occupations. It has been most encouraging how all these Goans, who are not, if I may remind the House, normally politically-minded, who are not politicians, who have not taken part in any agitation, professors, doctors and other people, on this occasion, in the last month or more, have come out—many of them, may I also say, persons who have received honours from the Portuguese Government in the past—and

21. The French Settlements in India were transferred to Indian sovereignty on 1 November 1954 under an agreement signed between the French and Indian Governments in New Delhi on 21 October 1954.

stood for this freedom of Goa and its association with India. So that we are moving forward; perhaps not as fast as Members would like, but certainly and surely in a particular direction. There are also, of course, certain economic steps that we have taken....

#### 4. Restraint and Firmness<sup>1</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am deeply grateful to the House for the generous terms in which nearly all the Members have spoken, and have referred to our broad policies in regard to international affairs. I am particularly grateful to honourable Member opposite, Acharya Kripalani,<sup>2</sup> for his overgenerous language in this respect. And, may I say that, in a large measure, I accept many of his criticisms also. He referred not only to our successes but also to our failures. I admit the failures, except that I would describe them somewhat differently. Failure has some finality about it. I would say: 'lack of success'; because we continue trying for success and I hope that we shall achieve success. But I admit that completely we have not achieved success in regard to the many matters he mentioned—Kashmir, Pakistan, South Africa, Ceylon and Goa. He referred to one or two other points. For instance, he said that we were unable to stop the formation of the South-East Asia Treaty Organisation. Well, I do submit that we can hardly be accused of being unable to do that. All we can do is not to associate ourselves with it. We do not control the ways and activities of the nations of the world....

Acharya Kripalani hinted at the fact that our policy in regard to Goa was perhaps influenced by what the United Kingdom said, the Commonwealth said or somebody else said. Professor Mukerjee<sup>3</sup> also said, in stronger language, much the same thing. Now, I am not dealing with the Commonwealth question at the present moment—I shall do so later—but what I am venturing to suggest is this: that, what we did in Goa—whether it was right or wrong is another

1. Reply to a debate on the international situation and the policy of the Government of India, Lok Sabha, 30 September 1954. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. VII, Pt. II, 1954, cols 3872-3901. Extracts.
2. J.B. Kripalani (1888-1982); Chairman, Praja Socialist Party, 1952-54; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 1, p. 237.
3. Hirendra Nath Mukerjee (b. 1907); CPI Member of Lok Sabha, 1952-70; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 18, p. 335.



matter—or what we are doing there, has nothing to do with what the United Kingdom said or any other country said to us. It had not the slightest influence on us. In fact, if I may say so, the effect of it on us was a contrary effect; because one does not like to be told as to what is right or wrong in regard to one's policy, by another country. Also, I would add, that in regard to Goa, what we were told by some countries was not exactly what, perhaps, some Members imagine. No country told us to do this or not do that. They certainly expressed their concern about the situation and their hope that this will be settled amicably.

Now, I am free to confess that even the manner in which they expressed their concern in this matter did not seem to be the right approach or a proper approach. As the House knows, in our replies to them we made that perfectly clear. But I can assure the House that those representations to us had not the least effect on our policy in regard to Goa—whether it is right or wrong we can judge. That policy was governed by our understanding of our broader policies and our trying to fit in Goa in the context of those broader policies....

I should like to refer to another matter. I am told—I was not here then—that an honourable Member objected to our having given recognition to the Pope<sup>4</sup> on the ground that it was wrong to give recognition to any religious dignitary.<sup>5</sup> Further, he added that the Pope has created so much trouble for us in regard to Goa. Of course, both those statements are completely wrong. We recognised the Pope not in his capacity as a religious head—that, of course, is there—but as a temporal head of an independent State. It is true that he is the temporal head; sovereign head of an independent State that follows from his other positions, status etc. It is not our recognising any religious head as such, though, of course, he is the religious head of a very big, large and wide-spread community. Further, it is quite wrong to say, and I do repudiate it, that the Pope has given us any trouble in regard to Goa. In fact the dignitaries of the Catholic Church in India—I am not talking and I cannot of course speak about every individual here but the religious leaders of the Catholic Church in India, publicly expressed themselves in favour of the movement of the Goans for merger with India.

In fact, the House will remember that one of the main arguments advanced by the Prime Minister of Portugal in this respect was that Goa was a Christian, and more particularly, a Roman Catholic sanctuary with remains of Francis

4. Pius XII (Eugene Pacelli) (1876-1958); elected Pope in 1939.

5. Speaking in the House on 30 September, Ram Subhag Singh of the Congress Party alleged that the Pope had created confusion in the matter of Goa, and criticized Government for recognizing him as a religious dignitary and the temporal head of a State.

Xavier,<sup>6</sup> and that, somehow or other, if Goa became integrated with India, these remains and the place will be desecrated and all that; which was, of course, an absurd statement to make. It showed either complete ignorance of the fact that five million Roman Catholics live in India and have every opportunity to live, practise their religion and such other activities as they might indulge in. They are equal citizens as anyone else. Also because reference was made to St Xavier, perhaps many Members of the House will know that in Bombay City, St Thomas<sup>7</sup> is supposed to have existed and I believe St Thomas Mount is there—

Some honourable Members: In Madras.

JN: I am sorry I said Bombay, but I meant Madras—and nobody has yet complained about anything being done to the relics of St Thomas there. So the Catholics of India have very clearly shown and demonstrated that they are non-political people who are quiet, but even the non-political people have clearly demonstrated that they are in favour of the popular movement in Goa for merger with India.

Two days ago, day before yesterday, I met some leading Goans—and Catholics, I think, most of them were who came to me—who, I believe, call themselves the Goa Liberation Council.<sup>8</sup> I was glad to meet them because they were a different type of persons from what one normally meets in political affairs, that is, they were not politicians, they were professors, professional men and others who had nothing to do with politics as such. I believe one or two of them have received decorations from the Pope and from the Portuguese Government too in the past, so that they were not political people, but because of the development of the situation in Goa, they were moved out of their normal non-political existence and they had formed themselves into a Council, or whatever it is, for this particular purpose, to help in this. That is a very significant thing. There is, of course, the Goan National Congress and there are various other organisations who have been working for the liberation of Goa for many years, but in a sense, it was more significant that these sage and

6. (1506-1552); Spanish Jesuit missionary; worked in India, Japan and East Asia, beginning his missionary work in Goa in 1541; died of a fever while trying to enter China and his body was brought to Goa and buried there.
7. One of the twelve apostles of Jesus; according to tradition he came to India, preached in southern India and suffered martyrdom in Chennai.
8. A delegation on behalf of the Goa Liberation Council, headed by its President, A. Soares, met Nehru on 28 September. See also *post*, pp. 456-457.



sober people, who have nothing to do with politics, also felt the urge of the times and came forward. Many of these are Catholics and it is very unfair, I think, for any Member of the House to say that the Catholic Church or the Head of the Catholic Church, that is, his Holiness the Pope, are, in any sense, coming in the way of this movement of encouraging the Portuguese Government in its conduct....

One or two other matters I wish to say....Mr Mehta quoted from a letter which he had received from Acharya Narendra Deva<sup>9</sup> about the danger of the cry of 'Asia for Asians.' If I may say so, with all respect, I entirely agree with what Acharya Narendra Deva said in that letter<sup>10</sup> and I do not wish that our people should associate themselves with any such cry. What we have said is something rather different. What we have said is that other people should not interfere in Asia, which is a different thing, whether it is Europe or America or any other place, and that Asia should be left to develop according to her own wishes or genius. Asia, of course, is a huge territory and one may talk about it, of course, but to consider Asia as a big unit is to delude oneself. Asia is not only big but there is enormous variety in it. It may be, I believe it is true, that there are certain features which may be said to be similar and one of the major features is that a great part of Asia has suffered for a hundred or two hundred or more years under foreign domination, whether it is direct colonial domination, whether it is indirect, but Asia has been, during all these years, chiefly under European domination. That fact alone has given a certain commonness of outlook, the struggle against foreign domination, etc., and, therefore, as I have said previously, honourable Members or I or any Indian can perhaps understand the mind, let us say, of a Burman or an Indonesian or anyone else a little better just as an Indonesian can understand our mind a little better than perhaps a European or an American might do. That is because we have had common experiences, common sufferings and common struggles and, therefore, we react more or less in a common way. Naturally we differ, our backgrounds differ to some extent, they are similar to some extent, and I do not think of this business of 'Asia for Asians', 'Europe for Europeans' and so on except in the sense that

9. (1889-1956); a leader of the PSP; elected to Rajya Sabha, 1954; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 4, p. 367. Narendra Deva wrote to Asoka Mehta from a hospital in Vienna where he was taking treatment for asthmatic attacks.

10. Narendra Deva said that the slogan of 'Asia for Asians' which, he believed, Chou En-lai's visit had given birth to, was fraught with great dangers. Saying that the myth of the contrast between East and West created by the Western mind had broken down under the stress of world events, he warned, "India has lived long in isolation.... We can ill afford to cut ourselves adrift from the life currents of other parts of the world."

no country or no group of countries should be dominated over, should be interfered with by other. As a matter of fact, all this talk is rather out of date because in the modern world, today there can be no isolation of a country or even of a continent. We have to pull together, whether we like it or not; the world is too closely knit together to be thought of in terms of even national units or continental units. We overlap and everything happens together, but the very cry—you might even say that we respect so much and feel so much—that is, the very idea of nationalism itself is becoming somewhat out of date. It is true that it is not out of date again, if you compare it with something like, let us say, provincialism or communalism. It is not out of date because provincialism and communalism and the like are retrograde and reactionary, and nationalism is a shining beacon and an example for us to follow when compared to that, but nationalism itself becomes a narrowing force progressively in the modern world. All that is true. So, in effect, we have to be at the same time nationalistic and international just as in our country we are at the same time talking in terms of centuries; most past and present centuries are represented in this country at the same time. We are passing through this tremendous phase of transition. But let us not do anything which will narrow our vision or come in the way of our growth. But intense feeling of nationalism, as opposed to some idea of world internationalism, will be bad. Nationalism, is good; nonetheless at the present age because there are forces which oppose unity; nationalism is a uniting force or liberating force and it continues to be a liberating force. It may become a narrowing force. We have to beware. The House knows that nationalism has sometimes a curious history; that is to say, the very nationalism that struggles for freedom has in the past, in some cases, denied freedom to other countries; it has become aggressive; it has even become imperialistic. All these things merge into one another and one has to be careful lest even a good custom does not bring harm to us or injure us....

Now, there is another matter. Several honourable Members have referred to Tibet—‘the melancholy chapter of Tibet’: I really do not understand such a reaction. I have given the most earnest thought to this matter. What did any honourable Member of this House expect us to do in regard to Tibet at any time? Did we fail or did we do a wrong thing? I am not going into that matter now but I would beg any honourable Member who has doubts about this question to just consider and try to find out what the background, the early history and the late history of Tibet and India and China have been, what the history of the British in Tibet has been and what the relationship of Tibet with China or India has been. Where did we come into the picture unless we wanted to assume an aggressive role of interfering with other countries? Many things happen in the world which we do not like and which we would wish were rather different but we do not go like Don Quixote with a lance in hand against



everything that we dislike; we put up with these things because we would, without making any difference, merely get into trouble. We have to see all these things in some larger context of policy.

Big things have happened in the world ever since the last War. And among the big things has been the rise of a united China. Forget for a moment the broad policies it pursues—Communist or near-Communist or whatever it may be. The fact is—and it is a major fact of the middle of the 20th century—that China has become a Great Power—united, strong and great power. I do not mention that in the sense that because China is a Great Power, India must be afraid of China or submit to China or follow the same policy in deference to China—not in the least.... Now, China has come into the picture with enormous potential strength not so much actual strength, that is, developed strength, because remember this, even now China is far less industrially developed than even India is. Let us not forget it—these facts. Much is being done in China which is praiseworthy and we can learn from them and we hope to learn from them but let us look at things in some perspective. India is more industrially developed than China—India has got far more, let us say, communications, transport and so on which are also essential for development of China. China no doubt, will go ahead fast; I am not comparing or criticising but what I said was that this enormous country of China which is a Great Power and which is powerful today, is potentially still more powerful. This is a country which inevitably becomes a Great Power. Leaving these three big countries, United States of America, the Soviet Union and China, for the moment leaving them aside, look at the world. There are great countries, very advanced countries, highly cultured countries and all that. But if you peep into the future and if nothing goes wrong—wars and the like—the obvious fourth country in the world is India.

I am not speaking in the sense of any vain glory and all that but I am merely analysing the situation and given—much has to be given—the economic growth, given unity, given many factors, India, by virtue of her general talent, ability of her people, working capacity, geographical situation and all that will rise. Countries like China and India, once they get rid of two things—foreign domination and internal disunity—inevitably become strong; there is nothing to stop them. They have got the capacity; the people of India or the people of China have got the ability and the capacity. The only thing that weakens is internal disunity or some kind of external domination. As soon as the external domination is removed from India, we go ahead. We may go faster; that is a different matter. But inevitably the force, regardless of the individuals or the governments that may have to do anything with it, is at work. Ultimately, if the people have it in them, they go ahead. Even if governments are stupid, they go ahead.... So here we have these great historical forces at work, historical transformations taking place. These great countries, after some hundreds of

years of being submerged, are coming up. You have to realise that. Do not get mixed up and tied up with these rather superficial arguments, important as they might be, of communism and anti-communism. Communism is important as a force. You may like it or dislike it; you may like it half and dislike it half, as you like. But they somehow confuse the issue. Therefore it is far better to forget these for the moment in order to analyse the world situation. And the misfortune has been that in western countries, or in some of them, they are so obsessed with communism and anti-communism that they completely fail to see the forces or anything working in the world. We are not obsessed with that thought. We may like it or dislike it, but we are not obsessed with that thought of communism or anti-communism; because we think of other things also, we think of ourselves, we think of our own good, we think of how we should progress, etc. So other countries get rather irritated at us that we do not see the light as they see, that we are perverse or that we are blind, because they can only see one thing and nothing else. What to us appears a lopsided view on their part, to them it appears perversity on our part, whatever it may be. So there are these great historical forces. No doubt in time to come they will adjust themselves, something new will emerge.

Now, about this talk of the Commonwealth and objection or disapproval of our continuing the Commonwealth link, some Members seem to imagine that thereby we are doing violence to the pledge we took on the banks of the Ravi in 1929-30, as 1929 turned into 1930, or subsequent Independence pledges. Well, I should like you to refer to those pledges and see what our condition is. I say we have kept to those pledges hundred per cent. That has nothing to do with the desirability of keeping the Commonwealth link....

This whole question has to be viewed, not from a background of sentiment this way or that way but, if I may say so, pure advantages, advantage to our country nationally, advantage to the policies we might pursue internationally. That is the only test, does it come in the way or does it help?...

I submit that in no way, in either the internal economics, or external policy or anything, has this come in our way. On the other hand, it has been definitely helpful to us and helpful to the cause of world peace. If that is so, that is a big thing....

My point is that in these international affairs, the fact that there was this thin tenuous link with the Commonwealth has helped the cause of world peace. Honourable Members must have noticed that the relations between the People's Republic of China and the United Kingdom are growing a little more friendly than they have been. It is rather difficult for me to refer to private conversations. But many people—I am not talking of Indians or British people, non-British, non-Indian people—who were surprised at first at our continuing the Commonwealth link, have confessed that we were very wise in doing so, because it has helped in international affairs and also in our work for world peace.



Therefore, I submit that the test is whether it is helpful or not. I say it does not hinder in the slightest degree....

Now, in regard to Ceylon unfortunately—or both fortunately and unfortunately—there is this fact that Ceylon is a relatively small island very near to India, and because of this there is a fear—which I think is completely unjustified—a fear that India may overwhelm Ceylon and absorb it. I have repeatedly said that, so far as I know, nobody in India thinks that way. We want an independent Ceylon, a friendly Ceylon, a Ceylon with which we have the closest contact, a Ceylon which is nearer to us in every sense than any other country outside India culturally, historically, linguistically, as you like, in a religious sense and all that. Why should we look with greedy eyes on Ceylon? We do not. But the fact remains, there is fear, and because there is this fear, I would beg this House, Members of this House, not at any time to say things which might add to that fear. He <sup>11</sup> talked of economic sanctions and the like. I deprecate that kind of thing, although I have been deeply pained by many events in Ceylon, because I want this House and this country to look ahead. We are a country, I hope, and I believe, with a great future. Therefore, look at the future. Do not get lost in the present. Have some vision of that, and do not do things now which may come in the way of that future, whether it is Pakistan, or whether it is Ceylon, or whether it is any other country. Now, therefore, we have to treat and continue to deal with Ceylon in a friendly way, even though Ceylon's response might be unfriendly.

Now, coming to this Agreement,<sup>12</sup> the question is about these large numbers of people who are now sometimes called Stateless; that is to say, they are not our nationals, and if the Ceylon Government does not make them their nationals, for the moment, they have no regular constitutional position of being attached to one State—of course, they are in Ceylon.

This raises legal, constitutional issues, as well as issues of social well-being and decency. In the past two or three decades, these questions have arisen in another context. When Hitler started his career as Chancellor in Germany, Members will remember that large numbers of people fled from Germany, and they became Stateless, because no other State would father them. And Hitler, far from fathering them was after their blood. So this question of

11. P.T. Thanu Pillai of the Congress Party said on 30 September that productivity in the tea estates in Sri Lanka was largely due to the labour of Indian origin and if the Sri Lanka Government wanted the Indian worker, they should give him citizenship rights. Otherwise the Government of India might consider withdrawing the labour of Indian origin, he suggested.

12. Earlier in his speech, Nehru said that the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement of 19 January 1954 had not proved a success.

Stateless people became an important constitutional issue in Europe and elsewhere. Much has been written; in fact books have been written on the subject. I do not mean to say that that question is at all comparable to this question. It is a question of people of Indian descent in Ceylon, but I am merely referring to a certain constitutional aspect, which is important. Normally speaking, people are not driven out of a country, even if they are the nationals of another country. They are not driven out; individuals may be sent out because they misbehave but whole vast crowds, tens and twenties and hundreds and thousands of people are not sent out. It is almost unknown, excepting under these very abnormal conditions which prevailed under Hitler and the like.

So, this is the background. We shall gladly meet the Prime Minister<sup>13</sup> and his colleagues, when they come here<sup>14</sup> and talk to them in a friendly way. At the same time we hold certain views about these matters, and we shall put them before them.

Now, coming to this broad world aspect that we have to face, I mentioned something about it yesterday in this House. I was talking about the Commonwealth link. Now, you will observe that our links at present with Burma and Indonesia are far closer than the links with the Commonwealth countries. That does not come in the way. It is natural; it is a natural growth. And because of our Commonwealth link, we can serve many causes a little better than we might otherwise be able to do.

Anyhow, we have to face in the world a very difficult situation. I do not wish this House or anybody to feel overwhelmed by the difficulty of the situations, because as long as we have the perspective we shall get over these difficulties, and the world will get over them. Undoubtedly, we are passing through a very big period of transition. The first thing in this situation is, as far as I can see, to avoid war, and especially world war because if that war comes it destroys everything that we or anyone else is working for. Therefore, our policy—and the policy of many other countries—becomes one of avoidance of this war, in so far as we can. I do not pretend to say that we can make much difference in the world but in so far as we can, we try to do that, and in trying to do that, we try to avoid that type of bitter controversy which has taken the place of the old style diplomacy now, the diplomacy of running down and cursing each other, because we think that it will not lead to any

13. John Kotelawala (1897-1980); Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, 1953-56; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 10, p. 4.

14. Kotelawala visited India from 6 to 10 October 1954, at his own suggestion, to discuss the question of people of Indian descent in Sri Lanka.



peaceful solution. It was from that point of view that we talked about an area of peace; and our neighbours, Indonesia and Burma also talked about an area of peace and welcomed that approach.

But there are these great fears. How are we to get rid of this fear? How are we to get rid of the fear of this great colossus, the Soviet Union, overwhelming some other country? Look at the world today. It is quite extraordinary. Each party accuses the other of encirclement or encircling. Some other countries accuse the Soviet Union of activities, subversive activities and the like—there may be some truth in it. The Soviet Union accuses the United States of America of encircling it with bases all round—and there is truth in it. Look at the map. There are hundreds, literally hundreds, about two hundred, I believe, bases encircling the Soviet Union and China from the Atlantic, the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean—and I do not quite know what is happening in the North Pole. Now, obviously, each is afraid of the other, afraid not in the narrow sense of the word, but afraid of the consequences that this might bring. How can we get rid of it?

Now, it is my submission that you do not get over these fears by these pacts and alliances against each other. Certainly I cannot suggest to any country to trust in good luck and do nothing at all to prepare itself—I cannot say that as a responsible person. But these pacts and alliances do not help. And even if they helped at an earlier stage, we have arrived at a stage when it does not help but hinders. It is perfectly clear today that if either party, either of these great colossuses, commits any major act of aggression anywhere in Asia or Europe or Africa or anywhere, that will lead to world war. It is not the pact that prevents that, it is the fear of world war that keeps the peace today. There is no doubt about it that if there was aggression on either side, any major aggression, there would be world war. Therefore, there is no chance of major aggression today. The chance is that some petty thing might bring about this conflict. Now, we have to develop an atmosphere—the Geneva Conference helped in developing that atmosphere; it was good. Now, the SEATO arrangement comes and, in some degree, upsets that atmosphere. It is a bad thing in the sense—quite regardless of what they arranged—it does not add to their defensive strength; whatever it was, it was there; it merely led to this habit of dealing with the other party with threats. Of course, it is not a very polite habit;—apart from that, it is not practical, because the other party happens to be fairly strong too—it is not that you should frighten the other party. So, it is in this larger context that we felt it.

There is talk about this communism, anti-communism and the like. As an Indian and as an Asian, it is a matter not only of great surprise to me but of distress that the racial policies of some countries do not seem to excite much notice in Europe or America. There is the racial policy of the Union of South Africa which is, in no sense, different from the racial policy of Hitler, except

that they have not gone to those extremes that Hitler went to. But the theory is the same; the practice may be different—somewhat milder. Or take other parts of Africa. We tolerate that. We talk about the bird's eyeview which is different from the view of those who are crawling on the earth. So also the view from different places of the earth's surface is different. If we look at the world from Delhi our view is one. A person looking at it from Washington or Moscow—his view is different. The whole picture is different, not the same, and the perspective is different. Anyhow, this particular example that I gave of racialism running rampant in Africa and of the United Nations being unable to deal with it, passing resolutions, is in our eyes a very important thing and at least as important as all this business of communism and anti-communism—both of them.

Now, I have taken a lot of time and I have yet to deal with Goa in particular....Acharya Kripalani took exception to our not permitting Indian nationals from going there.<sup>15</sup> He will be perfectly right in taking exception to it; if I state that as a principle, as a maxim, Indian nationals have every right to go there. But every right has to be exercised in the right way and at the right time....<sup>16</sup> That is a different matter. But my point is that I want to remove this misapprehension in anyone's mind that we think that it is not the right or sometimes even the duty of an Indian non-Goan national to go to Goa. It may well be. But we did think about it. I do not differentiate at all; and I even agreed with the honourable Member when he said that such a thing might be the right of an individual in any other country to join in Goa too. I agree, but all those rights have to be considered in the context of particular situations and events. They may create grave embarrassment and difficulties to them, to their country and to others. It was in this context that we considered this matter of Goa round about the 15th August. A tremendous propaganda was taking place, encouraged by people who did not like our policies very much, a propaganda to indicate that the Goan people were in love with Portuguese rule, they did not want a change, they were quite happy as they were; Goa was a peaceful idyllic spot where quiet and calm reigned while in India there was trouble all over, and in this peaceful and idyllic place where the people were completely

15. Kripalani wondered why Government prevented Indian nationals from joining the march to Goa organised by the Goans and Indians on 15 August. He said that if Government maintained that Goa and the Union of India formed one country, the struggle for the independence of Goa could not be the sole concern of the Goan people. See also *post*, pp. 440-451, for Nehru's views on the march to Goa.

16. Kripalani intervened to say that it was for Government to send Indian nationals in the right way.



happy and satisfied, hordes of Indians from outside were sweeping down and compelling, forcing and coercing them to accept their domination....

If we had allowed at that time large crowds of Indians to go, I have no doubt at all that the fact that the Goans wanted their freedom and were prepared to sacrifice themselves for it would never have emerged, as it is emerging today.

Another aspect I shall bring before the House which, I am sure, my friend, Acharya Kripalani, will appreciate. In the old days, when we were carrying on our struggle for Independence, we took up a particular line in regard to what were called the Indian States then. We did not come in the way of their freedom movements, but we discouraged people from outside functioning from outside in regard to them. What was the reason behind it? Not that we considered that there was any difference between the Indians in India and the Indians in an Indian State—there was never any question of difference. But we wanted the people of those States themselves to wake up, to organise themselves and not merely to rely on others. Whether it is satyagraha or whether it is anything else, outsiders can go and help, but a satyagraha completely based on outside help with no foundation or strength inside, that outside satyagraha is not a very potent weapon. Outsiders can help, but there must be strength inside.... We were associated with the Indian States as individuals; we associated ourselves as President of the All India States People's Conference and all that. But we did not encourage numbers of Congress people and others from outside to go and invade a State....

So this becomes a question not of high principle, but of organising and disciplining a movement, strengthening a movement and striking when the right time comes in the proper way. Let there be no mistake about it that so far as Goa is concerned, we consider it a part of India, of course, inevitably, and on no account, whatever the pressure or whatever might happen, are we going to give up this claim or the right to work for it and to achieve it.... So far as the Government is concerned, it is openly, explicitly in favour of the merger of Goa with India. Our public organisations have expressed themselves in every way and we have in regard to other matters—economic and others—taken steps too. But there is such a thing, as honourable Members—especially the leaders of the revolutionary movements sitting opposite—will realise, as adventurism which is very different from adventure or adventurousness, and no responsible group or party should indulge merely in adventurism, because adventurism leads to reaction. It does not succeed. It leads to reaction and loss of morale. The success and the virtue of satyagraha that some of us of the older generation were taught were very largely due to our being pulled back even when we resented it; but at no time did we fail. Success might have been postponed a little. But at no time were we allowed to function in an adventurist way....

## (ii) Indo-China

### 1. Message to Anthony Eden<sup>1</sup>

I have learned with pleasure and satisfaction of the agreement at Geneva which has enabled the representatives of the high commands in Indo-China to meet together at Geneva to consider the technical aspects of the arrangements for a ceasefire.<sup>2</sup> This is a big step forward and marks the success of your patience and untiring efforts during the past few weeks at Geneva to promote a peaceful settlement of the problem of Indo-China.

This favourable development has led me to consider further the possible impact of the Thai proposal for the appointment of a peace action commission<sup>3</sup> on the future talks at Geneva. I have already conveyed to you in my personal message of 30th May the concern I have felt at this move. I feel even more convinced now that the discussion of the Thai proposal by the Security Council at this juncture would have an undesirable effect upon the improved atmosphere which now prevails at Geneva, thanks largely to your own personal efforts. The consequences of any decision by the Security Council in favour of the Thai proposal would be even graver. I see that a meeting of the Security Council has been called for tomorrow to consider the Thai request. I hope it will be possible for the UK representative on the Council to secure postponement of discussion for the time being. If this is not found possible and discussion takes

1. New Delhi, 2 June 1954. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Anthony Eden (1897-1977); Foreign Secretary of the UK, 1951-55; also see *Selected Works* (first series). Vol.7, p.105. Eden, who was representing the UK at the Geneva Conference at this time, was also co-chairman of the Conference, along with Vyacheslav Molotov, the Soviet Foreign Minister.
2. The Geneva Conference opened on 26 April 1954 to seek a peaceful settlement of the Korean question and also to discuss the problem of restoring peace in Indo-China. A British plan to facilitate the cessation of hostilities in Indo-China, accepted by the Conference on 30 May, stipulated that representatives of the French and Vietminh high commands should meet immediately in Geneva and that the military representatives should study "the dispositions of forces to be made upon the cessation of hostilities, beginning with the question of regrouping areas in Vietnam." The Conference was, however, yet to reach an agreement on arrangements for Laos and Cambodia.
3. Thailand made a request to the Security Council of the UN on 29 May to send observers under a peace sub-commission to Thailand's border with Indo-China.



place. I hope that position of the UK Government will be explained by him and that no active support will be given to the Thai proposal.<sup>4</sup>

4. Eden replied to Nehru on 6 June, "The Americans have been left in no doubt that in present circumstances I do not want any resolution tabled which would have the effect of extending the scope of the proposed peace observation commission beyond the frontiers of Siam." Meantime the Security Council had decided to adjourn its discussion on the Thai appeal.

## 2. Message to Anthony Eden<sup>1</sup>

Thank you for your personal message informing me that you have suggested that the Asian Powers represented at the Colombo Conference should assume responsibilities of supervising whatever arrangements are reached by the Geneva Conference.<sup>2</sup> As I have informed you, India is prepared to undertake such responsibility as it can shoulder in the interests of a peaceful settlement in Indo-China. But we can only do so if the proposal is agreed to by all the parties concerned, including China and the USSR. So far as I know, China and the USSR have not agreed to this proposal, partly on the ground that they do not consider Pakistan as a neutral country because of the military aid it is receiving from the United States.

While we are prepared to cooperate with any country, it is possible that, in existing circumstances, there may be some difficulties in the cooperation in this task of India and Pakistan. The Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Sir Zafrullah Khan, referred to this aspect some days ago.<sup>3</sup>

Apart from this, we should like to see the pattern emerging from the Geneva Conference before we can definitely commit ourselves to the acceptance of any task. I am sure you will appreciate our position.

1. New Delhi, 11 June 1954. JN Collection.
2. On 8 June, Eden proposed that an armistice in Indo-China should be supervised by the Colombo Conference countries, namely, India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Myanmar and Indonesia, who would have the right to take decisions by a majority. Earlier, the Soviet Union had proposed that the armistice should be supervised by a commission composed of India, Pakistan, Poland and Czechoslovakia and that the decisions of the commission should be unanimous.
3. Asked whether Pakistan would be willing to serve with India in a neutral commission. Zafrullah Khan said in London on 3 June that there was no objection in principle to cooperate with India on an equal basis. "But the question of chairmanship might be a difficult one," he added.

### 3. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

Casey<sup>2</sup> took pains to impress upon me that he did not approve in many respects of American policy relating to Indo-China.<sup>3</sup> In fact nobody knew what this policy was and what their objectives were. We must be clear about objectives before we draw up any plans. He had privately tried his best to restrain, in confidence, United States from taking rash action. Of course publicly he had to support them.

2. He talked of plans to prevent aggression in South-East Asia although he added that he did not expect Chinese to commit aggression and, in any enterprise, urgent need was to put an end to war and arrive at some settlement. He thought, in confidence only, likely settlement would involve partition of Vietnam.

3. He emphasised that any guarantee in South-East Asia must include Asian countries. He discussed Eden's proposal for Colombo Powers supervising truce arrangements and asked my reaction to it.

4. I told him that in interests of peace we were prepared to shoulder responsibility provided always that this was as result of agreement between rival parties and not unilateral. Proposal about Colombo Powers would not be agreeable to Russia and China because they did not consider Pakistan as neutral country. Apart from this we foresaw difficulties in sharing responsibility with Pakistan. I referred recent developments in East Pakistan.<sup>4</sup> In any event we could not commit ourselves without seeing full picture of settlement.

5. I explained to him that our view of security involved different approach. We did not think lining up of some power against other ensures security. In

1. New Delhi, 11 June 1954. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Krishna Menon was at this time in Geneva as a personal representative of Nehru.
2. R.G. Casey (1890-1976); Australian Minister for External Affairs, 1951-60; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 13, p. 608.
3. Casey especially visited Delhi, on his way to Geneva, for consultation with Nehru and had talks with him on 10 June.
4. Following a succession of riots in some of the industrial centres in East Bengal, several of which occurred through clashes between Bengali and non-Bengali workmen resulting in the death of hundreds of people, the Governor General of Pakistan, Ghulam Mohammed, dismissed the United Front Ministry headed by Fazlul Huq on 30 May and introduced Governor's rule. Iskandar Mirza, the new provincial Governor, stated on 2 June that the riots had been the result of "misunderstandings created between various sections of workers by interested parties who had been guided and helped by Communists from behind," and declared on 6 June that he would take "the most ruthless action to destroy communism."



fact it brought more insecurity just like armament race between two powers. Security was much more likely after some kind of agreement, and I saw no reason why China in her present condition should think of aggression unless she was afraid of being attacked.

6. Casey felt admission of China to United Nations was necessary but America would not agree to it for fear of public opinion and coming November elections. He hopes Geneva Conference would go on and not be allowed to break up.

7. I had a message today from Eden informing me of his proposal about Colombo Conference. I have replied to him on above lines.<sup>5</sup>

8. I have suggested your staying on in Geneva to meet Casey. You should however suit your own convenience and should of course go to Glasgow.<sup>6</sup>

5. See the preceding item.

6. On 17 June, Krishna Menon received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws at Glasgow University. The citation declared that he held the role of "honest broker" between East and West.

#### 4. To Ali Sastroamidjojo<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
12th June, 1954

My dear Prime Minister,<sup>2</sup>

Your Ambassador<sup>3</sup> in Delhi has handed to me your letter of June 7th, for which I thank you.

I am glad to have your views. I have been much concerned at the recent developments at Geneva. It appears that the chances of any kind of a settlement have now receded. During all this time, we have made no proposals of any kind. Krishna Menon went to Geneva originally for four days on his way to New York.<sup>4</sup> He stayed on for six or seven days and then went to London

1. JN Collection. Extracts. A copy of this letter was sent to the Prime Minister of Myanmar.

2. Ali Sastroamidjojo (1903-1975); Prime Minister of Indonesia, 1953-55 and 1956-57; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 25, p. 431.

3. L.N. Palar, Ambassador of Indonesia in India.

4. Sastroamidjojo wrote, "I am sure that the wrong impression of Mr. Menon's activities in Geneva has been caused by bad reporting in the Press." Krishna Menon was, in fact, on his way to New York to represent India at the Trusteeship Council meeting, when he stopped at Geneva.

intending to proceed to New York from there. But, when he was in London, Eden, the UK Foreign Secretary, expressed a wish that he should return to Geneva. I told Krishna Menon that in view of the vital importance of the discussions in Geneva, if he thought necessary, he could return there. So he went back. All his time was spent in meeting various representatives and trying to smooth matters as far as possible. He had an advantage in that he could meet all of them in a friendly way. Thus, he not only met Eden and Molotov,<sup>5</sup> but also Bedell-Smith,<sup>6</sup> Bidault<sup>7</sup> and Chou En-lai as well as the representatives of Vietminh, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.<sup>8</sup> He came to the conclusion that his staying much longer in Geneva would serve little purpose, and so he decided to proceed to London and New York.

Just then, that is, two days ago, Casey, Foreign Minister of Australia, passed through Delhi. He said that he would very much like to meet Krishna Menon in Geneva. At his request, therefore, I asked Menon to stay on in Geneva for another two or three days. He will probably be leaving soon.

You will, no doubt, have noticed that Eden's attitude has recently been stiffer than it was previously. Whether this is due to developments in Geneva or to pressure from his Party in the UK, or both, I do not know. The situation at present in Geneva is not at all a promising one and, unless some very unexpected development takes place, there is likely to be a break.

I mentioned in my last letter<sup>9</sup> to you that Chou En-lai was somewhat rigid. I did not mean to convey that he was uncompromising. I think his rigidity was largely the reaction to the American attitude at the Conference and also, to some extent, as you rightly guess, to his making it clear that he is playing an independent role and, was in no way, subordinate to the USSR. Indeed, this fact that he was playing an independent role was brought out in many ways at the Conference.

The real difficulty has been on the side of the USA and the French. So far as Bidault is concerned, it is doubtful how far he represents his people. Even

5. V.M. Molotov (1890-1986); Foreign Minister of the USSR. 1953-56; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 1, p. 134.
6. Walter Bedell-Smith (1895-1961); US Under Secretary of State. 1953-54; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 21, p. 541.
7. Georges (Augustin) Bidault (1899-1983); French Foreign Minister. 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947-48, January-July 1954; Prime Minister, 1946, 1949-50, 1958; was a leader of the Movement Republicain Populaire; opposed de Gaulle over the Algerian war; charged with plotting against the State and exiled, 1962-68.
8. At the Geneva Conference, the Vietminh was represented by Pham Van Dong, Vice-President of the Vietminh regime and Foreign Minister in Ho Chi Minh's Cabinet; Vietnam by its Foreign Minister, Nguyen Quoc Dinh; Laos by Prince Sananikone, Deputy Premier; and Cambodia was represented by M. Tep Phan, Foreign Minister.
9. Dated 29 May 1954.



as I write this letter, the future of the French Government is being tested and it is likely that it will fall.<sup>10</sup>

You refer in your letter to Chou En-lai's insistence on China's admission to the UN.<sup>11</sup> He has referred to this matter on some occasions, but, so far as I am aware, this has not been made an issue at the Conference at Geneva. It is true that, whether they discuss it or not, it is a major issue governing the situation. The history of the Far East would have been very different during the last three or four years if China had been in the UN....

One of the various subjects, which have held up the Conference in Geneva, has been the question of the Neutral Supervisory Commission in Indo-China. You will have seen the various proposals made, including the US and UK proposal that the Colombo Powers should form this Commission. This was rejected by Russia and China, the main opposition being that Pakistan could not be considered a neutral country after its military aid agreement with the US. Evidently, they have no objection to Pakistan as such, because you will remember that Molotov's first proposal was for four countries, among which was Pakistan. But he listed Pakistan as a country which was not neutral.

Eden asked me what I thought about his proposal to have the Colombo Powers.<sup>12</sup> I replied to him that, so far as we were concerned, we could only decide if both parties had come to an agreement. We would not join any unilateral proposal. Also we should like to see the pattern as it emerged after a settlement before we could commit ourselves. As his proposal has not met with the approval of Russia and China, it could not lead to a settlement.

Subsequently I learnt that Eden was prepared to modify his proposal in the following way: three Colombo Powers, one Communist country and one non-Communist country. I do not know if any agreement can be arrived at on that basis.

I do not think that Chou En-lai's attitude, though rigid, has been non-cooperative, nor do I think that he is indulging in delaying tactics so as to enable the military situation in Indo-China to develop even more to the

10. The coalition government of the French Premier, Joseph Laniel, was defeated in the National Assembly on 12 June due to withdrawal of support by the Radical Socialist partners, who favoured a quick end to the Indo-China war.
11. Sastroamidjojo wrote that Chou En-lai seemed to have hinted at Geneva that a settlement in Indo-China could only be "bought" by the recognition of China in the UN, and thought that it would be unrealistic to underestimate China's bargaining position at the Conference.
12. Sastroamidjojo noted that Eden's idea of forming a neutral commission out of Asian nations only was an excellent compromise proposal.

advantage of Vietminh.<sup>13</sup> Everybody knows that, both politically and militarily, Vietminh is dominant and the French cannot deal with them at all, in spite of the American aid they have got. The only question that arises now is whether America will intervene in a much more direct way.

Casey, it seemed to me, took a fairly objective view of the situation. I did not agree with him in some matters, of course, and more especially about any Pacific NATO or the like. He was, however, very anxious to pull back the Americans, as he told me, from their aggressive attitude. He added that he could only do this privately because publicly he would support them. He was quite apprehensive about the American attitude, and said, it had little relation to the facts of the situation, and was based chiefly on all kinds of public pressures in the US, and especially the elections that were going to take place in November next. Casey said that the American Constitution was completely out of date and was the cause of much trouble now. What was the objective of the US, Casey asked. I could not reply, nor could he, except the vague objective of containing communism. Even if that was the objective, what were the methods to do so. In effect, the policy that the US had adopted had really encouraged Communist tendencies in some countries of South-East Asia, because of the support of colonialism there. Communism thus appeared as a liberating, anti-colonial force and many people, who were by no means Communists, supported it on that ground.

Again, many important people in the US had openly complained that they would help Formosa to invade China and put an end to the present People's Government there. Whether this was the definite policy of the US or not, it was certainly the policy of the powerful groups in the US. Casey pointed out that this was completely unrealistic, and the sooner this was realised, the better. In fact, the point of China coming into the UN was chiefly important because it put an end to this idea of helping Formosa to attack China.

I have made it clear to Mr Eden and others that, in accordance with our general policy, we are not prepared to join any kind of Pacific NATO.<sup>14</sup> That is clear enough. But another question arises, or might arise. If there is a settlement between the rival groups in Indo-China, are we prepared to guarantee that settlement? That means that, in case of breach of that settlement, we are

13. Sastroamidjojo wrote that "an unfavourable interpretation" of Chou En-lai's rigid attitude would be that China was dependent on the Soviet military strategy of breaking up the "encirclement policy" of the US. and was very confident to win the battle in Indo-China.
14. Sastroamidjojo wrote that he was greatly concerned about American moves towards a "Pacific NATO". He argued that since the "Colombo nations" had shown in their joint statement a friendly attitude towards China, it would be rather embarrassing to adopt a position of indifference vis-a-vis SEATO, "which obviously is being designed against China."



involved in a war. Thus far, I have clearly stated that I am not prepared to give any guarantee which involves us in war. No one knows what certain developments might be, and one country might charge another with breach and then we might be dragged in. The responsibility for acting up to the settlement must lie with the belligerent Powers concerned. Thus, in any event, I do not see how we can possibly associate ourselves with Pacific NATO. That would be a breach of our non-alignment policy.

The fact of some countries remaining non-aligned and neutral is obviously important, as is shown even by the Geneva Conference. Such countries can play a definite role in favour of peace. If there are no such countries left, then there is no one to play that role.

You refer to recent rumours about Indonesia trying to form a non-aggression pact with India, Burma and the People's Republic of China. I have heard these rumours myself and I note what you say about the American reaction to them.<sup>15</sup> I think any such pact between a number of countries in South-East Asia would tend to appear as a kind of ganging up. At the present moment, with the conflict in Indo-China, it would not be possible even to consider such a proposal. But a time may come when this subject might be approached in a different way, that is, a bilateral way, two countries dealing with each other. You will remember our Agreement with China in regard to Tibet.<sup>16</sup> That is not a non-aggression pact, but, in the Preamble, it is stated that our two countries base their relations on non-aggression and non-interference with each other and the recognition of each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity. That is a good example. It may be that two other countries, without actually entering into a non-aggression pact, could state their relations to have that basis. But I think even this is slightly premature at present. We must see the outcome of the Indo-China affair before we can think of any other step.

Chou En-lai is, of course, stoutly opposed to any supervision by the United Nations as such, on the ground that the UN have been belligerents in Korea and that China is not recognised by them. There is force in that argument.

I am afraid that, in the unfortunate case of a break at Geneva, events will move rather fast. Because of the realisation of this, Casey was very anxious that there should be no such break at Geneva and that they should carry on as long as they can. The difficulty is the changing military situation in Indo-China. That is so favourable to Vietminh that it is becoming almost out of the question for any effective intervention even by the US.

15. Sastroamidjojo wrote that the reaction to these rumours from Washington was that such a pact could not but be interpreted as a pact against the "free world" because the Asian "neutralist" countries would step right into the Communist camp.

16. The Agreement was signed in Beijing on 29 April 1954.

In view of these rapid and far-reaching developments, it is necessary that we should keep in touch with each other. I shall certainly keep you informed of any developments which affect us or you.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 5. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

Your telegrams Nos.188 and 190 dated June 20.

2. I have sent personal messages of our appreciation and congratulations to Eden and Chou En-lai.<sup>2</sup>

3. Chou En-lai has decided to accept our invitation and return to China via Delhi. He is likely to arrive here on 24th evening by special Air India Constellation which is being sent for him from here. Intends staying three days. Please keep his visit here secret.<sup>3</sup>

4. I need not tell you how much I have appreciated your magnificent work at Geneva which undoubtedly has helped in the measure of success that has been achieved thus far.<sup>4</sup> Most people here have some appreciation of this work, but naturally they have no idea of the fuller extent of how much our informal efforts through you have borne fruit. I am sure that this will be realised fully before long and you have my fullest congratulations.

1. New Delhi, 21 June 1954. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.

2. On 19 June, a unanimous agreement was reached in Geneva upon steps relating to the cessation of hostilities in Laos and Cambodia. Message to Eden not printed. For message to Chou En-lai, see *post*, p. 365.

3. Nehru, in his telegram of 22 June to Krishna Menon, observed: "It is a curious coincidence that I shall be meeting Chou En-lai here just when Churchill and Eden are meeting Eisenhower. Significance of this will not be lost on others." Churchill and Eden visited Washington from 25 to 28 June for discussions.

4. Conveying his congratulations to Nehru, Krishna Menon had telegraphed. "World War III has once again been staved off for the time being. India, in a great measure, some say conclusively, has made these developments possible...beginning with your ceasefire appeal in February, followed by your six proposals, the Colombo Declaration and the efforts at Geneva. All of this, I submit with respect, has been possible only because of the basic quality of your foreign policy and your positive approach."



## 6. Message to U Nu<sup>1</sup>

Some days ago it appeared the Geneva Conference would break up and fail completely. Fortunately fresh developments took place there in regard to Indo-China and more particularly Laos and Cambodia which were stumbling blocks in the way of ceasefire.<sup>2</sup> Chinese offer for withdrawal of foreign troops from Laos and Cambodia removed this difficulty and now there is every hope that there will be a ceasefire before long in Vietnam, as well as Laos and Cambodia. This favourable development is a happy omen for the future. There are, of course, still great difficulties in the way of a settlement. But cessation of military operations will no doubt create an atmosphere much more favourable for a settlement. I should like to congratulate you on this development which holds promise of peace in South-East Asia.

Some two months ago I had suggested to Chinese Premier Chou En-lai to pay us a visit in Delhi on his way back from Geneva to China.<sup>3</sup> I had received no reply to this informal invitation. Yesterday, however, I received a message from him stating that he would like to spend two or three days in Delhi on his way back. I have naturally welcomed this, although this has meant a sudden change in my own programme as I was leaving Delhi today. Chou En-lai is expected here on the 24th evening and is likely to stay for two or three days. I hope to have full and frank talks with him about various matters of common concern to us and to other countries in South-East Asia.<sup>4</sup> I shall keep you informed of these talks.

1. New Delhi, 22 June 1954. File Nos. 12/86/NGO/54 and 12/88/NGO/54. MEA. Similar messages were also sent to Ali Sastroamidjojo and John Kotelawala. U Nu (Thakin Nu) (1907-1995). Prime Minister of Myanmar. 1947-57; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 4, p. 452.
2. Agreement on Cambodia and Laos was reached after Chou En-lai, at a restricted session of the Conference on 16 June, recognized the need for both the countries to possess their own defence forces; and for the Franco-Cambodian and Franco-Laotian commands on the one hand and the Vietminh command on the other to discuss the disposition of "indigenous forces" in the two States. Earlier, the demand for the evacuation of the Vietminh forces from these countries was unacceptable to China.
3. The invitation was conveyed through Krishna Menon in Geneva. See also *Selected Works* (second series), Vol 25, p. 470.
4. For record of Nehru's talks with Chou En-lai, see *post*, pp. 366-396 and 398-406.

## 7. Message to Anthony Eden<sup>1</sup>

I had long talks with Chou En-lai yesterday.<sup>2</sup> Most of the time was taken up by his describing to me what had taken place in the Geneva Conference in regard to Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. He also gave me his appraisal of the local situation in these countries. I need not repeat this as you are fully aware of what took place at Geneva and of Chou En-lai's attitude....

2. I suggested that, since the principle of armistice had been agreed to and all that remains was to draw a line, it would be desirable to tone down military operations.<sup>3</sup> Otherwise, each side would try to have a new line, apart from the desirability of stopping killing. Chou En-lai replied that this was a very good idea and he certainly hoped that both sides would avoid any major military operation while they were discussing an armistice. Such major military operations included bombing which the French have intensified and which they do not appear to be in a mood to lessen. Anyhow, there was now a specified time-limit of 21 days to finalise armistice, and of these only sixteen days were now left. Military operations should not affect the determination of ceasefire line or of areas held by either party. In any event, there would have to be adjustments and withdrawals on one side or the other.

3. Regarding Laos and Cambodia,<sup>4</sup> he said that they should be independent and neutral countries from which outside forces should be withdrawn and which should not provide any military bases to outside powers. The present loyalists' Governments there should be recognised, but these Governments should come to peaceful settlements with resistance movements, especially in Laos. There should be elections held under the present Governments. But these were internal problems of those Governments. Chou En-lai indicated that

1. New Delhi, 26 June 1954. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. See *post*, pp. 366-376.

3. In a message sent to Nehru on 23 June, Eden said that it would be invaluable for the efforts being made at Geneva if Nehru could convince Chou En-lai about the desirability to avoid new large scale attacks in Indo-China while the military committees were trying to work out the terms of a ceasefire.

4. Eden also stated in his message that an essential condition for peace was that the Vietminh forces must be withdrawn from Laos and Cambodia. He added that Chou En-lai had told him that provided no military bases were established in these two countries, 'China would be prepared to recognize their independence and unity. Eden further said that these countries "must really be allowed to lead their own lives in freedom and in their own way", and expressed the hope that Nehru would take an opportunity to obtain these assurances from Chou En-lai.



not only the Foreign Ministers of Laos and Cambodia but Mendes-France<sup>5</sup> generally agreed to this approach.

4. Chou En-lai laid stress on enlarging the area of peace in South-East Asia by having these countries become independent and neutral. This would remove fears and apprehensions in South-East Asia and give assurance of peace there....

5. Pierre Mendes-France (1907-1982); a prominent member of the Radical Party in France: elected Prime Minister on 17 June 1954. He ended the war in Indo-China but his Government was defeated on its North African policy in 1955.

## 8. To G.L. Mehta<sup>1</sup>

Camp: Mashobra

June 29, 1954

My dear Gaganvihari,<sup>2</sup>

...It has seemed to me that, broadly speaking, the British attitude of trying for a negotiated settlement was the only correct attitude. The US attitude is, I think, not only wrong, but wholly lacking in realism. The US may go on saying that they will not recognise China or agree to its inclusion in the UN. The fact remains that practically nobody agrees with them in this matter. Obviously, the UK do not. Casey of Australia told me that he did not. So far as Eastern countries are concerned, such as India, Burma and Indonesia, they not only do not agree with the US policy in this respect, but will continue to follow their own policy even though the US may strongly disapprove of it.

While the Korea question is completely deadlocked, in regard to Indo-China there has definitely been progress at Geneva. It appears that an armistice is likely, unless the US comes down with a heavy hand to prevent it. If they prevent it, what then? What other course have they got? The only thing they can try to do is to build up their South-East Asia Organisation. Such an organisation will not have the support of the principal South-East Asian countries, i.e., India, Burma and Indonesia. In these circumstances, it is doubtful if even the UK or Australia will support it.

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. (1900-1974); Ambassador of India to the USA, 1952-58; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 13, p. 548.

SEATO, therefore, will be almost still-born. It is a little absurd to imagine a South Asian organisation supported just by Thailand, the Philippines, etc.

The United States has got itself into a bad impasse. The Chinese, on the other hand, have been much more realistic and so has Vietminh.

The choice today is some settlement in South-East Asia, more or less acknowledging the present position and stabilising it, i.e., preventing any expansion on either side (which really means on the Chinese side), or no agreement and thus allowing the military operations to continue, which are obviously very much advantageous to China and Vietminh. This will bring up the question of a world war.

There is reference in your letter to our agreement with China over Tibet. People talk vaguely and without understanding about this agreement and say that we have given up more than we have gained. What have we given up? We have only given up what in fact we could not hold and what in fact had in reality gone. We have given up certain rights that we exercised internally in Tibet. Obviously, we cannot do that. We have gained instead something that is very important, i.e., a friendly frontier and an implicit acceptance of that frontier. The real objection of our critics is not the content of our agreement, but that we have come to an agreement at all with China. They would much rather that we remained hostile....

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 9. Instructions for the Indian Representative at Hanoi<sup>1</sup>

I am quite sure that our representative at Hanoi should continue to remain there in spite of any changes in the military situation of the occupation of Hanoi by the Vietminh forces.<sup>2</sup> I do not think there is the slightest danger to him. If there is any risk, it has to be faced. If the Vietminh forces occupy Hanoi, he should get in touch with them and tell them that he is there to

1. Note to Secretary General and Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 7 July 1954. File No. Z/54/1191/702-(43), MEA.
2. The Vietminh forces had suddenly increased their pressure north and north-west of Hanoi, the central French stronghold in the Red River Delta.



protect the large number of Indian nationals<sup>3</sup> and he hopes that they will not be interfered with in any way.

3. About 2,500 Indian nationals were residing in Indo-China at this time. The estimated value of property, chiefly land, held by them, was about Rs 500 million. India had a Consulate in Hanoi.

## 10. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

Your telegram No. 226 July 16th.<sup>2</sup>

2. I should certainly like you to send daily reports. It is difficult to understand changing position from unsatisfactory press reports.

3. I know you are doing your best in difficult and delicate situation and I cannot advise you from here. You know, as well as I do, what great importance we attach to ceasefire and peaceful settlement, and consequences of no settlement.

4. I have just had a message from Prime Minister of Indonesia. In this he expresses his concern about Churchill's<sup>3</sup> recent statement<sup>4</sup> and other recent developments in Paris<sup>5</sup> which according to him have weakened prospect of peace. He says that he wants us to do everything in our power to prevent unfavourable development at Geneva. He expresses his strong conviction that at the present time India is the only Asian country which could exert its influence upon UK.

5. I am passing this on to you merely for your information and to indicate anxiety of Asian countries for peace.

1. New Delhi, 16 July 1954. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.
2. Krishna Menon reported that the toughest points in the agreements to be reached at Geneva were the location of the ceasefire line, the schedule and other principles of elections and the composition of a neutral supervisory commission.
3. Winston Churchill (1874-1965); Prime Minister of the UK. 1940-45 and 1951-55; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 4, p. 52.
4. Churchill declared in the House of Commons on 12 July that a South-East Asia collective defence system was not incompatible with arrangements to be made for Indo-China at Geneva.
5. Dulles, during his talks with Mendes-France and Eden in Paris on 13 and 14 July, was reported to have assured France of US help in getting an Indo-China peace in return for French and British pledges to help work out a plan to guarantee South-East Asia against any future Communist aggression.

## 11. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

In answer to our enquiry our representative at Saigon, Kutty, has despatched long report.<sup>2</sup> Please remember that he is a very junior officer who used to be registrar of Consulate there. But he has been sending us good reports.

2. In his opinion it is very necessary to fix date for elections, as otherwise settlement of Indo-China problem will be postponed indefinitely. Elections can be held in June 1955 but for one difficulty. Monsoon starts in Indo-China end April and many parts of South and Central Vietnam are not easily accessible due to lack of proper roads. Therefore ideal time to hold elections would be during November to December 1955....

3. It is generally believed that in elections Ho Chi Minh will sweep the polls.

4. This is for your information. Suggest you to use this cautiously so that we may not be said to use this to exercise pressure.<sup>3</sup>

1. New Delhi, 19 July 1954. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Extracts.
2. Referring to the elections in Vietnam envisaged in the agreements under discussion at Geneva, Mendes-France had told Krishna Menon on 16 July that, in his view, a long time was required before elections were feasible, and wished if he could have the benefit of opinion of the Indian representative in Ho Chi Minh City in this matter. On 17 July, MEA asked Kutty, the officiating Indian Consul in Ho Chi Minh City, to report about the feasibility of elections.
3. Krishna Menon had observed in his telegram to Nehru that if the report of the Indian representative was favourable to his position, Mendes-France was bound to point to the fact that his position was supported by Indian opinion.

## 12. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

Your telegram No. 231 July 20th.

2. I have received message from Eden conveying informal advance information about international supervisory commission being composed of representatives of Canada, India and Poland.<sup>2</sup> I am sending no answer till formal

1. New Delhi, 20 July 1954. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.
2. The message was conveyed to Nehru by G.H. Middleton, Deputy High Commissioner of the UK in India, on 19 July.



request is made and we are informed of functions of such a commission. I have, however, informed Middleton that we cannot say no to an agreed request to us, but it is somewhat embarrassing for us to be only country selected out of Colombo Powers.<sup>3</sup> Knowledge of functions is important. Probably commission may have to function for two years or more.

3. I am sending no formal answer to Eden to his message which I conveyed to you last night.<sup>4</sup> I have, however, informed Middleton that we are opposed to any declarations which, in effect, mean our lining up with one group against another.

3. In messages sent on 20 July to the Prime Ministers of Myanmar, Indonesia, Sri Lanka and Pakistan, Nehru stated, "This selection of three countries, including India, is somewhat embarrassing for us as I would have liked to be associated in this delicate and responsible task with Colombo Powers. But... there has been a great deal of argument on this issue at Geneva and if ultimately an agreed proposal is made, it would be improper for us to reject it and thus come in the way of agreement."
4. See *post*, pp. 414-415. Eden had suggested that in the event of an agreement not materializing in Geneva, the countries of the Commonwealth and of South and South-East Asia might make an early announcement of their agreement with the US and France to work together for common defence.

### 13. Message to Ali Sastroamidjojo<sup>1</sup>

Thank you for your message which I have just received through your Ambassador. Since the signing of the Geneva Conference on Indo-China<sup>2</sup> and the issue of Eight-Power declaration<sup>3</sup> with it and separately US declaration,<sup>4</sup>

1. New Delhi, 22 July 1954. JN Collection.
2. Separate bilateral ceasefire agreements for Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia were concluded at Geneva during the night of 20-21 July. Latitude 17° North, with certain exceptions, was fixed as the line of demarcation between the northern and southern zones of Vietnam. General elections were to take place in July 1956 to decide the future of Vietnam. Three international commissions were also set up to supervise the carrying out of the agreements in the three Associated States.
3. The declaration by France, UK, USSR, China, the Associated States and the Vietminh Government related to the problem of restoring peace in Indo-China.
4. The US declared that it would refrain from the threat or the use of force to disturb the agreements but it would view any renewal of aggression in violation of the agreements with grave concern and as seriously threatening international peace and security.

no necessity apparently arises now for adopting line suggested by Eden. Of course, efforts might still be made by the US, Australia and possibly others for some such declaration.

2. I agree with you that we should welcome Geneva settlement and express our hope that final peace will follow it. I have already issued statement of this kind.<sup>1</sup> Suggest that you should also express similar views. It is difficult in circumstances to get identical statements on behalf of Colombo Powers, though I would welcome it if it was possible.

3. I suggest also that you might express your views clearly to Eden in your reply to him.

4. India's position is somewhat delicate now because we have been mentioned as Chairman of Supervisory Commission for Indo-China. I have today received formal communication from Eden and Molotov, as Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference, informing us of proposal to have three commissions of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia respectively to organize international control and supervision of the execution of the provisions of the Geneva Agreements. Commission is to consist of representatives of Canada, India and Poland and presided over by representative of India. We have not yet received texts of agreements and declarations and do not know what the functions of these commissions are going to be. I am replying that in view of settlements arrived at we shall be glad to help, but we should like to have fuller information on the subject, before we can indicate our final views.

5. In a statement issued on 21 July, Nehru welcomed the settlement and paid tribute especially to the foreign ministers of the UK, the USSR, France and China and representatives of the Associated States and the Vietminh for this achievement. He concluded, "The meeting of South-East Asian Prime Ministers at Colombo undoubtedly exerted a powerful influence on the deliberations at Geneva and although Asia was not well represented at the Geneva Conference, it was recognised that Asian opinion counted. A new responsibility is thus cast on Asian countries."

#### 14. To C. Rajagopalachari<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 29, 1954

My dear Rajaji,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 23rd July and for your congratulations. As a

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. (1878-1972); also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. I, p. 350.



matter of fact, I have done little in this matter except to hold on to a certain viewpoint and a certain policy and to express it as politely and firmly as possible. But Krishna Menon has certainly done a very fine piece of work at Geneva. I rather doubt if any settlement would have been arrived at at Geneva but for Krishna's efforts. Of course, others there tried hard. It was really the first international conference where a real attempt was made to find a way out, and, because there was sincerity in this attempt, it succeeded. Realisation came about the reality of atomic warfare....

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

## 15. Message to U Nu<sup>1</sup>

Your message reached me on 30th July. I am sorry for the delay in answering it.

2. The Prime Minister of Ceylon has, I believe, already sent a joint statement on behalf of the Colombo Powers to Mr Eden. We agreed to the draft he had suggested.<sup>2</sup>

3. While this has been done, I feel that a longer and more reasoned reply is desirable. It may also be necessary for our respective Governments to say something more formally welcoming the Indo-China Agreement. I am just going out of Delhi for four days. On my return, I propose to consider this matter more fully.

4. As regards formal recognition of Laos and Cambodia, there is one difficulty. If we recognise them, why not Vietnam and why not Vietminh? My own feeling is, therefore, that while we do not recognise these countries formally, in practice we should deal with them as if we recognise them. India's position is rather special at present because of our Chairmanship of the International Supervisory Commissions and we do not wish to take any step which might prove embarrassing....

1. New Delhi, 1 August 1954. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. The draft statement, to which Nehru sent his concurrence on 31 July, stated that the agreements on Indo-China made a notable contribution to the consolidation of peace in South-East Asia and expressed the hope that these would be fully respected by the members of the Geneva Conference and all other States.

## 16. International Supervisory Commissions<sup>1</sup>

I should like to welcome you, gentlemen, especially those who have come, not those who have been here. We have asked you to come here at short notice, and I am quite sure that this must have involved a good deal of inconvenience to your Governments. But really speaking the time limit has been laid down not by us, but by the Geneva Agreement which puts down various dates for the Commissions to function and for other things to happen, and so we felt here that unless we got moving quickly, it might be difficult to catch up with events and in moving obviously the only party that could set this whole machinery working is the International Commission or rather the Governments which form the Commission, that is, Canada, India and Poland. So we felt that even if the regular Commission takes a few days or a week or two to be constituted, some steps should be taken by the representatives of these three Governments just to clarify matters and to lay down what immediate steps have to be taken. And so we decided to request your Governments to send representatives here.

You know that we invited representatives of other Governments also, of France, of Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Obviously they stand on a separate footing from the Commission. It is obvious we invited them because we felt it might help us to create a good atmosphere of cooperation. The various decisions have to be taken by the Commission, not by them, obviously. But there might be some points which we might have to discuss with them.

Again, there are going to be three Commissions dealing separately with these countries, separately with Laos, separately with Cambodia and separately with Vietnam, so that normally speaking we do not meet all together to discuss matters. If we meet the Vietnam representatives, we do not discuss Laos matters with them or vice-versa. I say that because there has been some slight confusion in the Press that all these people are invited together, that is, the members of the Commission as well as the representatives of Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam, France, etc. That is not quite correct, I think. No doubt we occasionally shall meet collectively but not in the formal sense of the Conference, because decisions can only be taken by the Commission and not by the other countries. And that is why it was our intention to meet this afternoon informally with all these other representatives who we hoped would

1. Speech at a preliminary meeting of representatives of the Governments of Canada, Poland and India, members of the International Supervisory Commissions for Indo-China. New Delhi, 1 August 1954. From Press Information Bureau. Extracts.



have been here by today, that is, representatives of France, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. But they are not here<sup>2</sup>....

Now, I need not say that we in India consider it a great honour to be associated with Canada and Poland in this Commission and to be charged with this tremendous responsibility. It is a very important function that we have been charged with, and it requires above all the closest cooperation from all the members of the Commission as well as those other countries with whom the Commission has to deal with. I am sanguine enough to believe that there will be that full cooperation not only by the members of the Commission itself but also, I hope, by the other countries concerned. I say that not merely as an expression of pious hope, but because that is the impression I gathered from the proceedings at Geneva. There was that desire to cooperate and try to understand the difficulties and others' points of view.

I know that the decisions at Geneva were arrived at because every party was actuated by this desire to come to some agreement. I feel that the Geneva Conference might well be considered to be rather unique in that aspect and therefore it led to good results. Now, I have read the agreements and you too must have read the agreements arrived at at Geneva. You will find from them that a great deal is left to the Commissions, and it is by no means clear to me as to what the details are—they are not here before me—so that it is all the more reason why we should consider all matters and come to some decisions about the procedure, the machinery, what people may have to be sent from India, Canada and Poland....

We are meeting here with certain suggestions for the agenda. It contains only suggestions, because this meeting of ours is only some kind of a preliminary meeting of the Commission. It is for the Commission itself to determine its own agenda. We can only make suggestions. We shall fix some kind of an agenda and you may consider each point separately and maybe later refer some matters to small sub committees and they can work out details and report to us. The main purpose of our meeting today and in the next few days is, first of all, to develop a certain approach and an atmosphere of cooperative effort. That will be our job, not one, I hope, of fixed positions being taken up and toes digging from which it is difficult to dislodge, because the fact is we are not discussing here, so far as I can see, high matters of principle but only working out certain procedures and there is absolutely no reason why we should not work in fullest cooperation and with as large a measure of unanimity as possible. The first thing is to develop a friendly and cooperative atmosphere. The second thing is to clarify a number of points which need to be clarified before we can get going at all, and later some steps will have to be taken jointly or severally. We should also consider sending an

2. The representatives of these countries arrived subsequently.

advance mission there. If such a mission is sent, I should like the mission to consist of the representatives of the three countries, not of India only, and look round on the spot. There are certain dates fixed by these agreements. Speaking from memory, I think the International Commission is supposed to start in Vietnam by the 11th August and in the other places later.... Again, I should like to welcome you and to assure you that we, on behalf of India, are undertaking this work with full realization of its great importance and the feeling that it can be brought to a successful conclusion only with the fullest cooperation of the other Members of the Commission. We approach the problem in that spirit. While you are here—I do not know how long your work will take here but since you have taken the trouble of coming here, it is desirable that we should thrash out these things as much as possible so that our future work might be simplified and so that each country might have some better appreciation of what it has to do....

## 17. The Roman Catholics in Indo-China<sup>1</sup>

The Papal Internuncio came to see me this morning. After expressing appreciation and gratitude of the Vatican for India's role in helping to bring about peace in Indo-China, he referred to two million Roman Catholics in Indo-China. He was especially concerned with the fate of the Roman Catholics in the Northern area, which will be under the Vietminh administration. Many of them, he said, might migrate to the South. He suggested, therefore, that the International Supervisory Commissions might give these people some special consideration, that is, might exercise their influence in preventing any discrimination against them or special hardship to them.

2. I told him that I did not expect any harsh policy towards them on the part of the Vietminh authorities who were anxious to appear friendly and tolerant. But we were perfectly prepared to inform our Chairmen of the International Supervisory Commissions about this message from the Vatican.

3. Those Commissions' work was limited by their terms of reference, but they would, no doubt, exercise their influence, wherever possible, to prevent any hardship to any section of the inhabitants.

4. I suggest that we might convey this message to the three Chairmen of our Commissions....

1. Note to Secretary General, MEA. and Foreign Secretary, 11 August 1954. JN Collection. Extracts.



## (iii) Chou En-lai's Visit

1. Message to Chou En-lai<sup>1</sup>

I am very happy to learn from your Ambassador<sup>2</sup> in Delhi that you have accepted the invitation to visit India which Mr Krishna Menon conveyed to you on my behalf.<sup>3</sup> Your Excellency and your party will be welcomed here and I am looking forward particularly to meeting you and of having the opportunity to exchange views. We are glad that your Excellency will be travelling by the Air India International. We are instructing our Consul General<sup>4</sup> at Geneva to place himself at your disposal for any help in regard to travelling or other arrangements that you might require.

May I congratulate you and express my deep appreciation of your efforts to terminate hostilities all over Indo-China? I earnestly hope that the direct negotiations now in progress will soon achieve this result and will thus lead to the next step of a peaceful settlement of the difficult problem which you have had to face at the Geneva Conference. I am grateful to your Excellency for the consideration you showed to our representative, Shri Krishna Menon.<sup>5</sup>

1. New Delhi, 21 June 1954. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Chou En-lai was at this time representing China at the Conference on Indo-China in Geneva.
2. Yuan Chung-hsien.
3. Krishna Menon informed Nehru on 21 June, "I not only conveyed your invitation to Chou En-lai, but mentioned it more than once and we talked it over. I believe I helped him to get over what he might have been regarding as prestige difficulties. etc."
4. Samarendranath Sen.
5. Krishna Menon, in his telegram of 21 June to Nehru, wrote about Chou En-lai: "He is a fine and I believe a great and able man: I do not believe that the Chinese have expansionist ideas. He spoke to me about Malaya in this connection. I think he is also somewhat happy that the British and they have got closer and that we broke down some barriers. I found little difficulty in getting near him. He was never evasive with me even on difficult matters after the second day. He is extremely shrewd and observant, very Chinese but modern."

## 2. Conversation with Chou En-lai <sup>1</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: We have many things to talk about. Where would your Excellency like to start?

Chou En-lai: Wherever Your Excellency wishes to start.

JN: Your Excellency has just come from Geneva and might like to talk about Indo-China.

Chou En-lai: The Geneva Conference has been meeting for eight weeks and the Foreign Ministers have left, but the Conference is continuing. The Korean question was simple—we did not reach any agreement...

JN: That is, so far as the Korean question is concerned, the Geneva Conference is closed?

Chou En-lai: That is true....

JN: I thought Mr Eden said it was not over. There was always the possibility of its being started afresh.

Chou En-lai: Originally the delegation of China made a proposal not to close the discussion and the Belgian Foreign Minister <sup>2</sup> agreed. That day, Eden was the Chairman, and, if there had been no opposition from the USA, there was a general desire to continue the discussion....

JN: Of course, it is always open to start discussion. Otherwise, the Conference is closed.

Chou En-lai: Yes, that is so.

1. Record of five sessions of conversation between Jawaharlal Nehru and Chou En-lai, held in New Delhi from 25 to 27 June 1954, is printed in this section. The minutes of the conversation were maintained by T.N. Kaul, Joint Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs. This item contains record of the first session, 3.30 pm to 6.15 pm, 25 June 1954. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Extracts. Chou En-lai visited India from 25 to 28 June 1954.
2. Paul Henri Spaak.



JN: What about Indo-China?

Chou En-lai: On the Indo-China question we reached two agreements: One was on Vietnam after three weeks of discussion. This was an agreement in principle on a military armistice. The question is now under concrete discussion between the two High Commands. The second was also on a military armistice on Laos and Cambodia. This has also been referred to the Military Commands....

JN: These military talks have been going on for some weeks. Have they thus far achieved any result?

Chou En-lai: On the idea of having two large regrouping areas, the views in principle held by the senior representatives of the French Command and of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam<sup>3</sup> Command are quite close. They both agreed that they should not have a number of small regrouping areas because that would be inconvenient and would also result in an unstable armistice. Of course the representative of the Bao Dai<sup>4</sup> Government did not participate in the negotiations between the senior representatives of the two sides though they participated in the staff talks.... Therefore, I think Bao Dai's representatives may have some other views.

JN: This means that there is going to be a temporary partition, only temporary. Am I correct?

Chou En-lai: Yes. That is the significance of it. Mendes-France has also told me<sup>5</sup> that a line can be drawn east to west. In connection with this question, the military representatives of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam proposed that the northern part should be integrated and complete so that it would also include the Red River Delta... The French military representative was also inclined to discuss this question. The unstable

3. The government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, set up under Ho Chi Minh in Hanoi in 1945, was in control of the northern half of Vietnam. This government was recognized since 1950 by China and the Soviet bloc governments.
4. Bao Dai, a former emperor of Annam, was the chief of State of Vietnam which France recognized as an Associated State within the French Union.
5. Chou En-lai had a meeting with Mendes-France in Berne on 23 June 1954 prior to his departure from Switzerland for New Delhi.

position of the French Government caused a suspension of almost three weeks up to now, and so far no reply has been given to the proposal of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam...

JN: If there is going to be an east-west line, then both sides will form an integrated area on each side of the line—two solid blocks as it were. Is that not so?

Chou En-lai: Yes. That would be our view.... But the United States is not in favour of this idea. They have expressed their opposition outside but not inside the Conference.

JN: That is, they are not in favour of a temporary partition?

Chou En-lai: As for the attitude of the USA in the Conference on the Indo-China question, it is something like this.... They neither accepted nor objected to any proposals made in the Conference but merely made reservations.... So, if we say that the United States is against a determination of areas, we cannot say at the same time they are in favour of the unification of the country. Their policy is to obstruct any settlement in the Conference. They are against an agreement. Of course the United States would be in favour of surrender by Ho Chi Minh. But that would not be honourable peace for both sides.

JN: Were Bao Dai's representatives in favour of an armistice?

Chou En-lai: The representative of the Bao Dai Government was in favour of an agreement.... However, in discussions the delegates of the Bao Dai Government have put emphasis on the unification of the country under the UN and that the UN should guarantee that Bao Dai will continue as Emperor. But, of course, such a proposal can never be acceptable.

JN: Does Bao Dai intend to govern his Empire from Cannes?<sup>6</sup>... The present question is of drawing a ceasefire line east to west temporarily dividing the country?

Chou En-lai: Yes. That is exactly the question being discussed between the military representatives of both sides.

6. Chou En-lai laughed loudly at Nehru's remark.



JN: But in the meanwhile warfare and military operations are going on. How does one determine a fluid situation?

Chou En-lai: ... If both sides agree on the readjustment of regrouping zones and on Laos and Cambodia, we have an armistice and after that, the transfer of troops.... But if there is an armistice now without determining the line, conflicts may arise.

JN: That is so. Once the principle of an armistice is agreed, then all that remains is to draw the line. But once the principle has been agreed to, would it not be possible to tone down the military operations? Otherwise each side will try to have a new line—apart from the desirability of stopping killing.

Chou En-lai: Yes.... I think what you have said about toning down military operations is a very good idea.

JN: If an armistice is agreed to in principle, it helps in creating a climate for an armistice, that is, people staying where they are, subject to some minor changes in the armistice agreement.

Chou En-lai: We hope that both sides will avoid large military operations when they are discussing armistice.... The military operations should not, however, affect the determination of the areas. There may have to be some adjustments. For example, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has many areas in the South from which they may have to withdraw. Gains and losses should not affect determination of areas....

JN: Regarding Laos and Cambodia also, these military talks were going on. I saw a statement by your Excellency in a paper at Geneva that all outside troops should be withdrawn. Is that so?

Chou En-lai: It is true.

JN: I understand that one point which Your Excellency stressed was that Laos and Cambodia should not provide military bases for attack on Vietnam or China.<sup>7</sup>

7. After many weeks of deadlock at Geneva, Chou En-lai told Eden on 16 June that he thought he could persuade the Vietminh to withdraw from Laos and Cambodia, and that China would recognize their royal governments, provided there were no American bases in the territories. See Anthony Eden, *Memoirs: Full Circle* (London, 1960), p. 129.

Chou En-lai: Especially American military bases. The Foreign Ministers of Laos and Cambodia have personally said to me that if these two countries have peaceful unification, they would not allow United States to build military bases.

JN: What do you mean by unification?

Chou En-lai: They think that elections should be held under their respective Governments. They think that through these elections, the people will support royalist Governments there. If this is the people's will, we shall abide by it. The Foreign Ministers of Laos and Cambodia ... told me that they would not allow US to build military bases. Mendes-France also said the same. He told me and Mr Eden that they would like to see Laos and Cambodia to become like other South-East Asian countries, e.g., India, Burma and Indonesia.

JN: That means that Laos and Cambodia should be independent and live their own lives without any interference from outside countries. Am I right?

Chou En-lai: Yes.

JN: In other words, the two countries would feel assured if they were independent neutral countries without being interfered with by other countries.

Chou En-lai: Yes. The States participating in the Geneva Conference and other States should recognize Laos and Cambodia as independent countries and make a declaration that they would not allow interference with them. At the same time, Laos and Cambodia should declare that they will not allow any foreign country to build bases there.

As regards these two countries, we should make a distinction between external and internal problems. Militarily all foreign forces should be withdrawn. On the other side measures should be taken to unify the native forces. For example, in Cambodia, these native forces should be unified and in Laos the resistance forces should...become part of the Government forces....

JN: Your Excellency said that at a suitable moment elections should be held in Laos and Cambodia so that Governments representative of the people can be formed. How can unification and military forces affect the Governments? I can understand Governments being formed as a result of elections and then these Governments taking steps to unify the country and military forces. It is an internal problem and can be dealt with by the present Governments or by





GOING FOR AN AERIAL SURVEY OF FLOOD AFFECTED AREAS, NEW DELHI, 4 SEPTEMBER 1954



WITH CHOU EN-LAI, NEW DELHI, 25 JUNE 1954



Governments formed after the elections. These internal developments can take place if external pressures are removed.

Chou En-lai: In Laos and Cambodia there are resistance movements. These have resulted in the colonial war. So, if the war is going to be stopped, not only outside forces should be withdrawn but even internal forces should be controlled. The internal problems should also be settled. In Cambodia, the resistance forces are small and the internal problems can be solved easily....In Laos there is a resistance Government. We should persuade both States to make contacts. The royal government should be recognised to have the leading position...

JN: These resistance movements are a result of colonial Governments. If colonial forces are removed then the resistance forces can settle things peacefully with the existing Governments, that is, a settlement should be arrived at peacefully and not by war.

Chou En-lai: Yes. This policy is correct, as you have stated it. The Royal Government in Laos should be in the leading position and take in the resistance forces. In this way a peaceful settlement can be arrived at, unlike the situation in Vietnam, where there are two opposing Governments.

JN: The positions are different. If there is trouble and conflict in Laos and Cambodia, that is a disturbing factor in other countries of South-East Asia.... A peaceful settlement of Laos and Cambodia would produce a climate of peace for larger areas.

Chou En-lai: Yes, Your Excellency has said that these two countries should have neutral status. That is exactly what I said. They should become States of the South-East Asian type. Then they would enable the peaceful forces in South-East Asia to strengthen. It would strengthen peace and avoid internal conflict and external pressure.

JN: Your Excellency considers these two countries as those of South-East Asia, which you consider to be neutral and peaceful and you would like Laos and Cambodia to become part of South-East Asia—neutral and peaceful.

Chou En-lai: Yes, that is true.

JN: I am sure that will have a wider influence for peace in South-East Asia and in other countries also, particularly in Burma and Indonesia, the two chief countries in South-East Asia.

Chou En-lai: On this question of peace in South-East Asia and peace in Asia, I would like to exchange views and to hear whatever views Your Excellency holds.

JN: I hope Your Excellency will be meeting U Nu in Rangoon. I met him about two months back.<sup>8</sup> He is a very frank and forthright person. He is a good man. I like him very much. Throughout these past seven years, U Nu and his Government were very sympathetic to Ho Chi Minh. In fact in the early stages they sent him some arms, not much, as a friendly gesture. I found two months ago that their attitude had slightly changed chiefly because, shall I say so, of fear of war coming near them. If they can be assured of this area being neutralized and chances of peace increasing, I am sure it will have a powerful effect on them.

Chou En-lai: I have also heard the views of Prime Minister U Nu, which were conveyed to me by Mr V.K. Krishna Menon under Your Excellency's instructions<sup>9</sup> and for which I wish to thank you.

I think some of the questions may have resulted from misunderstandings. The view-points on some other questions have not yet been brought closer. That is why there is lack of understanding. I hope that if I can meet His Excellency U Nu, these questions can be clarified.<sup>10</sup>

Our policy towards South-East Asia is one of peaceful existence. This is our policy towards India, Burma, Indonesia and even towards Pakistan and Ceylon, and now, towards Laos and Cambodia, we have the same policy.... The Foreign Minister of Laos told me that Laos is situated in the middle of so many countries....I told him therefore that the best policy for Laos was to have neutral status and all countries round about her should respect the independence of Laos and make it a bridge for peace.... As for Cambodia, it is more to the South and there is much more reason for it to be neutral.

8. Nehru met U Nu at the Colombo Conference of the Prime Ministers of Sri Lanka, India, Pakistan, Myanmar and Indonesia held from 28 April to 2 May.
9. The views of U Nu were probably conveyed to Chou En-lai in Geneva in May 1954 after the Colombo Conference. See also *Selected Works* (second series). Vol. 25, p. 478.
10. Nehru sent a message to U Nu on 25 June: "Premier Chou En-lai...leaving 28th morning for Canton via Rangoon. He has expressed a wish to meet you and have a talk with you.... Would strongly urge your inviting Chou En-lai to spend afternoon and night in Rangoon. I consider your having a full talk with him important."



JN: I entirely agree that if as between these countries of South-East Asia and us we can lay down principles like respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs, non-aggression, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence, as we have laid down between our two countries,<sup>11</sup> this would create a large area of peace. I referred some time ago to the creation of an area for peace,<sup>12</sup> that is, neutral countries which have no foreign bases in them and accept the principles of non-aggression, non-interference in internal affairs, etc.,—it would help peace.

Chou En-lai: This is also the policy of the Government of China. Therefore, on this point we have complete agreement. If on this point Your Excellency thinks that we should do something further, we shall only be too pleased to do so.

JN: Regarding Pakistan also we want to follow the policy of peaceful coexistence. We do not wish to take any territory of Pakistan or have any conflict with them. We have unfortunately some issues pending with them like Kashmir, canal waters, refugee property, etc. Our policy is that we are not against the existence of Pakistan and we want it to continue as an independent State. Unfortunately Pakistan's policy is allied with that of the USA. It is a strange mixture of fear and aggression. At present there are many American influences there. Therefore, for Pakistan to be a neutral country is rather difficult. Nevertheless, our policy is that Pakistan should continue as an independent country and any outstanding issues between us should be settled peacefully.

Chou En-lai: We understand very well this policy. We have persuaded many times the Ambassador of Pakistan in Peking<sup>13</sup> to be friendly and peaceful with India and not rely on the help of USA. Pakistan has said several times that they want to be a strong nation. We have no objection to that.

JN: Nor have we.

Chou En-lai: But relying on USA is a different matter.

11. These principles, which became famous as Panchsheel, were stated in the preamble to the agreement on trade and cultural intercourse between "the Tibet region of China" and India reached between India and China on 29 April 1954.
12. Nehru said this in a statement in Lok Sabha on 24 April 1954. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 25, pp. 439-444.
13. Major-General Agha Mohammad Riaza.

JN: The difficulty with Pakistan is that they have always relied on others—sometimes the British and sometimes the Americans. If they dealt with us direct, we would have settled various problems. But this reliance on others makes things difficult.

Chou En-lai: Yes. That is the crux of the matter.

JN: When India was partitioned and Pakistan came into existence, that was a terrible blow. So far as the people of India and Pakistan are concerned, they have the same language, same habits and customs. Today there are thousands of families, half in India and half in Pakistan, e.g., a father is in India and the son is in Pakistan; one brother is in India and the other in Pakistan. It is an unnatural division. For instance, there are two brothers, one is a general in the Indian Army and another in the Pakistan Army. Also two brothers—one serving in the Indian Foreign Service and one in the Pakistan Foreign Service.

Chou En-lai: Yes. It is a man-made artificial division.

JN: As Your Excellency knows, there was a powerful movement against British rule for 25 to 30 years. The people who are now running Pakistan were the people who were opposing the movement and helping the British. So the British were helping them to get Pakistan in order to create an area under British control. In Pakistan the persons who came into power came in with British help. They have no roots in the people. Two recent facts are interesting: (1) After Independence, about ten thousand British Officers left India. Many of them went to Pakistan and became high officers there. They were very bitter against India because we had kicked them out. They have caused more trouble between India and Pakistan than the Pakistanis themselves. (2) About three months ago, there were elections in East Pakistan. They were unique. Out of three hundred and nine seats, three hundred were won by the Opposition and only nine by Government, in spite of Government pressure.<sup>14</sup> That shows popular feeling was against the Government. They have now suppressed these popular forces and there is martial law. I said that British influence in Pakistan had set them against us. Now it is not British influence but American influence, because American money is flowing there.

14. The elections held between 8 and 11 March resulted in an overwhelming victory for the United Front, an alliance of the Opposition parties, which secured 223 of the 237 seats reserved for Muslims and 10 of the 72 seats for the minorities. The United Front's programme envisaged recognition of Bengali along with Urdu as an official language, rejection of the draft Constitution, dissolution of the Constituent Assembly and its replacement by a directly elected body, and complete autonomy for East Pakistan in all matters except defence, foreign affairs and currency.



Chou En-lai: Yes. This reliance on outside forces has been most disadvantageous between these two brother States.... They could have been friendly and cordial, but outside interference has made things worse. However, people still want to have unity with India. East Pakistan elections have shown this.

JN: I have no doubt that many people in Pakistan want unity, but we have deliberately not said anything. Politically Pakistan is backward. Their rulers all belong to the feudal class. Their chief propaganda is that India is going to attack them. If we say anything, they exploit it and fan hostility. That is why we do not say anything.

One result of the situation in Indo-China has been that East Pakistan has become a little more important in their eyes because if there is war in South-East Asia, East Pakistan is more important—otherwise they did not attach importance to East Pakistan. Their propaganda is chiefly by American sources, that East Pakistan is going Communist. There are many people who want to abolish landlordism, etc., but they are not Communists. The Americans bring in the charge of communism and the Pakistan rulers use it to bring in martial law.

I mentioned all this about Pakistan to Your Excellency just to clear our position. I am afraid Pakistan will follow American direction so long as the present Government lasts. Any proposal regarding peace we make with the present Government of Pakistan does not come about. Even at the Colombo Conference Pakistan gave a lot of trouble.<sup>15</sup>

Now, to come back to South-East Asia, Pakistan considers itself not a South-East Asian country but a West Asian country. Pakistan wants to have alliances with West Asian countries like Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Iraq, etc. They are not friendly with Afghanistan. We should consider the real South-East Asian countries from the point of view of bringing about this neutral area of peace.

Chou En-lai: What about Ceylon?

15. On 28 April 1954, the opening day of the Colombo Conference, Mohammad Ali, Prime Minister of Pakistan, assailed the Indian position in respect of Kashmir and sought to block discussions on Indo-China and world peace by insisting on the Kashmir question being settled first. The Prime Ministers eventually decided that the subject could not form part of the Conference agenda. Pakistan also strenuously opposed India's suggestion for a call for "non-intervention" in Indo-China or banning of military aid from outside as she seemed to be concerned about not offending the US and also about not compromising her own stand on Kashmir and acceptance of US military aid.

JN: About Ceylon, there is not much to say. It is a small island. They have not had much to do with international affairs. Her independence was an accident which followed India's struggle for independence. There is no background of anti-colonial struggle in Ceylon. It has a rich soil which produces a lot without much effort. The present Government is conservative and needlessly afraid of India because it thinks that India is a big country on top of them. But we have no such designs. The people of Ceylon are the same as Indians and very friendly to us. Ceylon does not count much internationally. But it is a little apprehensive. The real countries in South-East Asia, apart from India, are Burma and Indonesia. I might however mention that in spite of our troubles with Pakistan, our personal relations with Pakistan are quite good.

Chou En-lai: I mentioned Ceylon because the new Government there has not been very friendly to China. As regards our trade with Ceylon, we have been most considerate to them... Their representatives came to China thrice .... But they have not accepted our representatives, although we said we would talk only about trade. Our regard for Ceylon has been greater because she is a small country. However, the major States in South-East Asia are standing on the side of peace.

I agree with Your Excellency that these are India, Burma and Indonesia. Now we shall try to include in this Laos and Cambodia. As for Ceylon we can make some efforts and enlarge this area of peace.

JN: Yes. Of course. We should make efforts even in the case of Pakistan. Ceylon is concerned really with only two or three things, e.g., price of rubber, rice, etc.,...

### 3. Conversation with Chou En-lai II<sup>1</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: We were discussing of how we can make South-East Asia an area of peace.... Of course if peace can be achieved in Indo-China, that would be a step forward. What else can be done?

Chou En-lai: I have talked about the question of Indo-China. Now it is up

1. Second session, New Delhi, 10 pm to midnight, 25 June 1954. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Extracts.



to the two sides...to work the concrete problems within the next three weeks....

Another question I did not mention is that of international supervision which was discussed in the Foreign Ministers' Conference. Maybe within the next three weeks it will become crystallised.... But one thing has been decided, that is, India will be the Chairman.... This is good and shows that we all have confidence in India. The efforts made by Mr Menon have a great bearing on this.

JN: Mr Eden asked me as to how far we were willing to take responsibilities in any Commission that may be appointed. We replied that we were prepared to assume responsibilities in the interests of peace—but obviously we could not come in unilaterally at the request of one party, but only if there was a settlement and both sides requested us.<sup>2</sup> Secondly, we should like to know the terms of the settlement, functions of the Commission, etc. Subject to this, we would assume responsibilities....

Chou En-lai: ...The work and functions and responsibilities of the Commission ... will have to be worked out along with the armistice terms. If the armistice terms are clear, the functions and responsibilities of the Commission are also clear.

Then we will have to settle the position of the Commission, but in any case India's place as Chairman of the Commission has been settled.... The status of India as a neutral State has been made clear after the Soviet delegate proposed India as Chairman.

JN: Your Excellency said that it has been settled that India should be Chairman of the Commission. Has that been accepted by all the parties?

Chou En-lai: Of course we have not reached agreement on this because the question of the composition is still at issue. But on this question of India's Chairmanship, I have contacted both sides concerned and I have not heard any objection. The US attitude is not very clear—sometimes they want UN and sometimes Colombo Powers....

JN: Did Mr Eden agree to India being Chairman?

Chou En-lai: I have said to him that we have settled the question of India as Chairman.... He did not say anything except that we should make the functions and responsibilities of the Commission clearer.

2. See *ante*, p. 345.

JN: Did Mendes-France say anything about it?

Chou En-lai: I mentioned this question to Mendes-France.... He did not make any objection....

JN: It amounts to this that until the armistice is settled, the question of composition cannot be taken up and it is still more or less an open question.

Chou En-lai: Yes.... However, according to my judgment, asking India to be Chairman should be acceptable to all....

JN: I suppose the main responsibility of observing the armistice would be on the two armies and the main function of the Commission will be to act as observers and decide minor cases of infringement. Am I right?

Chou En-lai: If we settle the question of drawing a line in Vietnam and if we also settle the question of Laos and Cambodia, then the international supervision can consist of three kinds of work:

- (i) work of a temporary nature, e.g., to observe whether the line is according to agreement, withdrawal of troops, transfer of prisoners of war...
- (ii) This would take long, e.g., specifying ports of entry in both areas and preventing introduction of new weapons and ammunition, new armed forces or armed personnel for either side...
- (iii) This is to see if there are any activities threatening peace...

Even in Korea, in spite of the continuous clamouring from Syngman Rhee, we still carried out the armistice.

JN: The Chairman will only come in if there is equality of votes, otherwise decisions will be by majority. Am I right?

Chou En-lai: No matter, whether we have five or three States to form the Commission, there will be one or two States closer to one side and the other two States closer to the other side. But India as Chairman would have the final voice.

JN: Yes. Now the various functions Your Excellency has mentioned—all this would require a large number of troops. Who would supply these troops?

Chou En-lai: As to the armistice line, if we do as the French have proposed,



i.e., draw the line east to west, it should not be very long unlike in Korea. As for the ports, there will be some number of ports as there are so many States. These will include land, air and sea ports.

JN: True, but who will supply the troops?

Chou En-lai: I have talked over with Mr Menon about this question. I said that troops will not be necessary....

JN: You have mentioned ports. Supposing an allegation is made that arms and ammunition are coming in from China to Vietnam, who is to guard and carry out the supervision?

Chou En-lai: This becomes a political question, as we would have to station troops everywhere in all the three States—along the ports inland—this would be tantamount to surrounding the three States—which is inconceivable. So this question should be settled by providing guarantees by the participating States. We can check the main ports and the imports through them. If we should be asked to guard the frontier of any one nation, we will have to guard the frontier of every nation.

JN: Of course, that is impossible. The land frontier is different from the sea ports. What are they to do on the land frontier except to sit at one place and listen to complaints. They can do nothing except depend on the good faith of the parties concerned.

Chou En-lai: Yes. This depends on the two States concerned and also on the States participating in the Conference and others.... Good faith is of primary importance so that no foreign country sets up bases in Indo-China.... We feel that if all parties concerned want an armistice, ...then there will be peace.... So the question is whether the US wants to fight; if so, there is going to be war.

JN: If other countries do not want to fight, it will be difficult for the US to start the fight.

Chou En-lai: Yes. If other countries do not want to fight, it is possible to prevent war.

JN: I asked these questions to understand the position. I also wanted to point out the differences: (1) We have to deal with Indo-China as a whole and not with Laos and Cambodia only; (2) There is no question of employing large numbers of troops but only small number of forces for guard duties.

Chou En-lai: Yes. That is just true.

JN: Would other countries supply part of the forces required or does one country supply the whole lot? What is your Excellency's conception of the number required—say 500—less or more?

Chou En-lai:...As for the number required, that will depend upon the number of ports selected. As for who should supply these forces—one or more powers—when we think about it, we shall convey our views through your Embassy in Peking or your Consul-General in Geneva....This question is related with the armistice. So we have spent some time in giving Your Excellency some background information....

JN: When I asked these questions, I was thinking of the kind of picture that a settlement would present, e.g., the numbers of troops required.... Generally speaking we are prepared to cooperate with any country even though we may not like that country.

Chou En-lai: Yes. We understand this spirit of India.

JN: The question I put to Your Excellency at the beginning of this session this evening was what are your Excellency's views regarding developing this area of peace—in this part of Asia.

Chou En-lai: As to making this part of Asia an area of peace, we would like to see the relationship existing between India and China to be prevalent in this area. For instance, in the preamble of our Trade Agreement on Tibet, between India and China, there were certain principles. If these principles are applied to all States of Asia, that would be very beneficial.... In this way we can prevent US attempts to organise military blocs in this area. As to how to extend this relationship which exists between India and China and how to make it apply to other States, I would like to hear Your Excellency's views, as your Excellency knows these States and their Governments in Asia much better.

JN: I agree with your line of thought—that these principles should be applied. They would be gladly accepted by these States. Certainly by Burma and Indonesia. How to give a more explicit and positive shape to this and when? I think the best time would be after the settlement in Indo-China.

Chou En-lai: Yes,...we should make efforts to facilitate its settlement and this should be settled first because there is a war on....However, at the



same time we should consider the question of Burma.... I wonder whether Your Excellency considers that China should take the initiative in proposing to Burma a similar agreement as the one with India.

JN: Your Excellency will be meeting U Nu. I think it will be desirable for Your Excellency to suggest to U Nu something on these lines. Of course, our agreement dealt with a number of small matters. I do not know if there are any such small matters between China and Burma. But in any case, affirmation of these principles, even before an agreement is arrived at, a declaration by both China and Burma adhering to these principles, would be a step forward and these could later be followed by an agreement.

Chou En-lai: I thank Your Excellency for your advice. We shall consider it. If on my way back to Peking, U Nu is in Rangoon and willing to talk, I should be willing to take the initiative.

JN: May I suggest that the first step would be for China and Burma to make a declaration of this kind and then follow it up with Indonesia. That is, it is better perhaps to have bilateral declarations rather than joint declarations. For instance, India and China have done it and now China and Burma, then India and Burma, then China and Indonesia and then India and Indonesia and so on. This is the first step. Maybe later, it can take some other shape.

Chou En-lai: Yes. What Your Excellency suggests is a very good idea. I shall study Your Excellency's suggestion....

JN: Your Excellency must be aware of US proposals regarding South-East Asia Treaty Organisation<sup>3</sup> on the lines of NATO. We are totally opposed to it. Now Mr Eden has proposed an Eastern Locarno.<sup>4</sup> We do not know what exactly his idea is.

3. On 4 April 1954, the US had proposed to Britain and France the establishment of an ad hoc coalition, comprising US, UK, France, Australia, New Zealand, Thailand, the Philippines and the three Associated States of Indo-China, for organising the collective defence of South-East Asia in order to check "Communist expansion" in the area. The proposal was formalized by the signing of the SEATO treaty on 8 September 1954 at Manila by US, UK, France, Thailand, the Philippines, Australia, New Zealand and Pakistan.
4. Eden expressed the hope in the House of Commons on 23 June that it might be possible to agree on some kind of a reciprocal arrangement for the defence of South-East Asia in which both sides took part—such as Locarno. As reported by *The Times* (London), Eden said, "We could also have a defensive alliance, such as NATO was in Europe.... Those two systems would be quite different but need not be inconsistent." He added that there would never be any real security in the region without the goodwill of the free Asian countries.

Chou En-lai: Maybe his idea is that of a fraternity. Mr Eden did not make this suggestion in Geneva but may have thought of it later.

JN: Yes. He has made it only yesterday.<sup>5</sup> I do not remember Locarno Treaty provisions in detail. The treaty was made more than 27 years ago and meant mainly for Germany and France and a kind of mutual agreement.<sup>6</sup> As far as I can make out, the idea of an Eastern Locarno means that the countries of South-East Asia should think of an area of peace. I do not know if this is what Mr Eden means.

Chou En-lai: It means that Mr Eden in his report to Parliament put these two ideas on the same side—on the one hand an Eastern Locarno and on the other SEATO.

JN: I think he made them as alternative proposals.

Chou En-lai: I merely read news agency reports. If this is so, then there is no conflict.

JN: I have also seen only news agency reports. He further said that SEATO would have no meaning unless South-East Asian countries joined it.

Chou En-lai: That is true. If it is for peace and not war in South-East Asia, these South-East Asian countries should be made parties. Otherwise it should be for war and not for peace.

JN: That is so. I think that Mr Eden has made the Americans angry and therefore he is putting these alternatives before them. The solution is an organisation essentially based on South-East Asian countries plus some other countries, maybe.

5. In fact, replying to Nehru's message of 4 May 1954 [see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 25, pp. 435-436], wherein he spoke of the possibility of guarantees by other countries, including India, to help to effect a settlement, and ensure its continuance, in Indo-China. Eden wrote on 9 May, "As I understand your message, you favour an arrangement rather similar to the Locarno Treaty whereby the guaranteeing powers would undertake to oppose violation of the Agreement by any party.... I should certainly like to give it serious study for I have always felt this to be the best solution available."
6. The agreement reached in 1925 at Locarno, Switzerland, guaranteed post-1919 frontiers between France, Belgium and Germany, and demilitarization of the Rhineland. The treaty was signed by France, Germany and Belgium and guaranteed by Britain and Italy. The "spirit of Locarno" symbolized hopes for an era of international peace and goodwill.



Chou En-lai: I agree that part of Eden's statement was for the benefit of USA.

JN: I think Your Excellency is tired now. You had a long journey last night.

Chou En-lai: I hope we shall have a chance to continue discussion tomorrow.... I am very glad to have had such a rare chance of exchanging views with Your Excellency so frankly and fully.

JN: I also want to take full advantage of this opportunity. Incidentally, we may have to tell the Press something. We may draft a short statement.

Chou En-lai: A joint statement perhaps? Shall we leave it to the host?

JN: Yes. We shall do so day after tomorrow morning when you go to Agra and then you may see it....

#### 4. Conversation with Chou En-lai III<sup>1</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: I had a message from Moscow today. Our representative saw Mr Molotov.<sup>2</sup> He seems to be partly pleased with the work at Geneva—not wholly. He hinted he may have to go back to Geneva by 10th July.

Chou En-lai: Yes, that is, within three weeks....

JN: Ever since the question of Your Excellency's coming here arose, some of the countries who were in the Colombo Conference were very much interested. I sent them messages<sup>3</sup> and I kept them informed. I shall now convey to them—not necessarily everything—but a brief indication of our talks so that they do not feel left out. There is no difficulty about Burma and Indonesia, but anything

1. Third session, New Delhi, 10.45 am to 12.15 pm, 26 June 1954. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Extracts.
2. P.N. Kaul, Second Secretary in the Indian Embassy in Moscow, had conveyed to Molotov Nehru's appreciation of the important part played by him in the progress made at Geneva.
3. Not printed here.

I send to Ceylon or Pakistan is bound to get out—so I have to be careful what to tell them.

Chou En-lai: Yes. Your Excellency has to decide what should be sent to these countries.

JN: One has to exercise one's discretion.

Chou En-lai: I am very anxious to know Your Excellency's views on the present situation in Asia....I would also like to know Your Excellency's views on East Asia, especially on the Pacific area....

JN: About three weeks ago, I had the Foreign Minister of Australia, Mr Casey, with me.<sup>4</sup> Did your Excellency meet him?

Chou En-lai: Yes, I met him in Geneva when he went there this time.

JN: Australia and New Zealand are, on the one hand, very intimately connected with England—it is more emotion than anything else. But since the last War they have been drawn more to America, for example, the ANZUS Pact. When I met Casey, he said that they were feeling more and more that American foreign policy was unrealistic and would lead nowhere. They don't want to break with America, but he told me they would put pressure on USA to change its policy, to be more realistic, for example, regarding an armistice in Indo-China.

Chou En-lai: Mr Casey told me that he was in favour of neutralising Laos and Cambodia. This was after he heard what Mr Eden had told him.

JN: These countries feel that American policy is not the right one. At the same time, they do not want to break with America. So there are these two pulls. Of course, if something extreme happens, there might be even a break. They want to avoid that.

The countries of West Asia are very backward—everyone of them. They are small and very much under the influence of those who supply them with money and arms. In West Asia there have been large areas of British influence—now they tend to pass under American influence, chiefly because America is supplying them with money and arms. That is to say, the Governments and not

4. On 10 June 1954. See *ante*, pp. 346-347.



the people of these States are under American influence. The big question for the Arab world is that of Israel. It is a small country, but it is probably strong enough to beat all the Arab countries put together. They are afraid of it. So they have no policy of any kind—they have reactions, they have fears and they do not even hold together amongst themselves.

Chou En-lai: When Your Excellency said that Israel is strong enough to deal with the Arab countries put together, did you mean militarily strong enough?

JN: Yes, the reason is not that Israel is strong, but that the others are weak. Israel almost defeated them, but the UN came in the way.<sup>5</sup>

American policy is very peculiar. On the one hand they are trying to win these Arab countries over from the British, and on the other hand the Jews in America are very powerful. On the one hand they want to win over the Arabs, and on the other they don't want to annoy the Jews.

Egypt probably wants a settlement about the Suez Canal. There has been a strong feeling against the MEDO, but no one can be sure what will happen, partly because of weakness and partly because whoever gives the arms gains the influence in these countries. In fact, in all these Arab countries there have been no popular movements—there have been occasionally popular insurrections.

I was in Egypt last year.<sup>6</sup> Our relations are fairly good with all the Arab countries, as well as with Israel, except that Israel is a little distant. We have recognised Israel, but we have no diplomatic relations with them yet. Last year when I met the Egyptians, they told me they wanted to recognise new China, but probably they are afraid of America. They said they would do it later.

Chou En-lai: Is the new Government in Egypt fairly established?

JN: It is firm at the moment, but at its head are young military officers. They are in earnest, but with no experience or political knowledge. They are nationalistic, but with no roots in the people except that they are popular because they kicked out the King.

5. As soon as the State of Israel was proclaimed on 14 May 1948, she was attacked by the forces of Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Lebanon and Iraq. By 7 January 1949, when a ceasefire was established under the auspices of the UN, the Israel forces had not only repulsed the Arab forces but had gained control of 75% of the Palestinian territory and expelled about 800,000 Palestinians from their homes.

6. Nehru was in Cairo from 22 to 25 June 1953.

The whole politics of Western Asia turns round oil. For instance, the King of Hejaz <sup>7</sup> gets royalties to the tune of three hundred to four hundred million dollars. Some other small rulers get fifty to hundred million dollars, that is, only in royalties. Iran and Iraq are also oil countries and oil determines everything there. The King of Hejaz came to Pakistan a few months ago.<sup>8</sup> He has so much money that he does not know what to do with it. He spent about two million rupees in about ten days in Pakistan giving presents to the Governor-General, the Prime Minister and everybody, like big American cars, etc.

One thing more.... In the old days, that is to say, fifty years ago or more, it was British policy to build up an Islamic block to support themselves. In that sense that policy was carried on recently through Pakistan—to have an Islamic bloc. But other West Asian countries did not support it. They are more nationalistic than religious <sup>9</sup>....

Chou En-lai: ....Your Excellency said that the national and popular movements in West Asia are not mature. Does that mean that there is lack of mature leaders in these States?

JN: I suppose so. There are many reasons. Middle Eastern politics is one of assassination and *coup d'état*.

Chou En-lai: Is it the present situation that the United States is gradually replacing Britain and US influence is increasing?

JN: In a sense, yes, but only with Governments. The US is not popular with the people.

Chou En-lai: The living conditions of people in this area are still very bad?

JN: Yes, of course, something flows out from oil and something remains behind.

Chou En-lai: Afghanistan has very good relations with India. Is it different from other West Asian States?

7. Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud (1902-1969); King of Saudi Arabia, 1953-64; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 18, p. 207.
8. Accompanied by 22 princes and six ministers, King Abdul Aziz paid an official visit to Pakistan from 14 to 24 April 1954.
9. At this stage, Nehru read out a telegram from Rangoon conveying U Nu's deep appreciation of Chou En-lai's proposed visit to Rangoon and asking him to stay the night there.





AT A PRELIMINARY MEETING OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSIONS FOR INDO-CHINA, NEW DELHI,  
1 AUGUST 1954



RECEIVING R.G. CASEY, FOREIGN MINISTER OF AUSTRALIA,  
NEW DELHI, 10 JUNE 1954



JN: Yes. Afghanistan has not good relations with Pakistan. That is because of the tribal area in the North of Pakistan. In the last one hundred years the British Government never succeeded in suppressing them. Their profession is raiding and kidnapping. The British adopted two methods to deal with them—military expeditions and bribery.

Some of the tribal territory is in Pakistan and some in Afghanistan. It was not technically part of India, but semi-independent. Afghanistan wants this tribal area to be given independence, but Pakistan would not agree. This is a matter at issue between them. We have tried not to interfere in this matter, but our sympathies are with the tribal people. Some of their old leaders were our friends.

There was an attempt by the United States to make a League of Pakistan and Afghanistan,<sup>10</sup> but they failed.

None of the Western Asian States can be considered very stable. They are not well-organised, nor do they have stable leadership. But there is an emotional urge in the people which does not find satisfaction. The old British policy was to encourage religious sentiment, that is, the policy that Pakistan is following in these countries, to form an Islamic bloc. We are friendly with Egypt and with other Arab countries also. This Islamic bloc policy will not go down with them.

Chou En-lai: In this area, the population is not much?

JN: Not much. It is a desert area. The total population of the Arab countries is less than thirty million and more than half of this is in Egypt.

Chou En-lai: Is Afghanistan included in this?

JN: No, Afghanistan is not Arab.

Chou En-lai: Iran and Afghanistan are also Islamic countries?

JN: Yes, they are both Islamic. Iran belongs to one particular sect of Islam different from the others.

10. The US considered bringing about a confederation of Afghanistan and Pakistan as one of the means of strengthening Afghanistan and countering Soviet pressures. The possibility of some form of confederation was explored at discussions between Pakistan and Afghan representatives in Karachi in March 1954. A policy statement approved by President Eisenhower on 11 December 1954, however, found undesirable positive US efforts in bringing about the confederation due to impracticality and the risk of adverse reaction from India and the USSR, though the concept of an eventual confederation, developed logically and gradually, was not ruled out.

In all these countries there is a certain Islamic renaissance movement. Sometimes it takes a narrow bigoted shape, sometimes not so narrow. Take, for example, Indonesia. There is a small revolt still going on there, a kind of very bigoted movement for a religious State.<sup>11</sup> Then there is a big party partly Islamic and moderately socialistic.<sup>12</sup> They call it Islamic Socialism. The present party in power in Indonesia is the Indonesian Nationalist Party.

Chou En-lai: Is it impossible for India to get Thailand into the South-East Asian countries—as it should be according to its position?

JN: Yes, it should be. Nothing is impossible, but Your Excellency knows the position in Thailand.

For the first time, Thailand is experiencing economic difficulties. So far the price of rice was high. Now the price has fallen and there is acute pressure on Thailand's economy which depends on rice. We can try. There is a small group of people on top and the rest of the people are lazy, as they do not need to work.

Chou En-lai: Do they export much rice?

JN: Yes, we have a Thai delegation here now wanting to sell us rice.<sup>13</sup> But we do not want any.

Chou En-lai: They export large quantities of rice?

JN: Yes. Burma and Thailand are the two large rice exporting countries, but if we have to buy rice, we would rather buy it from Burma. All these countries in South-East and Western Asia are making frequent demands on us for teachers, doctors and engineers, technicians, etc., as they are afraid of getting them from England or America.

Chou En-lai: What is the policy of UK and USA towards Thailand?

JN: Usually we consider Thailand under the thumb of the US. Britain, I do not think, has very much to do there.

11. Dar-ul-Islam, a Muslim terrorist organization aiming at the overthrow of the secular republic and its replacement by an Islamic State, organized armed revolts in several towns of North Sumatra in September 1953 and intensified its activities in West Java.

12. Masjumi or the Modernist Moslem Party.

13. The official Thai trade mission met Nehru on 4 June 1954.



A rather interesting development in Africa is the coming of Sudan as a new country. We sent an expert to conduct the elections there.<sup>14</sup>

Chou En-lai: What will happen after the elections? Will it be independent or associated with Egypt?

JN: England wanted it to be associated with herself and Egypt with herself. What is likely is that it will become independent.

Chou En-lai: What is the relationship of India to Japan?

JN: There is no special relationship. We have our Ambassador there.<sup>15</sup> There is some trade—nothing much. There is some competition in trade matters, because we export textiles and they cut us down.

Chou En-lai: How do they do it?

JN: By cutting down their prices. For example, our textiles go to Africa and South-East Asia, and meet with Japan's competition there.

Chou En-lai: Indonesia is going to hold a conference of Asian and African Powers. What is the exact state of affairs?

JN: I cannot understand it myself. It is not clear whether it will be at an official or non-official level.

Chou En-lai: Have there been any open contacts between the Governments in this matter?

JN: In 1947 we had here an Asian Conference<sup>16</sup>—not on political questions, but rather for cultural and other purposes. I convened it as a private person, but when it was held I was in the Government. Therefore, it got a little mixed up. There were representatives of Soviet Asia also. Then, we held a conference

14. Sukumar Sen was sent to Sudan as the Chairman of the International Electoral Commission that conducted the general elections there from 2 November to 5 December 1953. The condominium of the UK and Egypt over Sudan had come to an end after the Anglo-Egyptian Agreement of 12 February 1953.

15. M.A. Rauf.

16. The Asian Relations Conference was held at New Delhi from 23 March to 2 April 1947. Twenty-eight Asian countries attended the Conference. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 2, pp. 501-523.

on Indonesia in 1949 when the Dutch attacked Indonesia.<sup>17</sup> This was at an official level and consisted of Asian countries and Australia. Actually, nothing much happened again. It has been hanging fire. Various proposals have been made from time to time. Suppose, we call a conference, whom do we invite?—Governments or the people who are oppressed. There are all kinds of difficulties. I think Your Excellency should rest a little before lunch.

Chou En-lai: This morning I asked Your Excellency many questions and have learnt a lot from Your Excellency....

17. The Asian Conference on Indonesia was held at New Delhi from 20 to 23 January 1949. Nehru was elected Chairman of the Conference. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol.9, pp. 143-182.

## 5. Conversation with Chou En-lai IV<sup>1</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: As Your Excellency was going away this morning you said you had one or two questions to ask me. I have also many questions to ask Your Excellency. Perhaps you would ask me first. Of course, there is not lack of questions.

Chou En-lai: All right. I shall start. It is our hope that after this meeting, there will be even greater cooperation between our two countries in the economic, cultural and political spheres. What should, in Your Excellency's opinion, be done in furtherance of this?

JN: I agree with Your Excellency's view that we should work for further cooperation in these spheres. So far as the political sphere is concerned, it is difficult to define. For example, we are cooperating in finding a solution in Indo-China. Of course, we must also cooperate on the cultural and economic plane. The real basis is a feeling of friendly confidence in each other. I am not talking of India and China only but speaking generally.

Speaking of India, there is a slight fear—not much—whether in Ceylon or Pakistan or Burma—that India is a bigger country, perhaps stronger than these.

1. Fourth session, New Delhi, 3 pm to 5 pm, 26 June 1954. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Extracts.



China is also a powerful country, an integrated and powerful State. Therefore, there is a fear, not in India but in other countries. It should be our effort to remove such fears regarding India and China. There is a big propaganda in Africa by Europeans—not by Africans—that India wants to expand, turn out Europeans and set up her empire in Africa.<sup>2</sup> We have told our Indians there that they can only stay in these countries with the goodwill of the people of those countries. So we have to create confidence among the people of these countries.

Chou En-lai: What Your Excellency said is very true.... Although the political systems in our two countries are not entirely alike, yet our countries have been liberated from imperialism and both our countries have certain common characteristics of oriental civilisation. So we can use these five principles to build our self-confidence and also our mutual confidence. This will have a great influence on other countries and will make them feel gradually that peaceful coexistence is possible....

JN: The way for us to proceed is in the light of those principles to which reference has been made. Therefore the more we refer to those principles—and other countries too—the better it is. More than that it is the tangible confidence that we produce which is important. There are outside and internal forces which create fear. Therefore, one has to take positive steps to create confidence, even more than make declarations. In the world at large today, there are conflicts and tendencies to expand, but, more than anything else, there is a fear which leads countries to misbehave. If we could get over that fear—first in our own area of South-East Asia and then elsewhere—it would help to solve the world's problems.

If I may strike a personal note—because I want to be frank—if I may say so, I do not consider myself much of a politician—not the normal type of politician. Politicians differ no doubt. Your Excellency has gone through very great experience and hardships throughout your life. In our life, we have also gone through hardships and spent many years in prison. Some factors may be different, but there is a certain commonness, and so I do not find any difficulty in understanding and appreciating the background of China—the recent developments during the last ten or twenty years. Unfortunately, I have not

2. For example, D.F. Malan, the South African Prime Minister, said in the South African Parliament on 4 May 1954, "Mr Nehru is not hiding the fact that he has his eyes on Africa.... He wants Europeans and the white man out of Africa. Therefore he has embarked on a policy of 'anti-colonialism'." He added, "Mr Nehru, and I say this deliberately, is an enemy of the white man."

been there and I want to go there. It is my earnest desire that China and India, as they are circumstanced today, can play a considerable part in securing peace in the world and helping each other. I am very anxious to further that end—it is a selfish end too because I want my own country to be part of the area of peace. We want to build our countries. I have not the least conflict in my mind. All our effort is towards constructive purpose and there is no conflict. I am, therefore, very happy that Your Excellency has come here not merely because of the Indo-China problem but because of this larger background.

I have been influenced and my whole generation in India has been powerfully influenced by Mr Gandhi. And we achieved our results in a rather different way from what we ourselves imagined. For instance, we gained our Independence, and, at the same time, we did not become hostile to England. We decided to maintain some kind of a loose and vague link with the Commonwealth. It is very vague and is not even mentioned in our Constitution. We can break it by merely writing a letter to England. We decided to continue the link not only to derive some benefit but because we thought it would contribute to world peace. For instance, we have broken our relations with South Africa.<sup>3</sup> Our relations with Canada are not much though they are closer than with Australia. In the Commonwealth India's influence has become more and more and we have influenced the policy of the Commonwealth considerably. Therefore, we have tried to gain our objective without breaking away from the Commonwealth. As I told Your Excellency last evening, we wiped out all the Princely States peacefully by giving the Rulers pensions—not that the pensions will last long. We could have wiped them out by force also, but we did not do this. This is due to Gandhiji's approach. We make mistakes, but we try to learn from our mistakes.

Our relations with the United States are not good. We follow our policy but we avoid publicly denouncing the USA. Of course, our policy is different. We follow our own policy as clearly as possible without denouncing any one because there is already too much denouncing in the world today. Why should we add to it?

3. On 26 June 1954, the GOI announced their decision to close the Indian High Commission in South Africa, after the Union of South Africa informed them on 27 May 1954 that the Union could no longer accept the "anomalous position" that India had maintained representation in the Union for eight years while continuing trade sanctions against her. In February 1946, India had terminated her trade agreement with South Africa as a protest against the introduction in the Union Parliament of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Bill prohibiting the occupation and acquisition of property by Indians in Natal, and called her High Commissioner back when the Bill was passed on 25 May 1946.



Chou En-lai: ...If we want to construct peace and prevent war, I agree entirely with Your Excellency that China and India bear great responsibility in making this effort, especially in Asia.

JN: If we consider the present moment, perhaps no country is more afraid than the USA. It is a powerful country and yet it is afraid,<sup>4</sup> and it is more afraid than any country in Europe although, actually, if there is war, England will be in greater danger. It is mainly fear and pride in sticking to wrong policy. Their policy is based on their fear of what they call "international communism" which they think wants to conquer the world. To some extent, though to a much less extent, people in Western Europe are also afraid. On the other hand, the United States is building hundreds of bases around Soviet Russia and China thereby creating an impression in the minds of Soviet Russia and China that they will be attacked. Thus we get this vicious circle of fear.

I cannot influence American thought very much although I get large numbers of letters from ordinary people from America against American policy at present and appreciating India's policy. But, apart from America, Asia and Europe act and react on each other.

Chou En-lai: Yes, we must make efforts to remove such entirely groundless, baseless fear which exists in Asia.... If we can do this in Asia, we can, first of all in Asia, frustrate this attempt of the United States to create fear. That will have a good effect on the rest of the world.

JN: That is so. Revolution, that is, real revolution, cannot be exported. The kind of fear in certain countries is of a conspiratorial character which may or may not lead to a revolution but which upsets the balance. American propaganda against "international communism" has not much effect except in some countries. For example, certain groups of people belonging to the Communist Party are thought to act according to the dictates of a foreign country. This rubs against the nationalist feeling and is, therefore, exploited.

Chou En-lai: I do not know exactly the activities of the Communist Parties in different countries. ... The second question is regarding propaganda. After World War II, the USA has monopolised propaganda. We had American propaganda also in China for a few years, but it failed because it was not popular....As Your Excellency talked to me frankly I also told you frankly what I know about the actual situation.

4. Chou En-lai laughed at this remark.

JN: United States propaganda has been on the whole remarkably unsuccessful. They think they can win over the minds of people by money but the minds of masses cannot be won over by money. What I was referring to was not the attitude of great States like Soviet Russia and China but rather the attitude of local Communist Parties which some times rub up against nationalist feelings. Thus, they would run down their own country and leaders and praise others outside and appear to be more interested in others than in their own country and people. I shall tell you an interesting thing. For instance, about a year or two after the Chinese revolution, the Communist Party of India criticised the Communist Party of China and called it deviationist, but later they realised their mistake and praised the Communist Party of China.<sup>5</sup>

Chou En-lai: That is exactly why the Communist Party of India has not yet achieved anything!

JN: To come back to our particular problem of India and China in South-East Asia, there are three factors involved:

- (1) We are both big countries, and, to some extent, actually strong and potentially strong or going to be strong. Therefore, there is apprehension in some small countries about us.
- (2) Many of our nationals have gone abroad. In South-East Asia, there are more Chinese than Indians while in West Asia and Ceylon, there are more Indians. That is also a cause of fear in these countries.
- (3) Fear of "international communism" through the activities of local Communist Parties.

We have been discussing how to meet these difficulties. If we can remove these fears, the task becomes easier. Each country has to be considered separately.

Does Your Excellency know the Burmese people?

5. B.T. Ranadive, General Secretary, CPI, had been opposing a trend within the Party towards "right" deviation urging collaboration with the peasantry and soft-peddling of the proletarian dictatorship. He also condemned Mao Tse-tung's theories as "horrible and reactionary." After the Cominform journal, *For a Lasting Peace*, *For a People's Democracy*, editorially announced on 27 January 1950 that the path pursued by the Chinese Communists was the only correct path for colonial and dependent peoples and the CPI had to learn a lot from them, the CPI journal, *Communist*, in its issue of February-March 1950, declared the adherence of the Party to the Cominform line. On 19 July 1950, Ranadive was replaced by Rajeshwar Rao as General Secretary.



Chou En-lai: I had no chance to know them.

JN: They are a very friendly people, rather childlike. They have the virtues and failings of children. They are calm and composed. They are very proud, and, therefore, sometimes take offence very easily. But they are a very nice people and hospitable and friendly. U Nu is different from the average Burman. He is a very fine man. It is not U Nu but some of his colleagues in his Cabinet who have been causing trouble. When I was in Colombo, he said to me, "You can agree to anything you like, but I have to refer everything to my Cabinet."

If I may say so without conceit—of all these people in South-East Asia, the Chinese and Indians are the most mature, individuals apart. So one has to be very careful and to be friendly with the others so that they may not get any inferiority complex.

Tomorrow when Your Excellency goes to Agra, we shall try to draft a statement.... What should be the contents of this statement?

Chou En-lai: Your Excellency has more knowledge about the world and Asia than I have. I am not being modest....To sum up, Indo-China, South-East Asia and relations between our two countries may be included in the statement.

JN: ....I certainly agree that these principles should be mentioned. Certainly, we should say something about the desirability of a speedy ceasefire in Indo-China and that that should lead to a settlement. In this connection, shall we say in regard to South-East Asian countries, more especially Indo-China, that we would like to see them as independent neutral States which are not used for any aggressive purposes?

Chou En-lai: If you are going to make a reference to the Indo-China question, then we have to mention...that all the three States should be independent, and that none of these States should be used as military bases by any foreign country or, to use Your Excellency's phrase, "None of these States should be used for aggressive purposes."... Your Excellency has said, "neutral". I say, "of the South-East Asian type." We have to consider how we should word this....

JN: Could we not say that each of these countries should be independent and should be allowed to develop according to its wishes and genius and should not be used for any aggressive purpose? I quite appreciate that "neutral" is used loosely and has no clear significance. What I mean is that they should have the freedom to develop according to their light and not be used for

aggression against their neighbours. We need not name any countries. It would include the countries outside Indo-China too.

Chou En-lai: ...And as to the third point regarding neighbouring countries, could we not say this?—"Any of the three countries should not be used for aggressive purposes by any of the three countries or other countries besides them" or something like that.

JN: This statement should be helpful for a settlement in Geneva, that is, it should be friendly in approach and not condemnatory as that does not help....

## 6. Sino-Indian Cooperation for World Peace<sup>1</sup>

Fifteen years ago, I went to China<sup>2</sup> and had hoped to stay there for a month or more. Among the people I had particularly hoped to meet there was Mr Chou En-lai. But before many days were past, war broke out in Europe, which developed into the Second World War and I had to hurry back to my country. To my regret I did not meet Mr Chou En-lai then. Now, after these fifteen years of storm and stress and change, my old wish has been fulfilled. I am happy to meet an eminent statesman of our neighbour country and I am happier still to meet the distinguished representative of a great people.

We meet as individuals but we meet also as representatives of great nations, India and China, both with a tremendous past. It is a matter of interest and significance, not only to our two countries, but to Asia and even the world, how these countries behave to each other, how far they can cooperate for the peace and well-being of the world.

The past two thousand years stand witness to our mutual relations. We have been neighbours during this long stretch of years and we have been vital countries throwing out our thought and culture to each other and to other neighbouring countries. Our people have come into contact in many lands, more especially in South-East Asia; yet there is no record of war between us.

1. Speech at a State Banquet given in honour of Chou En-lai. New Delhi. 26 June 1954. From Press Information Bureau.
2. Nehru visited China during August-September, 1939. See *Selected Works* (first series) Vol. 10, pp. 73-114.



This long period is of the peaceful commerce of ideas, of religion and art and culture.

Both China and India have their particular and individual backgrounds. Each has her own special cultural inheritance. In many ways they are different, they have grown according to their own genius. Yet, in spite of these differences, we have been good neighbours and friends and have not come into conflict with each other during two millennia of history.

This is the witness of the past and as we stand on the fine edge of the present in this turbulent world of ours, we can learn a lesson from that past, which will help us in the present and in the future. Both our countries have recently succeeded in achieving freedom and the opportunity to work out our destiny according to our will. We achieved our freedom under different circumstances and by different methods. Our great leader and master, Mahatma Gandhi, led us by peaceful methods through travail and many bitter experiences to freedom. China's course was differently fashioned. Both our countries have placed the good of the common man before them and are aiming, in their different ways, to raise millions who have suffered so much in the past and now live in the hope of a better future. That future for us or for any country in the world depends primarily on the avoidance of war and the assurance of peace and security.

The major question before the world today therefore is how to get rid of the spectre of war and fear and hatred which oppress so many countries and peoples today.

You have been recently engaged, Sir, with other eminent statesmen, in wrestling with these great problems of war and peace. We have been happy to learn that some success has attended your efforts and the efforts of the other statesmen at Geneva. We congratulate you and the others who participated in the Geneva Conference on this happy turn of events. We earnestly hope that this will lead to an early termination of hostilities in Indo-China and that this will be followed by a settlement which will ensure peace and freedom to all the countries there.

If we can remove the fear of war and aggression that oppresses people and ensure that each country will have freedom to work its destiny according to its own wishes without interfering with other countries, we shall have served our generation well and laid the foundation of enduring peace in the world. Peace is necessary for the entire world and peace is indivisible today. But in Asia, peace is even more vital and necessary than elsewhere, for we have to build our nations and we want to utilize all our energies in the task of construction and not of destruction.

There are divisions and differences in the world, but there is also a sense of unity and of growing oneness. I earnestly trust that our minds will be directed towards this growing feeling of oneness and to the pursuit and

realization of the common ideals that animate humanity today, instead of laying stress on the divisions and differences.

Recently India and China came to an agreement about certain matters,<sup>3</sup> and in the case of that agreement, we have laid down certain principles, which have governed the relations of our two countries. These principles are recognition of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each country, of mutual non-interference with each other's internal affairs, of equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence. These principles are not only good for our two countries but for others as well, for whom they might well serve as an example. If these principles can be recognized in wider spheres, then the fear of war would disappear and the spirit of cooperation between nations would develop. Each country would have freedom to follow its own policy and work out its own destiny, learning from others and cooperating with others, but basing itself essentially on its own genius. Modern science offers us an opportunity to rid the world of the evils that have oppressed it in the past. Unfortunately, that science is utilized more for the works of destruction than for the works of construction. If we seize the present and give to it a turn in the direction of peace and cooperative effort and make science serve good of humanity instead of being a curse, we shall make the minds of men turn away from fear and hatred towards understanding and cooperation. Thus we shall build a climate of peace and change the face of the earth.

Destiny beckon to our countries and I hope that neither of them will be found wanting at this great moment of history.

I earnestly hope that your efforts, Sir, and those of other eminent statesmen at Geneva will meet with success and I hope also that our two countries will stand for peace and will live amicably together and cooperate together in the cause of peace and human advance as they have done through the past two thousand years of human history.

3. An agreement in regard to Tibet was signed on 29 April 1954.

## 7. Conversation with Chou En-lai V<sup>1</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: Did Your Excellency see the draft statement?

1. Fifth session, New Delhi, 3 pm to 5.15 pm, 27 June 1954. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Extracts.



Chou En-lai: Yes. I saw it a few minutes before I went to see the picture.<sup>2</sup> It is a good picture. It is in technicolour.

JN: The story is not so good.

Chou En-lai: It is quite good and represents resistance against foreigners.

JN: It was a resistance by the feudal elements against foreigners.

Chou En-lai: Yes. Resistance always starts from the upper classes....

We are translating the draft statement into Chinese so that we may study it carefully.... In order to decide the exact formulation we may take some more of Your Excellency's time.

JN: Certainly.... Can we finalise it in the evening?...

Chou En-lai: Yes. With Your Excellency's permission, I should like to discuss the following: If we two are to issue this joint statement, then after my talks in Burma, a joint declaration of a similar nature may be issued.... Then there may be a similar joint statement with Indonesia. If there is any difficulty regarding a meeting, perhaps contact could be made through diplomatic channels....

JN: I think that any such step would be conditioned by a settlement in Indo-China.

The next step is that Your Excellency is going to Burma and after your talks with U Nu, you may be in a position to state—or U Nu may state—that you are in general agreement with the statement, or the principles of our statement should be applied to the relations as between Burma and China....

As regards Indonesia, as Your Excellency is not going there just now, diplomatic approaches would be desirable. I propose to write to the Prime Minister of Indonesia, telling him about these talks and send him a copy of our joint statement.<sup>3</sup> Maybe then we could inform you through his Ambassador that he is in agreement with the general principles. That would be the next step. Thereafter the settlement in Indo-China will partly condition what is to be done later.

2. The reference is to "Jhansi ki Rani", directed by Sohrab Modi and released in 1953. The film is based on the life of Rani Lakshmibai of Jhansi, one of the leaders in Bundelkhand and Central India of the Uprising of 1857.
3. Nehru sent a message to Ali Sastroamidjojo on 27 June giving a gist of his talks with Chou En-lai. Similar messages were also sent to John Kotelawala and Mohammad Ali. For the joint statement of Nehru and Chou En-lai, see *post*, pp. 410-412.

Chou En-lai: If as a first step China and India issue this joint statement and China and Burma, and Indonesia and China issue a similar statement, that will make a great difference in Asia. There may be other countries also wishing to make similar statements....If peace can be restored in Indo-China, there are a number of possibilities. Therefore it is more practical not to restrict the form now. On the other hand we should have this understanding that this step we are taking is in the interests of peace in Indo-China. Therefore we should continue such efforts even after we have achieved success in Indo-China....

JN: We should certainly continue our efforts but my own mind is not very clear as to the form it may take, because there are a number of uncertain factors. In increasing the area of peace and strengthening the forces of peace, if we arouse, directly or indirectly, other forces opposed to it, then we create or tend to create obstacles. Therefore the steps we take should strengthen peace without having the other adverse effect. There is a set of difficult circumstances which makes it difficult to lay down exactly as to what we should do. These matters have naturally to be considered in the larger context of what is happening. For example, there is in USA today a violent reaction against what Mr Eden said three days ago regarding an Eastern Locarno.<sup>4</sup> It is interesting because the British Government's thinking is getting further apart from the American Government's. Probably British Government's thinking in this matter is supported by Canada,<sup>5</sup> Australia<sup>6</sup> and also New Zealand. In this context we would like to encourage some of these countries. One should not like to do something now which gives a handle to the British or Americans to line up against what one does. The present development is helpful in the cause of peace. UK, France, etc., are thinking differently from the USA, but there are internal conflicts in them and they may either line up with Ameirca or go against her.

I referred the other day to Mr Eden's reference to Locarno. I was looking into this. Locarno has no great importance but represented the coming together

4. In a letter to President Eisenhower, twelve members of the House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee advised him to reject Eden's call for a non-aggression pact in Asia, or face a complete review of foreign aid, as such a pact would, in their view, not only accept Communist conquests but "guarantee" them. On 25 June, the *New York Times* remarked that no "Locarno" could guard against the methods used by the Communists, like subversion, infiltration and the use of "volunteers".
5. Escott Reid, Canadian High Commissioner to India at this time, had strongly recommended to the Canadian Government the formation of a Locarno-type pact with Indian participation, instead of SEATO.
6. R.G. Casey said in New York on 26 June that he was "not particularly horrified" at Eden's idea of an Asian Locarno pact.



of opposing countries to guarantee something. Mr Eden's idea is to bring together opposing countries, which would be France, America, China, USSR and others. This is a different approach from that of Americans, who do not wish to cooperate. Therefore I feel that without making any commitments we should encourage Mr Eden's approach.

Chou En-lai: I agree with the analysis made by Your Excellency.

At the Geneva Conference, France made a proposal that the States participating in the Conference should jointly guarantee the States of Indo-China. Mr Menon assured me that if this is agreed to, maybe the number of countries joining this guarantee could be enlarged. China and USSR supported this proposal. But the USA kept quiet....

Regarding Eden's Locarno pact, I suppose he used this phrase because it is more easily understood in Europe.

JN: Yes. I think so. Locarno is well understood in Europe. United States are occupying an extreme position and they do not want to change that position either by themselves or by others. They would like surrender and not a settlement. Other countries like the UK and France are more realistic and want a settlement. Now, in these circumstances, it is desirable to encourage these countries as long as they feel a settlement is possible. In this, Canada has played an important part. Although it is chiefly associated with USA, we have found much easier to talk through Canada, as it is much easier to get it across that way.

Chou En-lai: Can we clarify the matter in this way? We should facilitate collective peace in Asia and, first of all, in South Asia.... The number of States participating in such efforts... should include as many States as possible on both sides to make USA feel that it must also participate....

JN: Yes. That seems to be a way to look at it. I might tell Your Excellency that before the Geneva Conference Eden sent me a number of messages asking if India would be prepared to become a member of a collective system of defence.<sup>7</sup> He did not define that system. When Krishan Menon was going there, I told him: (1) We cannot be members of a collective system, which is unilateral;

7. In a message sent from Geneva on 28 April, Eden said that he was anxious that any settlement over Indo-China should be acceptable to Asian opinion as a whole and added that Britain had made it clear to the US and France that she would be prepared to guarantee any such settlement. He asked Nehru whether he could contemplate associating India in any form with such a guarantee, or any other action which the Commonwealth countries could take either individually or collectively to reinforce the settlement.

(2) The other question was whether it was a collective system. I told him that although we are keen to be a party to peace, we are reluctant to commit ourselves to any possible entanglement in war. That is broadly speaking India's position. Some kind of a collective system is good to have, but it must be clear what kind of system it is.<sup>8</sup>

Chou En-lai: ... What, if we take the French proposal, add to it Eden's proposal and add to that Menon's proposal, would such an organisation be possible even if USA objected? ... US may oppose it at first, but may be pressed to accept it in the end.

JN: Your Excellency must remember that the US Constitution has many things bad in it.... There are many stops and checks. Therefore, even if the Government wants to do it, Congress may stop it. There are always some elections going on in the States. Casey told me that he had told Dulles:<sup>9</sup> "You cannot stop the trouble in Far East without recognising new China and giving them their place in the UN". Dulles replied that he could not do this because of the November elections. Whatever America does or does not do, her policy is confused. If the USA was isolated, the possibility is that she would go isolationist. They cannot do it of course, but that will be a tendency. Actually, as they realise the real situation, they may come in with the others. American politics are so confused that no one knows what is going to happen. No one can speak with authority in America—not even the President, because the Congress may pull him up.

Chou En-lai: Yes. All these things are complicated. However, we cannot just wait and see. Once there is peace in Indo-China, the question of guarantees will come up. If US refuses to participate, and that leads to failure, then it will be regrettable as it may lead to war.

JN: What USA will or will not do cannot stop our efforts. But one has to do what is best. We are in the most crucial period of Anglo-American relations and should like UK to feel that they have the broad support of other countries so that they are not isolated.

Chou En-lai: I agree with the last point Your Excellency has made.... I

8. Nehru, in his message of 4 May 1954, assured Eden that India would assist in promoting and maintaining a settlement in Indo-China, but expressed his inability to make commitments or guaranteeing a settlement until more was known about the nature of the settlement and of the guarantees required. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 25, pp. 435-436.
9. John Foster Dulles (1888-1959); US Secretary of State, 1953-59; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 1, p. 572.



wonder if we can constantly exchange views in future, as that would be a great force for peace.

JN: Of course, I hope so. There is one corollary that follows from what I said before. The American people are terribly frustrated as no one is following them, and one never knows what a frustrated person may do.

I do not know what Your Excellency has decided, but I believe some talk between the Chinese Government and the UK Government is highly desirable.

Chou En-lai: Yes. At the Geneva Conference, relations between China and UK have had a good start<sup>10</sup>.... We shall go step by step, but in our talks with Britain, we cannot be as frank as with you.

JN: Yes.

What I wanted to know is if the Chinese Government is going to have diplomatic Ambassador in UK.

Chou En-lai: It is possible. Just now we are sending a Chargé d'Affaires. The specific question is, as Your Excellency knows, that the attitude taken by UK in the UN should change.... However, we expect UK to make her attitude clear.

JN: That is quite true. However, if I may say so, UK's attitude is not quite clear—though they are in favour of your representative sitting in the UN, they are also afraid of USA. They have to balance these two attitudes.

London is still an important diplomatic centre—even more important than Washington—in some ways. Washington may be more powerful, but London is more important, especially for Europe. Therefore, it would be useful if Your Excellency had an able representative there.

Chou En-lai: Yes. The Chargé d'Affaires we are sending and the British Chargé d'Affaires in Peking are no longer mere "negotiating representatives" but will be in the diplomatic list and can look after trade, nationals and other diplomatic matters, etc. Thus it may be considered a transitional stage. It is a peculiar solution to a peculiar situation.

JN: As long as they have someone to talk with and to deal with, it is all right. I should like to tell you that two weeks after your Government was set

10. Eden, in a personal message sent to Nehru on 23 June, said that his conversations with Chou En-lai "were a little stiff to begin with but they became easier as time went on. I was left with the impression of a man of wide outlook who was receptive to the ideas of others."

up on the 1st of October 1949, I went to UK and USA. I asked Bevin<sup>11</sup> about recognising it and he said, "We shall see what others do and we shall then recognise." When I met Dean Acheson<sup>12</sup> in USA, he said "Yes. I realise we should do it, but we cannot, because our public would not swallow it."<sup>13</sup>

There is one matter, which is entirely different.... Your Excellency said that the Korean question was closed. The USA are very annoyed and frustrated by the developments on Indo-China at Geneva, as their colleagues have deserted them. They have suffered a diplomatic defeat on Indo-China. They seem to have become more rigid on Korea. That is my feeling. Now, if Korea goes before the UN, nothing will come of it, not at present anyway. In my opinion, therefore, it may be better not to bring it formally before the Geneva Conference now, as then there may be a complete break-up.

Chou En-lai: Yes....

I wish to come back now to another question regarding relations between India and China.

JN: Yes. But I should like to say just one thing more. These countries talk loudly in USA—countries like France, UK, Australia, etc.—but they do not mean all they say. Mr Casey told me, "I have told USA privately that they are wrong, but I cannot tell them this publicly."

Chou En-lai: Yes. We have seen this especially on the last day of the Korean question at Geneva....

JN: Now, Your Excellency must have seen what has happened in Guatemala.<sup>14</sup>

11. Ernest Bevin (1881-1951); Foreign Secretary of the UK, 1945-51; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 2, p. 472. Nehru met Bevin on 12 November during his visit to Britain from 8 to 13 November 1949.

12. Dean Acheson (1893-1971); US Secretary of State, 1949-53; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 1, p. 511. For Nehru's conversation with Acheson held in Washington DC on 12 October 1949, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 13, pp. 295-298.

13. The question of American citizens under arrest in China was also taken up during the talks with Chou En-lai. Nehru wrote in a letter to Amrit Kaur, on 21 July 1954, "He (Chou En-lai) said that there were 10,000 Chinese students in the US and the American Government was refusing to allow any of them to return to China.... Chou En-lai said that he had permitted thousands of Americans to go back from China. Some few had been kept back, partly because they had offended against some law and partly because the Americans would not allow the Chinese students to go back. I think there is much force in his argument."

14. On 18 June, Guatemalan insurgent forces advanced into Guatemala at several points, crossing the frontier from Honduras. The Guatemalan President, Arbenz Guzman, in a broadcast the same day, accused Honduras and Nicaragua of conducting an "open aggression" in conjunction with the US.



England and France... Council, although they were against USA in this... against USA.<sup>15</sup> Churchill is in USA now and... at the moment. Therefore they could not vote against... from the Foreign Minister of Guatemala yesterday... Guatemala?<sup>16</sup>

One small thing... an ardent Buddhist and spends several hours every day... his rosary. He often says he is becoming a monk. But he is not doing it—not in the near future—because he... place.

I told Your Excellency... the so-called Colombo countries informed. But I do not... give broad general information which appears in the... Burma and Indonesia I write more intimately. That is not...

Chou En-lai: That is all right.

I come back... our two countries. We wonder if Your Excellency... the end of this year.

JN: I should love to visit... difficult to fix the time now.... Partly it would depend... as I should like to be present during the session and... have it at a suitable time, for example, after an armistice...

Chou En-lai: Well, of course... to suit your convenience. Maybe we can fix the date later... Your Excellency's visit to our country will take place this year... been expecting your visit for a long time—more than one year.

JN: I should very much like... possible, this year.

15. On 25 June, the UN Security Council failed to adopt, by five votes to four, an agenda containing Guatemala's demand for action against Honduras and Nicaragua. The US and its supporters wanted the matter to be first dealt with by the Organisation of American States.

16. With reference to the request of Amintore Fanfani, Foreign Minister of Guatemala, for India's intervention, Krishna Menon in New York on 27 June, "Obviously we cannot... you might convey our deep concern... to Secretary General and some... of countries at UN, more especially UK and Canada. This should be done... and privately as we do not wish to get entangled in South American..."

17. Chou En-lai had told Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit during her visit to China in May 1952 as the leader of an Indian delegation... that the Chinese Government regarded Nehru as one statesman who... and constantly spoken for them and that they were anxious... immediately after the conclusion of the Korean war and... manner.

Chou En-lai: As for trade and cultural exchange between China and India, it is our view that we should do more work and have more contacts; frequent visits are most important.

JN: I agree entirely.

Chou En-lai: At this Press Conference, if the correspondents should ask me about our talks, can I tell them that we are going to issue a joint statement or a communique. Of course, I would not tell them the contents of the statement yet.

JN: Yes, of course.

Chou En-lai: In the evening after we finalise the statement, would Your Excellency like to announce it in a Press Conference?

JN: It will be too late tonight. Your Excellency is going away early tomorrow morning and I am leaving ten minutes later.<sup>18</sup> Besides, it is better that they read and absorb the statement<sup>19</sup> and then I can hold a Press Conference a week later after I come back.<sup>20</sup>

Chou En-lai: At today's Press Conference, with quite a number of correspondents, I will not be able to answer any questions. I did not hold any Press Conference in Geneva.

JN: I myself have not held any Press Conference for some time and have refused to see Press correspondents although they have come especially from abroad for this purpose and gone back.

Chou En-lai: Yes, exactly. May I say that in deference to Your Excellency's wishes. I agreed only to meet the Press?<sup>21</sup>

JN: Yes. Your Excellency knows it of course that the best way to deal with the Press, if you do not want to answer a question, is to be humorous....

18. Chou En-lai left for Rangoon on the morning of 28 June. Nehru took off for Ambala on his way to Mashobra near Shimla.

19. The joint statement of Nehru and Chou En-lai was issued on 28 June 1954.

20. Nehru did not address any Press Conference during the period covered in this volume.

21. Later in the day, Chou En-lai addressed a Press Conference lasting half an hour during which he gave answers, in written form, to five questions among the many submitted to him in advance. He declined to entertain supplementaries.



8. To U Nu<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 27, 1954

My dear U Nu,

I have sent you a telegram <sup>2</sup> through our Ambassador <sup>3</sup> in Rangoon today. That telegram was also sent to the Prime Ministers of Indonesia, Ceylon and Pakistan. I wish, however, to add to that. I am, therefore, writing this letter with some haste because I want this to be taken personally by our Secretary General, N.R. Pillai,<sup>4</sup> who will be accompanying the Chinese Prime Minister's party to Canton. He will, therefore, hand this to you personally and I should like you read it, if possible, before your talks with Chou En-lai.

2. We are likely to issue a joint statement <sup>5</sup> tonight. It has not been quite finalised yet because it is in the process of translation into Chinese and Chou En-lai wants to see a Chinese draft before he finally passes it. If this statement is ready in time, as I hope it will be, I shall enclose a copy. Of course, it is bound to appear in the newspapers.

3. This statement necessarily deals rather broadly with various aspects of the problems facing us. Nevertheless, it gives some indication of the way of our thinking. You will notice that particular care has been taken to avoid saying anything which is in condemnation of any country or group of nations. The normal way, both in America and in the Communist countries, is to condemn the other lot. That is not our way and Chou En-lai agreed willingly to the approach I suggested. Of course, what we say in this statement will not be liked by the US Government. Indeed, my meeting with Chou En-lai also came as a slight shock to them. That cannot be helped. But I do wish to avoid any language which might widen the gulf or create more difficulties. You will have noticed that Anthony Eden's recent speech in the British House of Commons, in which he talked about an Eastern Locarno, has angered the Americans greatly. The fact is that the Americans are feeling greatly frustrated from the developments at the Geneva Conference. They have played a relatively unimportant and almost passive part there. They have hardly put forward any concrete proposals. They have contended themselves by not agreeing with some of the proposals made. Essentially their attitude is against a settlement or, to put it differently, their idea of a settlement is a surrender by those opposed to

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. In the telegram, not printed, Nehru gave a gist of his talks with Chou En-lai.

3. K.K. Chettur.

4. (1898-1992); Secretary General, Ministry of External Affairs, 1952-60; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 1, p. 598.

5. See *post*, pp. 410-412.

them. It is manifest that the American population is favourable to the American Government. Therefore, the decision of surrender is to be considered. The United States and France have realised this and it is not surprising that they have negotiated a settlement...

5. The favourable settlement by Chou En-lai about Laos and Cambodia meant that Laos and Cambodia are to be withdrawn. This is only in Cambodia, the situation is fairly strong and is in a family. However, Chou En-lai with the present Government is difficult for some international Governments and these later on....

7. It seemed to me that a peaceful settlement in South-East Asia. The Viet-minh attitude is also reasonable at Geneva, Van Dong suggestions. Chou En-lai South-East Asia countries should be done as he was an ally might be utilised to set will not be done, then he would like them to be themselves.

8. He said repeatedly East Asia type of countries and Indonesia, that is, to blocs and follow a neutral path. But, if Laos and Cambodia have a certain good and...

9. Chou En-lai himself welcomed this suggestion will have a chance of having...

6. Pham Van Dong (b.1906) was a leader of the Viet-minh; underground Communist Party of Vietnam for seven years; a founder of the Revolutionary Government of Vietnam (the Vietminh). 1941; Foreign Minister, 1945-46, 1954-61, and Prime Minister, 1955-76; 1976-86.



forthright person, which is rather unusual in the average Communist leader. He speaks with some authority and is receptive to ideas. He thinks a good deal in terms of Asia and even more so in terms of South-East Asia. He is thus particularly anxious to develop friendly relations with all the South-East Asia countries and is prepared to do anything in reason to remove their fears. He thinks that the relations of all these countries might well be governed by the principles which we have accepted in the agreement between India and China recently made. You will remember these principles about territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference, etc. We are repeating them in our joint statement. I think also that those principles are good and should be repeated.

10. He asked me what he should do to give assurance to the various South-East Asia countries. Possibly, he was thinking of some pacts, etc. I suggested to him that the first step might well be joint bilateral declarations on the basis of those principles. Later, we could think what else might be done. That would depend upon various developments, and, more especially, on what happens in Indo-China. Thus, Burma and China could make a declaration that they wish their relations to be governed by those principles and thus not only to promote friendly relations between the two countries but also to advance the cause of peace in South-East Asia. Similarly, China and Indonesia could do likewise at a later stage and Burma and Indonesia. India also can have such bilateral declarations.

11. I think that, at this stage, we should take only this step. We can consider the next step later.

12. You will see the joint statement we are issuing here. If you agree with it, you might issue a joint statement with Chou En-lai stating briefly that you agree with the broad approach of the joint statement issued by the Prime Ministers of China and India and further that you would like the relations of Burma and China to be governed by the five principles laid down in that statement.<sup>7</sup>

13. Chou En-lai does not know much about Burma. He asked me many questions and I tried to answer them. His whole approach was a friendly one desiring to understand. I told him briefly of your complaints.<sup>8</sup> He said that they

7. The joint statement of the Prime Ministers of China and Myanmar issued at Rangoon on 29 June affirmed that "the principles agreed upon between China and India...should also be the guiding principles for relationship between China and Burma."

8. U Nu had written to Nehru on 7 June 1954 about the interference of the Chinese Communists in the internal affairs of Myanmar. Nehru replied on 15 June, suggesting that "it would be desirable for your Ambassador in Peking to refer to the two instances you have given in your letter in the course of an informal talk with the Chinese Foreign Office. It would be better not to make a formal complaint in writing. The Chinese Government will very probably deny this. It is possible, of course, that the Chinese Government do not know about it, but even that does not wholly absolve them."

must have been due to misunderstandings, and, anyhow, he would do his best to remove any cause for complaint....

15. This is a letter hastily written just to give you the background of our talks as this might help you in your own talks. If necessary, I shall write further to you later....

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 9. Message to V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

I am too tired to send you long message. We have been struggling for the greater part of the night with the difficulties of translation into Chinese. Soon Chou En-lai will be leaving for Rangoon and I shall go to Mashobra.

Our talks have covered a wide field and have been very helpful. Chou En-lai is, I think, impressed by much that he saw here and we have got to know each other fairly well. He is now very Asia-conscious and is anxious to understand other Asian countries about which he knows little. Repeatedly talked about India being economically and industrially more advanced than China and great responsibilities of our two countries. Anxious also to remove apprehensions of smaller countries of Asia.

His visit has certainly brought our two countries nearer to one another.

1. Written at 2.30 after midnight, 27 June 1954. File No. 12/86/NGO/54 & 12/88/NGO/54, MEA. Krishna Menon was in New York at this time.

## 10. Panchsheel—A Model Code for Bilateral Relations<sup>1</sup>

His Excellency Chou En-lai, Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China, came to Delhi at the invitation of His Excellency Jawaharlal

1. Joint statement issued after the talks between Nehru and Chou En-lai. New Delhi. 28 June 1954. Printed in the leading newspapers, 29 June 1954.



Nehru, Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of the Republic of India. He stayed here for three days. During this period the two Prime Ministers discussed many matters of common concern to India and China. In particular, they discussed the prospects of peace in South-East Asia and the developments that had taken place in the Geneva Conference in regard to Indo-China. The situation in Indo-China was of vital importance to the peace of Asia and the world and the Prime Ministers were anxious that the efforts that were being made at Geneva should succeed. They noted with satisfaction that some progress had been made in the talks at Geneva in regard to an armistice. They earnestly hoped that these efforts will meet with success in the near future and that they would result in a political settlement of the problems of that area.

The talks between the Prime Ministers aimed at helping, in such ways as were possible, the efforts at peaceful settlement that were being made in Geneva and elsewhere. Their main purpose was to arrive at a clearer understanding of each other's point of view in order to help in the maintenance of peace, both in cooperation with each other and with other countries.

Recently, India and China have come to an agreement in which they have laid down certain principles, which should guide the relations between the two countries. These principles are:

- (i) mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty;
- (ii) non-aggression;
- (iii) non-interference in each other's internal affairs;
- (iv) equality and mutual benefit; and
- (v) peaceful coexistence.

The Prime Ministers reaffirmed these principles and felt that they should be applied in their relations with other countries in Asia as well as in other parts of the world. If these principles are applied not only between various countries but also in international relations generally, they would form a solid foundation for peace and security and the fears and apprehensions that exist today would give place to a feeling of confidence.

The Prime Ministers recognized that different social and political systems exist in various parts of Asia and the world. If, however, the above-mentioned principles are accepted and acted upon and there is no interference by any one country with another, these differences should not come in the way of peace or create conflicts. With the assurance of territorial integrity and sovereignty of each country and of non-aggression, there would be peaceful coexistence and friendly relations between the countries concerned. This would lessen the tensions that exist in the world today and help in creating a climate of peace.

In particular, the Prime Ministers hoped that these principles would be applied to the solution of the problems in Indo-China where the political

settlement should aim at the creation of free, democratic, unified and independent States, which should not be used for aggressive purposes, or be subjected to foreign intervention. This will lead to a growth of self-confidence in these countries as well as to friendly relations between them and their neighbours. The adoption of the principles referred to above will also help in creating an area of peace which, as circumstances permit, can be enlarged, thus lessening the chances of war and strengthening the cause of peace all over the world.

The Prime Ministers expressed their confidence in the friendship between India and China which would help the cause of world peace and the peaceful development of their respective countries as well as other countries of Asia.

These conversations were held with a view to helping in bringing about a greater understanding of the problems of Asia and to further a peaceful and cooperative effort, in common with other countries of the world, in solving these and like problems.

The Prime Ministers agreed that their respective countries should maintain close contacts so that there should continue to be full understanding between them. They appreciated greatly the present opportunity of meeting together and having a full exchange of ideas leading to a clearer understanding and cooperation in the cause of peace.

## 11. To U Nu<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 9, 1954

My dear Maung Nu,

Thank you for your letter of the 1st July. I am glad you have written to me fully about your talks with the Chinese Prime Minister.<sup>2</sup> Your report gives me a good idea of the nature of your discussions.

These discussions of yours appear to me to have been helpful in carrying matters a little further from what they were after my talks with Chou En-lai.

So far as the border questions are concerned, we have, on our part, no matter to raise with them. Our border is quite clear. Since we were clear about this ourselves and have stated so quite openly, there was no point in my raising

1. JN Collection.

2. Chou En-lai had talks with U Nu at Rangoon on 28 and 29 June 1954. U Nu wrote to Nehru on 1 July, "Chou En-lai, by his open countenance and naturalness of manners, has made a very good impression upon all those who met him here. I am sure his visit has largely contributed to future easier relations between the two countries."



this question with him. In your case, however, there is a difference and so it is as well that you raise this matter clearly.<sup>3</sup>

I am sure that Chou En-lai's visit to Rangoon will have the effect of checking local Communists in Burma.

As you know, on his way back to Peking Chou En-lai met Ho Chi Minh and spent two or three days with him in some place on the border. Tomorrow Chou En-lai will be leaving for Geneva to take part in the Conference there. The other Foreign Ministers are also gathering there. This is going to be a difficult period in Geneva and I am by no means clear what will happen. On the whole, it seems that a ceasefire in Indo-China will come off. All the governments concerned except the USA and, perhaps, Bao Dai's government, are anxious for a ceasefire. If it comes off, that will certainly be a major gain, though the remaining questions are still very difficult. As you know, both politically and militarily the French-Bao Dai position is very weak there and they are in no way capable of defending themselves adequately.

The whole position depends very much on the USA attitude. This has stiffened lately and, to some extent, though not very much, it has affected the UK attitude. President Eisenhower<sup>4</sup> and Dulles go about saying very positively that they will on no account recognize the People's Government of China or agree to its admission to the UN.<sup>5</sup> As a matter of fact, practically every other government feels that China should be given a place in the UN. You must have seen the statement of the New Zealand Minister on this subject.<sup>6</sup> Casey privately told me the same thing. But in view of the US attitude these countries are hardly likely to go against it. The US attitude hangs round the November elections in the US and so nothing need be expected till then. Meanwhile, of

3. U Nu wrote that Chou En-lai had told him that the question of China-Myanmar frontier had never been settled in the past and "that it was a matter on which he by himself alone was not able to make any statement." Chou En-lai also said that even though the frontier had not been fully demarcated, "our peoples along the frontier had been living in complete amity." U Nu informed Chou En-lai that Myanmar would, in due course, make an approach to the Chinese Government through her Ambassador on this subject.
4. Dwight David Eisenhower (1890-1969); President of the USA, 1952-60; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 14, p. 28.
5. Eisenhower stated on 7 July that he was unalterably opposed to the admission of China to the UN in the existing circumstances, when China was still at war with the UN, was a declared aggressor under a UN resolution, and "was conducting some of the worst diplomatic deportment." Dulles said on 8 July that he was confident the General Assembly would reject any bid to seat China in the UN.
6. Clifton Webb, Foreign Minister of New Zealand, stated on 7 July that he was firmly convinced that failure to admit China to the UN had prevented a reduction in world tension.

course, the Geneva Conference will have to come to some decisions. The question of Chinese representation in the UN is not before Geneva but, in a sense, it does affect the problems there. Any settlement in Indo-China must necessarily involve some kind of assurances by certain Powers, including China and the US. The US will not give such an assurance even if indirectly this involves the recognition of China.

The Korean question has also arrived at a deadlocked stage and I am not at all sure if anything can be done about it. There is some talk of this being raised in the UN Assembly, but the US, the UK and Canada are opposed to this, for the time being at least. Possibly there will be a session of the UN Assembly to consider the Thai request for Observers. This session might take place about the middle of August. We feel that this should not be a special session, but a continuation of the last Eighth Session of the Assembly. If it is such a continuation, it will naturally have the old items on the agenda, including Korea. Korea need not necessarily be taken up then, but it is better for the matter to be on the agenda. In case necessity arises, they can discuss it.

As all the Foreign Ministers are gathering in Geneva for these delicate negotiations, I have thought it desirable to ask Krishna Menon to be present there, in case he can be of any help.

I shall keep you informed of any developments that come to our knowledge.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### (iv) Attitude to SEATO

##### 1. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

Middleton has just come to see me with Pillai at near midnight to convey to me a message from Eden.<sup>2</sup> This message refers to critical phase at Geneva and

1. New Delhi, 20 July 1954. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Extracts.
2. G.H. Middleton, Deputy High Commissioner of the UK, met Nehru late in the night of 19 July. He was accompanied by N.R. Pillai, Secretary General. MEA.



expresses hope that agreement might still be reached. Chances of agreement are said to be no better than even.

2. In the event of agreement it is suggested that other countries should declare support of such agreement and undertake to treat its violation as threat of international peace and security.

3. In the event of failure to reach agreement, common action on widest possible basis is envisaged in order, it is said, to stabilise the grave situation. Best action would be early announcement that countries of Commonwealth and of South and South-East Asia had agreed with the US and France to work together for common defence. This is referred to as inherent right of collective self defence recognised by Article 51 of Charter. This is to be followed by collective defence agreement.<sup>3</sup>

4. Middleton explained that the main purpose of doing something immediately was to prevent the US from acting rashly and thus creating even more difficult situation. Also failure would mean Mendes-France's resignation<sup>4</sup> and very grave situation in France. Joint declaration might help somewhat.

5. I have told Middleton that we shall give answer tomorrow forenoon. Our answer, of course, is quite clear. In accordance with our firm policy we cannot join in any so-called collective defence agreement or make declaration to that effect.

6. If there is agreement we shall naturally welcome it. But we would hesitate to undertake any liabilities which might involve us later in war. In any event we see no reason why we should hurriedly make a declaration....

3. Dulles and Eden, in a joint announcement made in London on 13 April, spoke of the possibility of establishing a collective defence for South-East Asia and the Western Pacific. Earlier Dulles had told Eden during their talks that the US Government favoured intervention by American naval and air forces in Indo-China, and suggested the formation of an ad hoc coalition which might develop into SEATO. This in itself, Dulles thought, would deter China from further interference besides 'strengthening their own position at Geneva by giving evidence of their solidarity.

4. In a statement of policy delivered before the French National Assembly prior to being elected Prime Minister on 17 June 1954, Mendes-France undertook to resign if he was unable to obtain a ceasefire in Indo-China on reasonable terms by 20 July.

## 2. Message to U Nu<sup>1</sup>

I have just received message from Eden which you must also have received. He suggests, in case of agreement at Geneva, joint declaration in support. If there is agreement, we shall of course welcome it. But I would hesitate to make any commitment which might drag us into war later on plea of violation of settlement. Anyhow I should like to see terms of agreement first.

2. In case of failure to reach agreement, another declaration is suggested which amounts to decision to set up so-called Collective Defence Agreement in South-East Asia and South-West Pacific, some kind of expanded SEATO.

3. Any such one-sided collective defence agreement would obviously be opposed to policy we have been pursuing. It would be abandonment of non-alignment. Instead of strengthening fabric of peace in South-East Asia, it would, I think, bring war nearer.

4. It is evident that British Government fears some precipitate action by United States and hence suggests some such declaration which might prevent or at least delay that action. I feel that this is unwise policy which will lead to further entanglements and difficulties. In any event there appears to be no need for us to be rushed into making declarations of far-reaching importance, without full consideration and consultation.

5. I hope still that next day or two will lead to agreement.

1. New Delhi, 20 July 1954. JN Collection. A similar message was also sent to Ali Sastroamidjojo.

## 3. Message to John Kotelawala<sup>1</sup>

Your High Commissioner<sup>2</sup> has given me your two messages today.

2. I have not yet received any formal communication regarding the Supervisory Commission for Indo-China. Unless we have full particulars about its functions, it is difficult to give an answer. But, generally speaking, in the

1. New Delhi, 21 July 1954. JN Collection.

2. C. Coomaraswamy.



circumstances when all the Powers concerned have at last come to an agreement, I feel that we have to accept that agreement and help in furthering the settlement in Indo-China.

3. Regarding your second message about Eden's proposals for a declaration, now that an agreement has been signed at Geneva about Indo-China, there does not appear to me to be any need for a formal declaration as suggested. We should certainly welcome this agreement and offer our cooperation to the extent possible to each of our countries. If any one-sided declaration is made, that is, between one group of countries as against another group, that would be an unfortunate and graceless gesture which, instead of ensuring a peaceful atmosphere, would create suspicion. The only kind of declaration that might be suitable is one in which all parties join. Also our joining a one-sided declaration would mean our giving up our policy of non-alignment with one party. Personally I think that there is no need to hurry any declaration at all and we should await developments.

4. The best assurance for maintenance of peace and avoidance of aggression is to work jointly for collective peace and not to encourage separate groups issuing warnings to each other. I do not think therefore that any occasion has arisen for an interim council or committee to be formed or to meet to consider this matter.<sup>3</sup>

3. B.F.H.B. Tyabji, Ambassador of India in Indonesia, informed Nehru on 23 July that Kotelawala was understood to have sounded the Indonesian Prime Minister on meeting of Colombo Powers for expressing dissatisfaction at sole selection of India from amongst them on the Supervisory Commissions and also for considering Eden's message regarding common defence. He added that Sastroamidjojo had apparently cold-shouldered both suggestions.

#### 4. Message to U Nu<sup>1</sup>

I have received a message from British Foreign Secretary, Eden, about their plans "for a defensive organisation in South-East Asia and South-West Pacific." Perhaps you have also received similar message. Eden informs me that a meeting is to be convened in September and mentions that he would like to see, in addition to Australia, New Zealand, Siam, the Philippines, France, the United

1. New Delhi, 31 July 1954. JN Collection. A similar message was also sent to Ali Sastroamidjojo.

Kingdom and the United States, "the Colombo Powers" represented at such a conference. The subjects to be considered at this proposed meeting are stated to be:

- (a) measures of military, economic or technical assistance to countries wishing to strengthen their resistance to external interference of any kind (aggression, infiltration or subversion);
- (b) consultation with a view to common action should the territorial integrity, political independence or security of one of the parties or the peace of the area be endangered;
- (c) action in the event of overt aggression.

2. These are also stated to be the principles which were agreed by the joint Anglo-United States Study Group<sup>2</sup> which recently met in Washington and are considered as suitable basis for a treaty.

3. It is mentioned that such a treaty would be purely defensive and would be in accordance with United Nations Charter and also that it is not proposed to include at present the Indo-China States.

4. I am sure that you will agree that the organisation, as suggested, and the principles underlying it must necessarily be hostile to some other countries and cannot be considered purely defensive. For ourselves, we doubt if this basic approach is in accordance with the spirit of the United Nations Charter. In any event, it is not in keeping with the policy of non-alignment which countries in South East Asia have adopted.

5. Furthermore, any step of this kind coming so soon after the Indo-China settlement and embodying a reverse trend to peaceful approach, conciliation and an extension of the peace area in South-East Asia, is calculated to affect the prospects of peace and stability in our area adversely rather than otherwise.

6. So far as we are concerned, any participation or even sympathetic acquiescence in such a move would be not only contrary to our basic policy and principles but would be improper having regard to the position of the Colombo States in relation to the Indo-China problem as a whole and, more particularly, our own place in the neutral Supervisory Commission.

7. It is my intention to send Mr Eden a reasoned reply informing him that we cannot participate in the scheme and that we do not desire to attend any such conference. I shall also place before him for his consideration what we regard as the constructive alternative on the basis of approach to a collective

2. The Anglo-American Study Group on South-East Asian defence had been set up as a result of the Washington meeting of Churchill and Eden with Eisenhower and Dulles in June 1954. The study group ended its discussions on 18 July 1954.



peace system. As you are aware, this is the policy that you and we have sought to pursue. This has been reflected to some extent in the principles agreed upon and referred to in the joint statements issued recently in New Delhi and Rangoon.

8. I feel that the Geneva Conference has, for the first time in international affairs since the World War, given a turn towards peace and relaxation of world tensions. It seems to me important that this direction should be maintained and that nothing should be done which increases tensions and hostilities. This is particularly important in the region of South-East Asia with which all of us are so intimately concerned. In fact, South-East Asia is already known as the area of peace, chiefly because of the Colombo Conference and the policies pursued by our countries.

9. When I have sent my reply to Mr Eden, I will communicate with you again.<sup>3</sup>

3. In separate messages sent to Mohammad Ali, and John Kotelawala on 31 July, Nehru stated that it seemed to him that although the organisation contemplated in Eden's message was said to be defensive, it could not have the effect of "what we regard as the constructive alternative approach to a collective peace system". He added that the proposed organisation would "add to tensions and suspicions and thus lead us away from the new atmosphere of peace which has resulted from the Geneva settlements on Indo-China." The messages also contained the substance of para 6 above.

## 5. Message to Anthony Eden<sup>1</sup>

I am grateful to you for your message of the 19th and 31st of July about 'creating a broadly based defensive organisation in South-East Asia and the South-West Pacific', which you favour. You have been good enough to inform me from time to time about some of the aspects of your exploratory considerations of this problem. I learn from your present message that the Anglo-US Study Group has now agreed on the basic principles for a treaty for the establishment of such an organisation as you contemplate.

2. You are also good enough to invite my consideration of these ideas which you have said have now become crystallised and to seek our participation in the further consideration of them as well as in the projected organisation. I also understand from your message that this projected organisation is to consist

1. New Delhi, 1 August 1954. JN Collection.

of the United Kingdom, the United States of America, France, Australia and New Zealand and the two Asian States of Thailand and the Philippines and that you would like to see the Colombo States joining it. In the meeting to be convened in September, in respect of which you have sought to ascertain whether India would like to be invited either as participants or as observers, collective measures are to be planned and a collective defence organisation is to be created.

3. You are, however, well acquainted with our basic approach and policy in respect of the problems which it is the aim and purpose of the organisation that you contemplate and the policy on which it is based to solve. There can be little doubt in your mind, therefore, that our participation in, or support of, what you are planning to establish can be considered or effected by us only by the abandonment of the bases of our national and international policies and of the fundamental approach we seek to make to the problems of peace and stability in South-East Asia and indeed in the world as a whole.

4. We have, after due thought and not always without anxieties, adopted for ourselves, on the one hand, a policy of what has been sometimes called non-alignment with the Power blocs and, on the other hand, sought to pursue by a conciliatory and peaceful approach and methods to establish and promote reasonably friendly and peaceful relations with countries far and near. To this end we seek to establish our relations with others on a firm basis of non-interference with each other's affairs, non-aggression and the promotion of neighbourliness and conciliation.

5. The South-East Asian and South-West Pacific organisation would be an organic military arrangement, the participants in which are some States in the area and a larger number outside the area who seek to align themselves with one another for the avowed purpose of safeguarding peace and promoting the stability of the participating countries, or of the area as a whole, against other countries and peoples in the area or elsewhere. It is, therefore, far from being a collective peace system; it is rather a military alliance. This may possibly result in the formation of a counter-military alliance. If, on the other hand, this is not considered the likely result, then the *raison d'être* of the arrangement fails.

6. Participation in or our lending support to any such policy or arrangement is not merely to abandon our well considered policies on international relations and our basic national outlook, but to help to extend the area of the cold war with its attendant progressive armed preparedness and the psychosis of hatred and suspicion in this part of the world.

7. You have referred to the role of the Asian Powers in the defence of South-East Asia and mentioned its vital importance. Yet the majority of Asian countries and the overwhelming majority of Asian peoples will not be participants in the organisation. Some, it may be anticipated, would even be



strongly opposed to it, thus rendering South-East Asia a potentially explosive theatre of the cold war.

8. I am concerned about peace and stability as you well know. This country is anxious to promote and preserve these. We do not seek to interfere or intervene in the affairs of other countries, nor will we permit interference in ours.

9. We are well aware and do recognise that basic approaches and principles by themselves are not enough. We recognise that we cannot live or maintain peace in national isolation. Collective arrangements are not only desirable but inevitable. Is this not the basic conception of the United Nations which we both fully support? We also recognise that limited and special arrangements are often necessary and may emerge for good reasons. Are not our relations in the Commonwealth one such? There can be others, each making a contribution to greater world cooperation and the progressive elimination of conflict.

10. Peace and stability in South-East Asia have greater chances and hopes of fulfilment, in the circumstances that exist in the world, by our seeking peace alliances rather than military alliances. I would, therefore, with respect invite you to examine the preamble to our recent agreement with China in respect of certain Indo-Tibetan matters. This preamble has nothing to do with the details of the Indo-Tibetan questions at all. It sets out the principles and the approach that our two countries have agreed upon freely and by negotiation. These basic principles are:

- (i) mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty;
- (ii) non-aggression;
- (iii) non-interference in each other's internal affairs;
- (iv) equality and mutual benefit; and
- (v) peaceful coexistence.

11. I am happy to say that these principles have now become more firmly established and are embodied in the joint communique issued by Mr Chou En-lai and myself at the end of his recent visit here. Both of us ventured to express the hope publicly that these principles may well become the pattern of relationships in South-East Asia. If they do, they would serve to restrain and resolve conflicts. I am happy to say that these principles were also adopted by the Prime Minister of Burma in a joint statement issued by him and Mr Chou En-lai. The Prime Minister of Indonesia also expressed his approval of them. Thus, this pattern shows promise of growth in South-East Asian soil and, I am sure, that not only India, Burma and Indonesia but also Ceylon, Pakistan and other countries would find in them greater measures of security and freedom from fear and aggression than without them.

12. I would like to mention that the same idea and approach have found expression and approval in the Geneva settlement on Indo-China, of which you

are one of the principal architects. In your message to me on the 25th July, you have drawn my particular attention to Article 22 of the final declaration of the Conference:

"In their relations with Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam, each member of the Geneva Conference undertakes to respect the sovereignty, the independence, the unity and the territorial integrity of the above-mentioned States, and to refrain from any interference in their internal affairs."

13. Thus, in the context of Indo-China, the five great Powers, despite the East and West conflict and their sharp differences, found that the way to peace and settlement in South-East Asia was not by way of military alliances, but by the approach to which I have referred. May we not seek to extend this? I submit this to you in all sincerity as a constructive alternative and ask you to give it your best consideration before committing yourself to larger and more military alliances, or of continuing to regard such alliances with their armed partisanship as a solvent to the problems that may confront you or us in South-East Asia.

14. Peace and stability in Asia, I venture to say, would be greatly assisted if your great influence and that of your allies can be thrown on the side of rendering the United Nations more representative of what the world is. China taking her rightful place in the United Nations would be a great contribution to stability and peaceful progress in Asia. You will remember that all the Powers meeting in the Colombo Conference were in favour of the People's Government of China participating in the United Nations.

15. There are also some considerations of more proximate relevance which I would invite you to consider. The conclusion of a military alliance by some of the parties to the Indo-China settlement to the exclusion of others, in the wake of and so soon after the settlement itself, cannot help to promote the processes of peace and the lowering of tensions which the settlement has happily helped to begin and further.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, it is my fear and belief that it may tend to retard such processes. This, I am sure, is not your desire. I do not, however, say that the alliance you contemplate is contrary to the terms of Indo-China settlement.

16. The second particular circumstance to which I would refer is that, irrespective of all other considerations, you would agree with me that it will not be proper for India to respond to an invitation, or to support the projected military alliance, having regard to her position in the International Supervisory

2. Eden stated in his message of 31 July that it was not intended to include Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam in the proposed organization, but should they be the victims of aggression, the organization would be prepared to render them assistance.



Commissions on Indo-China. I mention this only as an additional circumstance and not as one of the basic factors which conditions our decision. These I have already stated.

17. Finally, I would like to draw your attention once again to the fact that the pattern of this military arrangement would appear to peoples in Asia as an attempt of the powerful nations of the West to protect territories outside their own.

18. I am aware that there is an alliance between Australia, New Zealand and the United States and that the UK are in some way connected with it. The South-East Asia and South-West Pacific arrangement contemplated by you is something different, and public opinion in Asia would not regard it as an extension or a logical development of the ANZUS, which is comprised of countries which can claim to be themselves concerned. The ANZUS is an exclusive South-West Pacific arrangement and has not the same relations or characteristics in regard to us in South-East Asia as the proposed South-East Asia and South-West Pacific Organisation.

19. I have ventured to write to you at length to acquaint you of my reactions fully and to explain why, in spite of our close relations, we are unable to lend our support and have to urge you to take a different line. I am grateful to you for 'having kept me informed of developments in the course of our usual Commonwealth communications and otherwise.

20. In the light of what I have said, you will readily appreciate that no purpose will be served by our participating in the proposed meeting in September.

## 6. Message to John Kotelawala<sup>1</sup>

Thank you for your message which I received yesterday on my return to Delhi.

2. I would normally welcome every opportunity for the Colombo Conference Prime Ministers to meet and confer.<sup>2</sup> I am afraid, however, that it

1. New Delhi, 7 August 1954. JN Collection.

2. Referring to Nehru's message of 31 July (see *ante*, p. 419), Kotelawala suggested on 3 August that "if we do not agree with the proposals made by Mr Eden it is necessary we think out a suitable alternative. This seems 'imperative' in view of conditions in Asia and in the interests of peace". He wanted that the Colombo Powers should meet in Sri Lanka and "discuss the position and arrive at some common line of action" before the proposed SEATO conference took place in early September.

is not at all possible for me to leave Delhi during this month or even in September. Our Parliament is meeting on the 23rd August and I shall be heavily engaged.

3. But apart from convenience, the purpose and desirability of the proposed meeting are not clear to me. If it is to consider the proposal of the UK Government in regard to the South-East Asia Organisation, we have already expressed our views quite clearly and communicated them to Mr Eden. The Government of India's views on this subject were further elaborated in a letter<sup>3</sup> copy of which I sent you.

4. I understand that both Burma and Indonesia have already expressed their considered views on the proposed South-East Asia Organisation. Thus, these three countries have made their views clear. For us to meet for the purpose of considering the proposal for the September Conference would be to create misunderstanding about our own positions.

5. I understand that Pakistan has decided to send an observer to the September Conference. You will thus observe that decisions have been taken by all our countries and action has followed on those decisions.

6. I would therefore strongly urge that no meeting as proposed should take place.<sup>4</sup>

3. See *ante*, pp. 419-423.

4. Forwarding copies of this message to U Nu and Ali Sastroamidjojo on 7 August, Nehru wrote, "I feel that our meeting for this purpose would be gravely misunderstood and would have unfortunate political consequences. When our minds are clear on this issue, we should not do anything to create misunderstandings."

## (v) Proposal for an Asian-African Conference

### 1. To Ali Sastroamidjojo<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 18, 1954

My dear Prime Minister,

About ten days ago, your Ambassador in Delhi handed to me an *aide-mémoire* dealing with your proposal to hold a Conference of Asian-African nations. I

1. JN Collection. Copies of this letter were sent to U Nu and John Kotelawala on 19 and 24 August 1954 respectively.



remember that this proposal <sup>2</sup> was discussed, though rather briefly, at Colombo and you kindly agreed that you might explore the possibilities of such a Conference.

2. In the *aide-mémoire*, your Government have made certain suggestions. Among them, is the proposal to hold the Conference in the month of September or October, 1954, while the General Assembly of the United Nations is in session in New York.<sup>3</sup> You have also suggested that the countries to be invited to this Conference should be those represented on the Afro-Asian group in the United Nations, with the addition of Ceylon and Jordan, and that the Conference should be on a governmental level with Prime Ministers, if possible, representing their respective countries. There should be no observers and the Conference should be of an informal character.

3. As you know, we have got tied up with the International Supervisory Commissions in Indo-China, and this means a great responsibility. This has involved a heavy strain on our time and resources. Then there are problems of the French and Portuguese possessions in India which have taken up a good deal of our time. I need not refer to our internal problems which are always pressing upon us.

4. In spite of these many preoccupations, we have given a good deal of thought to your proposal about an Afro-Asian Conference. I would welcome such a Conference and I hope that it will be held in Indonesia. But the more I think of it the more I realise that such a Conference, if it is to yield any satisfactory results, must be preceded by a good deal of preparatory work. September and October are much too near for such preparatory work to take place. We have also to be clear about various matters before we can convene such a Conference.

5. For me, the next few months present great difficulties about leaving India. Next week, our Parliament is meeting again, and I shall be completely occupied there till the first week of October. During the rest of October, I expect also to have important engagements. November is also a heavy month for me, though I might possibly find a few days in it.

6. But, I really do not see how we can go on with this important Conference in the course of the next two or three months. We shall require a minimum of

2. Sastroamidjojo said before the opening session of the Colombo Conference on 28 April that the Asian and African nations found themselves at the cross-roads of the history of mankind because of "pressure politics" and the race for armaments between the Power blocs, and suggested the convening of a conference of these nations to discuss the problems faced by them.
3. Elaborating the purposes of the proposed conference, the *aide-mémoire* said that apart from striving toward "the achievement of world peace through constructive ways on moral principles", cooperation of a more specific nature could be utilized "to analyse and settle common political and economic problems from the Afro-Asian point of view."

six months' preparation for it after some of our basic decisions in regard to it have been taken. The time may even be longer. International conferences like this require careful preparatory work.

7. You know that a so-called South-East Asia Conference is being held at Baguio in the Philippines early in September.<sup>4</sup> Your country, Ceylon, India and Burma have expressed their views against this proposal to have a South-East Asia Organisation, as suggested. Ceylon is not attending that Conference, but Pakistan is sending an observer.<sup>5</sup> I feel that the whole purpose of this South-East Asian Conference at Baguio is misconceived and likely to injure the cause of peace instead of furthering the security of South-East Asia. In spite of the agreements recently reached at Geneva in regard to Indo-China, the situation in the Far East continues to be very difficult and there are elements of an explosive character in it. Peace will only be preserved if there is constant vigilance and the avoidance of any wrong step. Recent incidents in the China Seas<sup>6</sup> have indicated how even an error might lead to dangerous consequences.

8. In Korea, Dr Syngman Rhee is demanding that the International Commission should be wound up and his army should be allowed to march into North Korea.<sup>7</sup> Formosa is also somewhat aggressive. Both South Korea and Formosa are intimately tied up with the United States of America. On the other hand, Chou En-lai has recently expressed himself strongly about Formosa and President Eisenhower has declared that he will give every protection to Formosa.<sup>8</sup> I mention all this to indicate how delicate this situation is in these areas. If anything untoward happens there, this will immediately affect South-East Asia. The South-East Asian Organisation might then come into play and drag other countries into a possible conflict.

9. The politics of the United States of America depend a great deal, as you know, on their elections. The next elections are in November and the

4. Although it had originally been intended to hold the Conference at Baguio, the venue was subsequently changed to Manila.
5. Pakistan eventually signed the SEATO treaty on 8 September 1954 along with seven other countries.
6. There were reports of shelling on the island of Quemoy by the Chinese long-range guns on the Fukien coast. Quemoy was used as a base for raids on the nearby islands under Chinese control. See also *ante*, p. 327.
7. Addressing a joint session of the US Congress on 28 July, Rhee called for the ending of armistice in Korea and for an all-out attack on China by the South Korean and Kuomintang armies supported by US naval and air power. Freeing the Chinese mainland of Communist control would automatically lead to a victorious end to the wars in East Asia, he said.
8. Eisenhower stated on 17 August that the measures taken by President Truman in June 1950 to defend Taiwan were still in force and any attempt to invade the island would have to reckon with the US Seventh Fleet.



future policy of the United States of America would to some extent be governed by these elections and their result. November, therefore, is an important month from that point of view. It may well be that fairly rapid developments take place then requiring immediate attention from all of us.

10. Your suggestion that the countries of the Afro-Asian group in the United Nations should be invited to the proposed Conference would lead to the exclusion of some important countries.<sup>9</sup> African countries would hardly be represented. Egypt would be represented and is important. But it hardly represents the Africans who are playing an evergrowing part now. The Sudan, the Gold Coast and Nigeria represent the growing nationalist spirit of Africa.

11. The Arab countries of the Middle East are full of their own internal problems and more especially that of Palestine. They are not much interested in South-East Asia or Asian problems as a whole. They are, of course, important from the larger point of view and in any big Conference they must have a part.

12. In Africa, it is possible that some changes might take place later in the year in Tunisia and Morocco leaving these countries more or less as self-governing. It will be a gain if we can invite them as nation States.

13. So far as South-East Asia is concerned, apart from the Colombo countries, the only two other countries that would be included in the Conference, according to your suggestion, would be Thailand and the Philippines. Both these countries are intimately tied up with the South-East Asia Organisation idea, and will probably form part of such an organisation, if it is formed. They represent very much the United States point of view in Asia and not so much what might be called the Asian viewpoint.

14. I am pointing out all these confusing and somewhat contradictory factors. I do not quite see what a conference made up of these discordant elements is likely to achieve. I think that it would be desirable for the Colombo countries to meet first and discuss this general situation as well as the proposed Afro-Asian Conference. Even this meeting of the Colombo countries should take place some time after the South-East Asian Organisation meeting at Baguio. We should, therefore, wait for the Baguio meeting to be over and then decide on a suitable date for a meeting of the Colombo countries.

15. I would very much like to meet you and discuss these various problems with you before putting forward any precise proposals for the future. A great deal has happened since we met at Colombo and it would be helpful certainly to me to have full and frank discussions with you. I would be very happy therefore if you could visit us in India for a few days to have these talks. Even from a larger point of view your visit to India would be welcomed greatly by

9. The Afro-Asian group in the UN comprised Afghanistan, Myanmar, Egypt, Ethiopia, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Pakistan, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand and Yemen.

our people and would be good for both our countries. You could suit your convenience for such a visit to Delhi. I shall be here throughout September and almost any date in September that suits you could be fixed for this purpose.

16. I suggest therefore that before any further step is taken in regard to the Afro-Asian Conference, you might consider visiting us in Delhi for informal talks. The next step might well be a meeting of the Colombo Powers in Djakarta.

17. I hope that these proposals and my invitation to you to come to Delhi as our guest will meet with your approval.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 2. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

Your telegram No. 330 September 20.<sup>2</sup>

2. Sastroamidjojo arriving tomorrow morning.<sup>3</sup> I shall discuss question of Colombo States meeting, but he is exceedingly anxious to have Asian-African Conference as early as possible. My reply<sup>4</sup> to him on this subject disappointed him greatly. Burma and some other countries also much in favour of such conference. It will be difficult to oppose this or even to ask for long delay. Probably February next will be suggested for this conference at Djakarta. I think we shall have to agree provisionally to some such date. Refusal now will create many complications and cause great disappointment.

3. Indonesia at present is facing severe internal crisis due chiefly to private and domestic reasons connected with President's<sup>5</sup> private life. It was difficult for Sastroamidjojo to leave Indonesia at this juncture, but he has done so chiefly because he wants to discuss Asian-African Conference with me.

1. New Delhi, 21 September 1954. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.
2. Krishna Menon, who was in New York at this time, suggested that in view of the SEATO treaty signed at Manila on 8 September 1954, Nehru might consider the holding of a separate meeting of the four Colombo Powers, which were not signatories of the Manila Pact, at the same time as the proposed meeting of all the Colombo Powers was held. He suggested early 1955 for such a meeting.
3. Ali Sastroamidjojo visited India from 21 to 26 September.
4. See the preceding item.
5. Ahmed Soekarno.



### 3. Indonesian Proposal for an Afro-Asian Conference<sup>1</sup>

At the Conference of Prime Ministers held in Colombo, the Prime Minister of Indonesia put forward a proposal to hold an Asian-African Conference. This proposal was generally approved, but it was pointed out that this required a great deal of preparation. The Prime Minister of Indonesia was requested to process this further. Subsequently, he addressed a letter to the other Colombo Conference countries on this subject.

2. Since the Colombo Conference, many important developments have taken place affecting Asia. There has been the Geneva Conference which led to agreements about Indo-China and the ending of the seven-year war there. This Conference was essentially in regard to Asian affairs, but the members of the Conference were non-Asian, except for the actual participants in Korea and Indo-China. An important feature of this Conference was the presence of the People's Republic of China, which functioned throughout in this Conference as if it was a great power, although it was not recognised by many of the countries represented at the Conference.

3. Although Asian representation at the Geneva Conference was thus strictly limited, there is no doubt that the suggestions put forward at the Colombo Conference had considerable influence over the Geneva Conference. Indeed, the final decisions at Geneva in regard to Indo-China were broadly on the lines suggested at Colombo.

4. Later a Conference was held at Manila also to consider Asian problems. The Colombo Conference countries, though invited, did not attend this Conference, with the exception of Pakistan. This Manila Conference consisted, therefore, principally of certain Western powers with the addition of Thailand, the Philippines and Pakistan, as an observer. It may be said that this Conference was mainly the Conference of colonial powers or those interested in the maintenance of colonialism plus some countries closely associated with them.

5. The purpose of holding this Conference at Manila was by no means clear. There was no critical situation and no fear of aggression from any quarter. In fact, the situation in South-East Asia had eased greatly after the Geneva settlement and tensions had relaxed. For the first time after the second World War, there was peace in South-East Asia and there was a certain optimism about the future. Nevertheless the Manila Conference was held ostensibly to protect that area against aggression and a rather vague organisation was formed, called the South-East Asia Defence Organisation. The result of this has been,

1. Note, dated 24 September 1954, given to Ali Sastroamidjojo during his visit to New Delhi. JN Collection.

to some extent, to impair the good effect of the Geneva Conference and to add to the tensions of South-East Asia.

6. Although the Manila Treaty does not go far in a military sense, its implications appear to be far-reaching. It is not only a treaty directly affecting the signatory powers but it concerns itself with other neighbouring countries also. This is rather a novel approach and introduces the element of "spheres of influence", which was a well-known method adopted by the big colonial powers of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Further it refers not only to aggression from outside but to a fact or situation arising, which might endanger the peace of the area. An area, it should be remembered, is an area much wider than that of the signatory powers. This provision might well be claimed to entitle the powers concerned to interfere in the internal affairs of the countries of this entire area. In effect, it is, however indirectly put, an attempt to secure the dominance of certain great powers over this large area of Asia and to prevent even an internal change which might not be approved of by them.

7. I do not propose to discuss the various aspects of the SEADO Treaty, but they deserve careful consideration. It is obvious that this Treaty, and the whole approach underlying it, is opposed to the other idea of having a peace area in South-East Asia in which the countries are not aligned to any big power bloc. Apparently one of the intentions underlying this Manila Treaty is to undermine the idea of peace area which should be kept out both of a shooting war and a cold war. The Manila Treaty brings the cold war to that area.

8. Some other grave developments have taken place in the Far East of Asia in recent weeks and there is practically a small-scale war going on on the coast of China and on the Island of Quemoy. Fairly large-scale bombing has taken place on the coastal area of China. This is a serious matter and might develop into bigger military operations, endangering the peace of the entire East and South-East Asia.

9. All these developments are of significance and deserve careful consideration by the countries of Asia and, more especially, by those of South-East Asia. Therefore, the proposal of the Prime Minister of Indonesia to have a Conference of countries of Asia and Africa has an added significance and importance now. Such a Conference should be held before long. At the same time, it has to be borne in mind that a Conference of this kind has to be carefully prepared and cannot function effectively without that preparation.

10. It is suggested that the Conference might be held at Djakarta towards the end of February or in the first half of March.

11. It is also considered desirable that before this Conference is held, there should be a meeting of the Colombo Conference countries to consider both the general situation and, more particularly, matters relating to this Conference. Possibly this meeting could be held sometime in December.



## ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE

Two major points have to be decided about this Conference:

- (i) Who is to be invited?
- (ii) The subjects for discussion

(i) Who is to be invited:

It is very difficult to discriminate in this matter. Broadly speaking, an area has to be indicated and every country in that area has to be invited. If the area was South-East Asia, only the countries of that area would be invited. If it is Asia, then other countries would have to be included. If, on the other hand, it is both Asia and Africa, then the number of countries entitled would grow.

It is difficult to limit this Conference to the South-East Asia countries. Such references as have been made previously have always mentioned both Asia and Africa in this connection. For the same reason, even a purely Asian Conference would not be feasible now, as Egypt could not and should not be excluded.

It has practically been decided that only independent countries should be invited. Some countries are rather in a peculiar position and it is not possible to call them independent, and yet, from some other points of view, it would be desirable to include them. In Africa, Egypt and the Sudan and Abyssinia would qualify. There are some other countries like Libya and Liberia which are on the border line and perhaps not of great importance. More important are the Gold Coast and Nigeria, but neither of them is independent.

Coming to Asia, it is exceedingly difficult to discriminate and only to invite selected countries. I think that all the independent countries have to be invited. This would include China and Japan and Turkey at the other end. To exclude either China or Japan in a conference which is going to deal, to a large extent, with South-East Asia problems would be very odd and liable to much criticism.

Therefore there is no way out except to invite all Asian countries. I would, however, exclude the Asian Republics of the Soviet Union, as, in a sense, they are attached to a European Power. Thus the countries to be invited would be, apart from the Colombo countries, the Arab countries, Iran, Afghanistan, Thailand, the Philippines, the People's Republic of China and Japan.<sup>2</sup> I have not included Israel though there is no logical argument against it. The only thing that can be said is that the Arab countries will object strongly.

2. In a note dated 30 September 1954 to T.N. Kaul, Joint Secretary, MEA, Nehru stated, "I might mention for your information that by an oversight I did not mention Nepal in the note I gave to the Prime Minister of Indonesia. I corrected this later and told him that Nepal should of course be included, and he agreed."

As for the Indo-China countries, I do not think we can invite them as members. We may consider inviting all four of them as observers.

In Africa, the countries to be invited should be Egypt, the Sudan and Abyssinia. Some other countries might be asked to send observers, such as, Libya, Liberia, the Gold Coast and Nigeria. The question of Morocco and Tunisia offers difficulties. In other places we deal with Governments. In these two you cannot deal with Governments and it will be rather confusing to invite the heads of popular movements even as observers. They may be encouraged to come in some other capacity for consultation.

(ii) Subjects to be discussed:

The first thing to be decided is what subjects should not be discussed. The internal controversial subjects of these countries should not be discussed. Thus we should not discuss the Palestine problem. We must not discuss the Indo-China problems. That would be undesirable in any event and it would be particularly embarrassing for India, which is acting as Chairman. So also other problems as between India and Pakistan or Ceylon and India, should not be discussed. We should confine ourselves to broad issues affecting Asia as a whole or South-East Asia.

Those issues would be:

- (1) The preservation of peace, more especially in the light of recent developments. Avoidance of any activity or step which adds to tensions and thus creates a war atmosphere. As far as possible non-alignment on issues of war.
- (2) The promotion of freedom in countries which are still subject. Condemnation of individual colonial powers should be avoided and the question should be discussed in its broad aspects as flowing from the UN Charter and as being necessary for the cause of peace.
- (3) Racialism.
- (4) We should discuss the five principles which have been agreed to as between India, Burma and China. We need not refer to them as those very five principles or we might do so as we choose. But the main content of them should be discussed, that is, recognition of territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression and non-interference. Non-interference is most important and means non-interference of all kinds, whether it is interference on the part of colonial powers or interference on behalf of the Communist countries. This would include the activities of Communist Parties. We cannot discuss the internal activities of a Party, but we can refer to outside encouragement of such activities. It would be a good thing of course if the Conference generally accepted those five principles.
- (5) Economic Cooperation. This is obviously desirable, but it will not be possible for a large Conference of this type to consider ways and means.



Also it is not feasible for any multilateral arrangements, including distant countries. Economic cooperation can only be worked out as between two countries after full discussion between them. Also any such discussion would require our economic experts and the conference will hardly be a place for discussion of technical matters of this kind. The Conference might discuss the broad issues involved, including the acceptance of foreign aid. (This might be an embarrassing question for some). It should lay stress on the cooperation of Asian or African countries *inter se* and suggest to them to investigate this more fully as between two countries.

- (6) Cultural. Here also it is difficult to discuss this matter in any detail. We can discuss various aspects of this generally and express our hope for the promotion of cultural cooperation. This may include students and professors being exchanged.
- (7) It is important Asian and African countries should get to know each other. At present our knowledge of each other is very limited. Probably we know more about European or American countries than about Asian or African countries. We might indicate that some steps should be taken to promote this knowledge of each other.
- (8) The question of having some machinery for consultation. It will not be desirable to have any formal set-up, but some simple machinery for consultation appears desirable. In this connection, I should like to draw attention to the Asian Relations Conference held in Delhi in March-April 1947. I have sent a note on this subject separately.

12. It is obvious that a Conference of the type indicated will have many elements in it which differ from each other and to some extent are even hostile to each other. It will not be an easy matter to make it function satisfactorily. The only way one can do this is to keep discussions on a broad and general level and not to allow particular disputes to be discussed, whatever they might be.

13. The Prime Minister of Indonesia at one stage suggested basing this Conference on the Asian-African group in the UN. That group is rather vague and fluid. In any event one would have to add other countries to it. It is perhaps, therefore, not desirable to base the Conference on that group, but to proceed on the basis of including all the countries of Asia as well as the independent countries of Africa. (Naturally we do not include in this the Union of South Africa and like countries.) Also colonial powers are excluded.

14. I think it is rather unfortunate to leave out Israel. That will be a solitary exception. But I do not know how to avoid this. I would prefer to put it to the Arab countries directly that on the basis that we propose to function it is desirable to invite every country including Israel. If they take strong exception, then we can leave out Israel.

15. These are some broad suggestions for consideration and to be the basis of future talks.<sup>3</sup>

3. A joint statement issued in New Delhi on 25 September, after the talks between Nehru and Sastroamidjojo, said, among other things, that the two Prime Ministers were agreed that an Asian-African Conference was desirable and would be helpful in promoting the cause of peace. They also expressed the opinion that the Conference should be held at an early date to discuss matters of common concern and that it should be preceded by a meeting of the Colombo Conference countries, preferably at Djakarta.

## II. FOREIGN POSSESSIONS IN INDIA

### (i) French Settlements

#### 1. To N. Sanjiva Reddy<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 18, 1954

My dear Sanjiva Reddy,<sup>2</sup>

I am writing to you about Yanam. I learnt that some of our Armed Police actually took part, together with the refugees from Yanam, in overpowering the French Police and others functioning in Yanam.<sup>3</sup> Further that some of our Armed Police have continued to function there. This is wrong and embarrassing. The French Government have made much of it and the French papers have mentioned this.<sup>4</sup>

I think that our Armed Police should be withdrawn from Yanam immediately, if this has not already been done. It is not enough for them not to be in mufti. They should be withdrawn, unobtrusively of course, and without any fuss or mention. Some competent retired official might be provided to the people of Yanam just to help them to set up some temporary administrative set-up.

1. JN Collection.
2. (1913-1996); Deputy Chief Minister, Andhra State, 1953-56; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 18, p. 259.
3. On 13 June, about 200 refugees from Yanam occupied the town of Yanam and a public meeting held the same day passed a resolution requesting Yanam's integration with India. There had been assaults on the nationalists after the Yanam Municipal Council resolved on 29 April 1954 in favour of an immediate integration of the settlement with India.
4. It was reported that Yanam had been liberated with the aid of Indian police and Indian nationals, and a number of persons were killed in the operation.



We have to be very careful in regard to these French pockets. Everybody knows our full sympathy for the pro-merger elements, but any official association with them has to be avoided because it weakens our case and makes it appear that the people of those settlements are not so keen on merger. Please, therefore, take immediate steps in this matters.<sup>5</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Referring to the change in Government in France on 17 June, Nehru wrote to T. Viswanatham, Minister of Finance and Law, Andhra State, on 19 June, "The new Government is better in many ways than the last one. It might be easier to come to an agreement with them. It is desirable, therefore, for us not to do anything which creates unnecessary difficulties." In the talks held in Paris from 14 May to 4 June 1954 between France and India on the future of French settlements, agreement could not be reached on the conditions under which a transfer of sovereignty should take place.

## 2. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

My affectionate congratulations to you on achievement at Geneva<sup>2</sup> which undoubtedly has been greatly helped by your unceasing, unobtrusive and very effective work. This is widely recognised and appreciated in India....

3. I presume you will return to India whenever you feel you have finished your work in Geneva. I would suggest for your consideration your visiting Paris briefly to see Mendes-France, main purpose being to convey my congratulations and your own thanks to him. At the same time, if you think it appropriate, you might express hope on my behalf that question of French settlements in India will be settled satisfactorily soon thus promoting Indo-French goodwill. This would be appropriate gesture after agreement about Indo-China. I do not want you to argue this point or to hustle Mendes-France when he is so very busy. But casual mention of this might bear fruit.

4. For your information, 60 per cent of French establishments in India are already freed of French control.<sup>3</sup> Only Pondicherry and Karaikal remain with

1. New Delhi, 21 July 1954. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Extracts.

2. The agreements on Indo-China were signed on 20-21 July 1954.

3. Of the five French settlements in India, Chandernagore had been ceded to India in 1949; the control of Mahe was transferred to the local liberation movement on 16 July 1954.

French and even Karaikal might not continue for long.<sup>4</sup> Position of freed territories is very anomalous and something therefore should be done to solve this problem soon.

5. In case you mention this to Mendes-France I do not want any public mention made of it here or elsewhere....

4. Nationalist volunteers began picketing the borders of Karaikal on 5 July, all bus services with India being suspended and the town being gradually isolated.

### 3. The French Proposals<sup>1</sup>

... I have no doubt that the proposal we have received from M. Mendes-France indicates a decision in the mind of the French Government to settle this question of French Establishments in our favour.<sup>2</sup> All they are anxious about is to do this in a methodical and dignified way, so as to maintain their prestige. We should help them in this and make it easy for them. We have no desire to injure their prestige....

5. It is to be noted that de facto control of the freed areas comes to us immediately. We shall have to think out of what steps to take about these areas. We should not interfere much with their internal organisation. Naturally we shall have to send someone to take charge, and, maybe, some police. Otherwise, the local communes should continue to function. The fact that nearly 60% of the total area has been freed and will be under our control is itself a guarantee about the future, i.e., the decision of the Congress, etc.

6. I have no doubt that the behaviour of the French Administration will improve as soon as it is known that de facto transfer is going to take place. The transfer of the Governor, or whatever he is called,<sup>3</sup> will also have this

1. Note to Secretary General, MEA, and Foreign Secretary, 1 August 1954, JN Collection. Extracts. A copy of this note was sent to Kewal Singh, Consul General of India in Pondicherry.
2. The French Government accepted the principle of de facto transfer of the Settlements prior to their de jure transfer. The de facto transfer would be carried out after a congress consisting of members of the Representative Assembly and the Municipal Councils approved a draft agreement concerning protection of French cultural and economic interests to be prepared by the GOI and the French Ambassador.
3. Andre Menard, the French Commissioner, had been called back from Pondicherry.



effect. Naturally, the people who have been exiled will have to be allowed to come back.

7. It is necessary that on our side we should behave with circumspection and avoid incidents. We should also not cut off essential supplies of any kind which are required by the people.<sup>4</sup>

8. It is difficult at present to explain all this to the pro-merger leaders. We must keep this matter as secret. But they can certainly be told that we have every hope to come to a settlement with the new French Government, and especially with M. Mendes-France. In the circumstances, it is better to avoid any crisis from developing or any unfortunate incidents from taking place. This does not mean that the normal agitation should be wound up....

4. Nationalist refugees had been picketing the frontiers of Pondicherry since 28 June 1954 to prevent supplies from India reaching the town.

#### 4. Telegram to Kewal Singh<sup>1</sup>

Your telegram 895 of August 12th.<sup>2</sup>

2. I have no doubt that present French Government under Mendes-France is quite sincere in its proposals to us and will abide by them. In fact, as you know, there really is no possibility of French staying on in Pondicherry for long. They know that. They even offered to leave without agreement, but we did not approve of this.

3. It is obvious that Mendes-France is meeting considerable opposition. This is chiefly in regard to Tunisia though Pondicherry gets tagged on to it. We feel that we should avoid embarrassing Mendes-France as far as possible.<sup>3</sup>

1. New Delhi, 13 August 1954. JN Collection. Extracts.  
Kewal Singh (1915-1991); Consul General of India in Pondicherry, 1953-54; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 21, p. 561.
2. Kewal Singh stated that the nationalist parties had agreed to slacken agitation in the hope of early announcement of agreement between India and France, and suggested that "the momentum of the nationalist movement should not be scotched unless we are convinced of the French Government's sincerity."
3. Mendes-France had requested Nehru not to issue any statement about the proposals agreed upon till they had been approved by his Parliament, where he wanted to bring them up in a debate later in the month. He, however, said that he adhered to agreement on the proposals.

I think that Mendes-France will win through. Even if he falls, our position ultimately will not be affected and we will be all the stronger. But I do not apprehend fall of his Government.

4. At his desire we are postponing issue of communique but, in fact, we propose to begin discussing modalities of transfer within few days. Thus there will not really be much ultimate delay <sup>4</sup>....

7. Our advice to you is that anything which might lead to undesirable incidents should be avoided. Thus, picketing and stoppage of supplies should be avoided. But peaceful demonstrations may certainly continue. Stress might well be laid on expectation of peaceful transfer before long. Thus movement should continue, but in a more friendly and peaceful way. Even references to France might be more friendly in view of broad agreement on transfer. In particular, essential supplies should not be stopped.

8. As for August fifteenth, I would advise peaceful demonstration, preferably meeting, and not processions which might lead to conflict. French authorities might be informed that demonstrations will be completely peaceful and therefore should not be interfered with.

4. Under an agreement between the French and Indian Governments signed in New Delhi on 21 October, the settlements of Pondicherry, Karaikal, Mahe and Yanam were transferred to de facto Indian sovereignty on 1 November 1954.

## (ii) Portuguese Settlements

### 1. Anglo-Portuguese Alliances and Goa<sup>1</sup>

... 2. Whether a written reply is given by the UK Government to us or not, it might be necessary for us to address the UK Government again on the basis of the oral reply that has been given to us.<sup>2</sup> This oral reply is important and unfortunate. For us to be told that the UK Government is bound, in regard to

1. Note to N.R. Pillai, Secretary General, MEA, 11 June 1954. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. In reply to India's aide mémoire about the bearing of the NATO Treaty and of the several Anglo-Portuguese treaties of alliance on the problem of Goa, G.H. Middleton, Acting UK High Commissioner, told Pillai on 11 June on behalf of his Government that these treaties would make it obligatory for the UK to defend any of the colonies of Portugal in the event of its being attacked. The Portuguese Prime Minister, Salazar, had stated on 12 April 1954 that these treaties covered Goa.



Goa, or indeed in regard to any colonial possessions of Portugal, by the Treaties of 1373, 1642, the secret Article of 1661 and the secret Declaration of 1899, is on a par with the Portuguese Government telling us that they are bound by some Papal Bull of the Middle Ages. So far as we are concerned, we are, of course, not bound by any of these Treaties or Papal Bulls and we consider ourselves completely free to take any action that we consider proper regardless of those Treaties and Declarations. Even the latest Anglo-Portuguese Declaration of 1899 was 55 years ago. It was made by the Queen<sup>3</sup> of the UK who was the Empress of India then. There is no Empress of India now. The whole context is changed and it seems utterly outside the domain of reason for us to be told now that the UK Government is bound by these secret or other Declarations.

3. S.G. was completely right in pointing out to the Acting UK High Commissioner about the other Portuguese colonial possessions.<sup>4</sup> In fact, the entire question of colonies is raised by this reply that we have received. Our position in regard to colonies is well known and we intend to give full expression to it whenever occasion arises. We do so because, in our opinion, this is a matter intimately connected with world peace. We are convinced that there can be no stable world peace if colonies continue. In fact, this would be a relevant consideration even at Geneva in the Conference going on there, though we do not wish to add to the worries of Geneva.

4. The position appears to be that the UK Government especially, in relation to Portugal, and all the NATO Powers generally, though rather vaguely, are interested in the maintenance of colonial territories of each other and might even go to war for the protection of these territories. Having given up a very large and important part of her Empire, the UK consider themselves in honour bound to protect other people's Empires even by force of arms. If this is logic, I am unable to comprehend it and, anyhow, we cannot possibly accept this position both in the case of Goa and indeed, in the case of any colony anywhere.

5. In the circumstances as they exist today, each country has its own special interests, such as Goa for India; it has also to consider the wider interests of world peace and world freedom which are meant to be guaranteed by the United Nations Charter. I should like to know how far the Anglo-Portuguese Treaties, as interpreted now by the UK Government, or even the NATO alliance, in so far as it relates to colonies, fit in with the provisions of the UN Charter to

3. Alexandrina Victoria (1819-1901); Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, 1837-1901, and (from 1876) Empress of India.

4. When asked by Pillai whether the UK Government would be willing to take up arms against the Chinese, for instance, if they were to turn the Portuguese out of Macao, Middleton hesitantly replied that this would depend upon the circumstances and the wider world context in which such an occurrence took place.

which the UK Government and other Governments, including ourselves, are parties.

6. These questions cannot be slurred over and they will have to be discussed one day in public, because they affect vast numbers of human beings. I do not think the world, and certainly not we, are going to be influenced in the slightest by Marriage Settlements and ancient Treaties in the present-day context of the world.

7. It has been our policy, as is obvious, to seek a settlement of the problem of foreign settlements in India, by peaceful methods. We think that these methods are not only right in themselves, but avoid other complications. We shall continue to adhere to our policy, but it should be clearly understood that we make no commitment as to the policy we might follow in future, which would depend entirely on the circumstances that might prevail then.

8. Even now, conditions in Goa are a constant irritant to India, apart from the repression of the people there. Exiles from Goa have crossed the border into Indian territory. Goa is, in fact, a dark spot, from the point of view of freedom and civil liberty, in the Indian sub-continent. It is a smugglers' paradise and this affects India greatly. I doubt very much if any other country would have shown so much patience in such a matter as we have done. A situation may well arise when we consider the continuation of Portuguese domination over Goa as a direct threat to our own security and well-being. We shall then have to consider what steps we should take to put an end to this threat.

9. But, apart from this internal problem to India, the major problem of colonial domination cannot be set aside because it happens to be inconvenient to others. It is intimately connected with the world situation today....

## 2. To Morarji Desai<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 5, 1954

My dear Morarji,<sup>2</sup>

...I have just had a talk with Rattan Nehru.<sup>3</sup> He has told me of the steps that were considered and approved of by you and others in Bombay. The chief of

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. (1896-1995): Chief Minister of Bombay, 1952-56; also see *Selected Works* (first series). Vol. 13, p. 5

3. R.K. Nehru (b.1902); Foreign Secretary, Government of India, 1952-55; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 1, p. 336.



these appeared to be the introduction of a permit system, tightening up border scrutiny by the placing of additional armed police and fast steam launches for sea work. Also the question of exports and imports to Goa and restrictions on the transfer of money.

I agree with these proposals. They should be examined more fully immediately.

As for the steam launches, I gather that Indian steam launches are not fast enough for this kind of work. I would not hesitate to buy a couple of foreign launches for this purpose.

There was a proposal, I understand, to close the Portuguese Legation here. I do not agree with this, for the present at least.

There was also some talk on the part of Socialists to lead Indian volunteers.<sup>4</sup> I am entirely opposed to this. The Socialists become more and more adventurist and, as for Lohia, he makes the most fantastic and fabulous statements from time to time. I should like you, if it is possible, to explain to some of these Socialist members of the Goan group, including Peter Alvares,<sup>5</sup> that any attempt to send Indian volunteers at this stage would, we think, be harmful. They would get into trouble and we would not be able to help them much or at all. They will then turn round and criticise our Government. I suppose this is the main objective. Anyhow, it will be no good to Goa, and will actually come in the way of the other operations that we are considering.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. The efforts of the Maharashtra and Gujarat Praja Socialist Party had led in June 1954 to the creation of an All Party Goa Liberation Aid Committee. The Committee aimed to help the liberation struggle by propaganda and financially, while the actual conduct of the struggle was to be organised and managed by the National Congress (Goa).
5. (b. 1908); President of National Congress (Goa) since 1953 until the liberation of Goa; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 11, p. 82.

### 3. To Morarji Desai<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 1, 1954

My dear Morarji,

While the position in Pondicherry is, I hope, likely to improve soon, I am

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

much concerned with Goa. The petty incidents at Dadra and round about<sup>2</sup> have created a sensation in India, but they really do not amount to much. I have no doubt that the Portuguese will give us a great deal of trouble.

What I am worried about especially is the possible behaviour of some of our own people who talk bravely of marching into Goa. They demand government backing, if not now, then later. What might happen is that a group of volunteers march in. They are arrested or beaten or shot down by the Portuguese. This will naturally create an uproar in India and demands will be made on us to take some effective and strong steps. The steps hinted at will be armed action.

I think that any such contingency will be unfortunate and will not ease the situation.

As it is, there are numerous forces working in our favour and gradually other countries are beginning to realise that it is inevitable for the Portuguese possessions to come to India. If and when we settle the Pondicherry question, the effect of this on Goa will be great.

I do not mean at all that we should relax Goa or in any way weaken in our attitude. I think it is quite essential that our policy should be strongly followed outside and inside Goa; that our economic measures should be applied progressively. Now that we have come to a decision about these economic measures, we shall go ahead with them and they are powerful enough to create a very difficult situation in Goa. But this takes some time....

So far as 15th August is concerned, so much has been said about a widespread assault on Goa by volunteers<sup>3</sup> that the Portuguese must be fully prepared to meet it. It is not good tactics even to do something which is expected by the enemy. Therefore, any large-scale assault on Goa on the day appears to be peculiarly inadvisable. I hope you will make this clear to these people....

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. On 22 July, about 30 volunteers occupied the village of Dadra, a small enclave inside Bombay State, after a skirmish in which two policemen were killed. The nearby enclave of Nagar-Haveli (185 square miles) was occupied at the end of July by two groups of volunteers, one recruited from the left-wing Goan People's Party and the other from the Azad Goa Dal backed by the Jan Sangh. The Portuguese police carried on intermittent resistance until 11 August, when they retreated to Goa.
3. An 'Action Committee' formed by a number of nationalist groups in Mumbai had announced on 15 July that volunteers would carry out a 'march on Goa' on 15 August as the beginning of a satyagraha campaign in the Portuguese settlements.



#### 4. To Morarji Desai<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 7, 1954

My dear Morarji,

Your letter of the 6th August about Goa.<sup>2</sup>

I entirely agree with your appraisal of the situation. We have deliberately gone slow in Goa because of the inherent difficulties there and possibilities of international complications. Also because we felt that it is better to tackle one question at a time. The French possessions, therefore, had to be dealt with first. When we succeeded there, the pressure on Goa would be much greater. It is, in fact, our partial success in the French establishments that has led to all this uproar in Goa and the jitteriness of the Portuguese Government. They have made brave and very foolish statements and they have also approached other countries. The Brazilian people, being partly Portuguese, have sympathised with them and we have received representations from the Brazilian Government.<sup>3</sup> In Portuguese East Africa there have been riots in which Indians have suffered.<sup>4</sup> And now the UK Government has issued a statement,<sup>5</sup> which is very objectionable and one-sided. We shall reply to it soon<sup>6</sup> and probably publish the reply or issue a statement to the public....

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. Morarji Desai wrote, "The lack of coordinated action on the part of the Goan political parties, mutual jealousies between them, the premature participation of certain Indian political parties...and the use of Indian and non-local volunteers have been unfortunate from our point of view." He suggested that Government should intensify the economic measures, strengthen the police cordon to check smuggling, introduce an effective permit system, and resort to a "skilfully-directed propaganda."

3. The Brazilian Government informed the GOI on 30 July of their feelings of solidarity with Portugal, and of their hopes for a peaceful settlement.

4. Violent anti-Indian demonstrations followed a mass meeting held in Lourenco Marques on 30 July to protest against the agitation in Goa for its merger with India. The meeting was addressed by the Governor General, Gabriel Teixeira.

5. Expressing their anxiety with regard to the situation in Goa, the UK Government, in a note sent to the GOI on 6 August, charged them with "giving support or encouragement to activities which appear in the eyes of world opinion to be aggressive or which by their nature are bound to end in violence and bloodshed." They also expressed the hope that India would "refrain from resorting to force or methods bound to lead to the use of force" in dealing with the situation.

6. In their reply conveyed on 11 August, the GOI profoundly regretted, and registered their protest against, the UK Government's statements which, they held, were due to "a grave error of judgement." Explaining the restrained approach of the GOI, vis-a-vis the repressive and violent methods adopted by the Portuguese Government, in dealing with the liberation movement, the GOI expressed their earnest hope that the UK Government would counsel wisdom and moderation to their ally and urge her to seek negotiation and peaceful settlement.

As soon as our statement about Pondicherry appears, it will be clear that this matter is well on its way to a settlement. This will undoubtedly affect Goa and the Portuguese. It is obviously to our advantage to go slow there for the time being and not to create a crisis which leads to shooting. Much has been said about the 15th August and the Portuguese are in a highly nervous state, standing on their toes all the time, to meet the great assault. Tactically, it may well be worthwhile not to do anything at all on the 15th August, that is, anything in the nature of aggressive action. There may be peaceful demonstrations in Bombay and elsewhere outside Goa and there may be some flag raising, etc., in Goa. (That has to be judged from various points of view, more especially in regard to the strength of the movement in Goa.) The result of nothing very aggressive being done on the 15th August might well be good for us as it will upset Portuguese plans. They cannot remain on the toes all the time. On the other hand, some of our people may think that this will mean loss of morale. I do not personally think so provided of course this is done deliberately. In fact, some aggressive movement, which is sternly repressed, is more likely to lead to loss of morale. Therefore, I am quite clear that the Goans in favour of merger should be made to realise this position quite clearly. They should appreciate that things are moving in their favour and the only thing that will come in their way is some adventurist action which fails.

In the Nagar-Haveli area also one should go slow.<sup>7</sup>

The chief danger appears to be from certain Communist elements that are associating themselves with these activities.<sup>8</sup> I do not know how we can deal with them. But we should clearly tell those people who are associated with us that this kind of help is going to prove very harmful. It may even be that we shall have to disapprove publicly all such activities.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. Desai had asked the Azad Goa Dal to quickly arrest some Portuguese officers and policemen still at large in Nagar-Haveli.
8. Some volunteers sent by the Communist Party of India were reported to have been forcibly attempting to conscript further volunteers from among the tribals in a few villages in Nagar-Haveli. Non-cooperation from the villagers had provoked the volunteers to set fire to some of their houses.



## 5. Policy Towards the Nationalist Agitation<sup>1</sup>

I have just had a talk with Shri Morarji Desai about Goa, etc. I told him about the Memorandum<sup>2</sup> we had received from the Portuguese Government and the reply we propose to send them.

2. I suggested to him that, in view of developments, we had to be particularly careful as to what happened either in Goa or in the Northern Portuguese areas. Inevitably, some measure of responsibility will attach to us whatever was done there, even though this was done entirely without our knowledge. Thus, we were being compelled to take a more direct interest in these matters and to prevent wrong things being done. He agreed entirely.

3. I spoke to him about the 15th August and suggested that nothing improper should be done then and people from outside especially should not be encouraged to go to Goa. Inside the Goanese areas, people can do what they liked. He agreed and had spoken accordingly to the people there. He is also taking some steps to have a measure of control in the Nagar-Haveli areas from outside....

4. Dr Keskar telephoned to me that he had heard from Bombay that a number of foreign correspondents, including the London *Times* Correspondent,<sup>3</sup> intended going to Goa. Apparently most of them require our visas.... In case External Affairs receives information about this, the Bombay Government wanted to be informed. I told Dr Keskar that, if an application is made to us for visas by these Correspondents, we could not possibly refuse them....

1. Note to Secretary General, MEA, and Foreign Secretary, 9 August 1954. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. Accusing the GOI of acts aiming at the "usurpation" of Portuguese territories and fearing that the 'march on Goa' announced for 15 August was creating "an extremely dangerous situation", the Portuguese Government, in a note delivered on 8 August, suggested that Portugal and India immediately allow observers from countries chosen by both parties to have free access to the Portuguese settlements as well as the contiguous Indian territories and to report on the existence, composition, nature and behaviour of any bands or groups of persons proposing to enter the territory of the other country against the will of its authorities, and the circumstances under which such entry occurred.
3. Nehru noted on 7 August that he had verified that the statement of the Correspondent of *The Times*, in one of his messages, that the GOI had opened a Post Office at Dadra soon after the Portuguese authorities were driven out of it was "absolutely without foundation". Describing this as "a serious matter", Nehru directed V.R. Bhatt, Deputy Principal Information Officer, to ask the Correspondent either to substantiate the statement or withdraw it.

## 6. To Morarji Desai<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 11, 1954

My dear Morarji,

You will have noticed that the Portuguese Government is laying stress on their being the defenders of Christianity and, more especially, of Catholicism in Goa. They are making allegations about India being bent on crushing Catholicism, etc.

I had a visit today from the Papal Internuncio. He came really about another matter,<sup>2</sup> but he mentioned to me how much he regretted the Portuguese propaganda. In fact he said that Portuguese have lost their heads. They accused India of crushing Christianity which was quite wrong. He himself was prepared to say that Christians had full play, etc. I told him that it would be a good thing if he said something to that effect in public.

It is clear to me that if this argument about Goa is shifted to the play of Catholicism, the reputation of the Catholic Church in India will suffer. Some Catholics realise this. In fact, I think that the Vatican, which is a far-seeing institution, made up its mind some time ago that Portugal should leave Goa. But they do not wish openly or aggressively to go against one of their own Catholic countries. Their methods are somewhat different. They can, however, use those methods effectively in a quiet way.

I think it would be a good thing if you could meet Cardinal Gracias<sup>3</sup> and have a talk with him on this subject. You might tell him that our impression has been and is that the Vatican realises that Goa cannot continue to remain with Portugal. From every person's point of view, it is desirable to have this matter settled peacefully and cooperatively. The line that Portugal is taking can only lead to trouble. We wish to avoid on our part any aggression or violence. But there are limits to what we can do when popular passions are excited. Therefore we are anxious to explore every method of peaceful settlement. You might also point out that it would be exceedingly unfortunate if, in this political matter, religious conflicts were introduced. That would make people think that the Catholic Church was supporting Portugal in this matter. It would, therefore,

1. JN Collection.

2. See *ante*, p. 364.

3. Valerian Gracias (1900-1978); Archbishop of Bombay since 1950, and President, Catholic Bishops Conference of India, 1954-71; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 21, p. 380.



be a good thing if dignitaries of the Catholic Church in India said something about this matter. Naturally they would use their own language.<sup>4</sup>

Also that Cardinal Gracias might move the Vatican to exercise their great influence. You might mention to him the visit of the Papal Internuncio to me and what he said. You might also tell him that it is at my instance that you are meeting him.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. In a statement issued on 14 August, Cardinal Gracias said, inter alia, that misinterpretations in the foreign Press of policies and incidents, directly or indirectly affecting the Church in India, only served to cause "embarrassment to us", and "are certainly to be deprecated in the interests of truth.... At times it would seem that interested agencies are exploiting religious issues for political ends." Taking an overall survey of the situation of the Church in India, there was much to be satisfied about, he added.

## 7. To P.H. Spaak<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 12, 1954

My dear Foreign Minister,<sup>2</sup>

I am grateful to Your Excellency for your letter of the 3rd August 1954, and welcome the opportunity of clearing the misconceptions that exist in your mind about India, in relation to the problem of the Portuguese possessions in India. I have no doubt that these misconceptions have arisen from incorrect information.

Your Excellency has confined yourself entirely to your apprehensions about the adoption of methods of violence by us in India and to the hope that we will not adopt methods of violence.

I hasten to assure Your Excellency that the Government of India have not employed or given support to violence, either in India or in the Portuguese possessions and have never contemplated doing so. Your Excellency must be aware that, even in our struggle for freedom in our own country, we followed

1. JN Collection.

2. Paul-Henri Spaak (1899-1972); Belgian lawyer and politician; Prime Minister, 1938-39, 1947-49; Foreign Minister, 1936-38, 1939-46, 1947-49, 1954-57, 1961-66; Chairman, International Council of the European Movement, 1950-55; Secretary General, NATO, 1957-61; Deputy Prime Minister, 1961-66.

a policy of non-violence. Resort to violence is contrary to our well-established beliefs, our recent history and our public opinion. If Your Excellency has been led to believe to the contrary, I would assure you in all sincerity that such belief would stand contradicted by the facts that relate to the situation so far as India is concerned.

Your Excellency has referred to the principles of the United Nations. The position that India has adopted in respect of this problem, ever since she attained her independence, is wholly in conformity with those principles. India, without any reserve or concealment, supports and proclaims the right of the Indian people, subject to Portuguese rule, to their freedom and nationhood, even as the rest of our land and nation has established such freedom. At the same time, India has strictly observed the principles and methods of a peaceful and non-violent approach and the established customs of nations.

The Government of India, since 1946, have repeatedly requested the Portuguese Government to join with them in finding a solution of this problem by negotiation. The Portuguese Government have till now declined to entertain this request and approach. The Government of India, however, continue to adhere to their approach and policy and hope that the Portuguese Government will place themselves in accord with modern conceptions in regard to the rights of people and their national aspirations. They hope that the Portuguese Government will adopt a pacific approach to solve the issues which confront them and the Indian people under Portuguese rule.

The present situation in Goa is the result of the refusal of the Portuguese Government to take into account the national sentiments of the people and their apparent belief in, and reliance on, repressive and violent methods. So far, the violence has been in Portuguese territory by the Portuguese Government.

The position of the Government of India continues to be to seek methods of conciliation and peaceful solutions. With this firm resolve, the Government of India promptly accepted this week, in principle, the request of the Portuguese Government for impartial observation and ascertainment of facts. This was followed by a request to the Portuguese Government to appoint representatives to confer with the representatives of the Government of India to work out the details.<sup>3</sup> I am enclosing, for your information, copies of the Note of the Portuguese Government and the Note of the Government of India in reply.

3. Rejecting the accusations contained in the Portuguese note, the GOI, in their reply conveyed on 10 August, accepted the Portuguese proposal for impartial observation and assessment of facts. Stating that the detailed suggestions regarding the procedure for impartial observation, as set out in the Portuguese note, were not "in their entirety or in material respects...practical or suitable", the GOI proposed that the representatives of their two countries should meet immediately to consider the steps to implement the principle of impartial observation.



The request of the Portuguese Government, as Your Excellency will observe from the enclosures, was neither in form nor content, the kind of communication that would be expected from one Government to another. But the Government of India have given priority of attention to the principle contained in the demand of the Portuguese Government that the two sides should join to enable impartial observation and ascertainment.

At the time of writing to Your Excellency, no reply has been received from the Portuguese Government to our acceptance of their offer.

I wish to assure Your Excellency that your belief that this country and her Government will rely on pacific methods is justified and will continue to remain so.

I venture to hope that Your Excellency will now feel assured in regard to our pacific intentions and approach and further that the friends and allies of Portugal will counsel her to exercise wisdom and to seek to adopt methods of conciliation and negotiation.

I am,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 8. To Morarji Desai<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 12, 1954

My dear Morarji,

...Today I received a letter from the Prime Minister of Belgium giving me some good advice about using peaceful methods in Goa. The Portuguese were after him to make a statement. He refused to do that, but he compromised by writing to me.

The more I think about this Goan matter, as it has developed, the more I feel that we should be quite clear about our policy and tactics. The Portuguese are bent on violence and on inciting us to commit violence. They have prepared themselves well for this kind of thing. On no account must we fall into that trap and our people should realise that. Apart from our own policy and desire

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

to pursue peaceful methods, even tactically this has become essential. Thus we shall put the Portuguese in a false position and they will make themselves rather ridiculous. The Portuguese live in a medieval climate of mind and are rather melodramatic. If their melodrama is made to appear completely ridiculous, their case suffers greatly.

If we are to pursue peaceful methods, as we must, there should be no compromise on that issue and we must not do anything which gives an occasion to the Portuguese to justify violence on their part. When I say we above, I am referring to Indians generally and not to the Government.

I think this should be made perfectly clear to Goan leaders. They must understand the reason behind all this. Circumstances have made Goa a first-class issue and the Portuguese have been driven to take all kinds of steps. I have no doubt that Goa will come to us, but we must adhere to non-violence.

You will, no doubt, explain all this to the people concerned.<sup>2</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. In a telegram sent to U.N. Dhebar, Chief Minister of Saurashtra, on 13 August, Nehru said that Indians should not be encouraged to go to Diu. Those Goan volunteers wishing to go to Diu "should be told clearly that they must have no arms and must behave peacefully." Nehru also said that any show of force or any kind of incitement to violence should be avoided on the Indian side.

## 9. To Morarji Desai<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 20, 1954

My dear Morarji,

...This question has now assumed a certain national and international importance. It threatened to come to a crisis on August 15th.<sup>2</sup> If that crisis had been allowed

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. It was reported that four to six thousand persons would be taking part in the 'march on Goa'. From early August the Portuguese placed their settlements on a war footing, the troops being given orders to 'shoot to kill'. On 15 August, however, the Indian police prevented non-Goans from crossing the frontier and those Goans permitted across the border were searched for arms. Only 45 Goan volunteers could enter Goa.



to develop, the result might have been far-reaching and might have tied us up in various ways. I think that the action we took on August 15th was the right one.

We have to deal now with three aspects of the situation: (1) the Governmental aspect, (2) the Goan aspect, and (3) the popular Indian aspect.

The Governmental aspect consists chiefly in diplomatic activity and such economic measures as we are going to take. Diplomatic activity would include the talks we are going to have with Portuguese representatives about Observers, etc.

It was the Portuguese who at first made a suggestion about international Observers, but they made it in a particular context. We could not refuse that because that would have meant that we were afraid of outsiders seeing what we were doing and the Portuguese charges would have been accepted ex parte. Therefore, we accepted the basic proposal of the Portuguese in regard to Observers and gave it a different turn. This was not to the liking of the Portuguese, but they couldn't very well get out of it and now we are likely to have preliminary talks on this subject. You will have observed that our Notes to the Portuguese Government are worded in a restrained manner and we have deliberately not brought in the real problem of transfer of sovereignty, etc., in them. We have confined these Notes to the immediate issue of Observers. If we had brought in the other question, the Portuguese would have avoided this meeting altogether. We are keen in having this meeting as it opens out a new way of approach. If the Observers come, they should of course have full freedom to look at things within Goa as well as on our side of the border. The whole question of Goa is now placed on a different level.

So far as the Goans themselves are concerned, they can, if they like, continue their satyagraha provided it is wholly non-violent and within their resources. They should not overdo something which they cannot carry on. Some activity is desirable to keep up morale and prevent the Portuguese from thinking that things have quietened down. But that activity must be well controlled.

The third aspect, that is, that of the Indian public, can hardly be controlled by us though we can give them guidance. We should not allow non-Goans to enter Goa aggressively because that would change the nature of this movement immediately.

Meanwhile, the position in the French Settlements is likely to undergo a big change and that will affect the Goan situation also.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 10. Liberation Movement in Goa<sup>1</sup>

...The situation in respect of the Portuguese settlements in India, which has roused much attention and concern both in the House and the country, is one which has continually engaged the study and active consideration of Government. Internally in the Portuguese settlements, the opposition and resistance to foreign and colonial rule has gathered momentum. This is an entirely Goan movement, popular and indigenous. It has been countered by the authorities by the time-honoured but discredited methods of colonial assertion, repression and authoritarian violence coupled with the denial of inherent rights of the people to their freedom and self-determination.

The position of the Government of India and indeed of the people of this country, is well-known and hardly needs restatement. Goa and the Union of India form one country. As a result of foreign conquest, various parts of India came under colonial domination. Historical developments brought almost the entire country under British rule. But some small pockets of territory remained under the colonial rule of other foreign Powers, chiefly because they were tolerated as such by the then British Power. The movement for freedom in India was not confined to any part of the country; its objective was the freedom of the entire country from every kind of foreign domination. Inevitably the movement took shape in what was called British India and, ultimately, resulted in the withdrawal of the colonial Power and the establishment of the Republic of India. That process of liberation cannot be completed till the remaining small pockets of foreign territory are also not freed from colonial control. The Government and the people of this country, therefore, fully sympathise with the aspirations of the Goan people to free themselves from alien rule and to be reunited with the motherland.

The policy that we have pursued has been, even as in India under British rule, one of non-violence and we have fashioned our approach and conduct accordingly. This adherence to non-violence means:

- (i) that we may not abandon or permit any derogation of our identification with the cause of our compatriots under Portuguese rule; and
- (ii) equally we may not adopt, advocate or deliberately bring about situation of violence.

1. Statement in Lok Sabha, 25 August 1954, *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. VI, Pt. II, 1954, cols. 220-231. Extracts.



We regard and base our position on the fact that the liberation movement is Goan and spontaneous, and that its real strength lies in this fact.

The Government of India, and I am confident the great majority of our people, have no intention of adopting any policy or methods which depart from these principles, which are the foundations on which our very nationhood rests and which are the historic and unique legacy of Gandhiji and the pioneers of our freedom.

Further, we may never forget that, in our approach and endeavours for our own freedom we were enjoined to eliminate fear. I want to say in all sincerity that the Government do not and will not function in this matter on a foundation of apprehensiveness and fear of probable consequences of threats, from whatever quarter they may come, or condone, much less approve or support, methods of conduct based on fear. Such methods are opposed to our policy and deny the basic ideas of non-violence.

The Portuguese Government have indulged in reckless allegations and unrestrained abuse of us. Moved by the fear characteristic of those whose strength is based on force, they have sought to amass their military strength on their possessions in India to terrorise the people. They are well aware that they constitute no terror for us.

It is not, however, the intention of the Government of India to be provoked into thinking and acting in military terms. The Portuguese concentrations and ship movements<sup>2</sup> may well be a violation of our national and international rights. We shall examine and consider these and take such legitimate measures as may be necessary. But we have no intention of following the Portuguese Government's example in this respect.

The Portuguese Government have, in their representations to us and to other countries, as well as in their crude propaganda, indulged in totally untrue and reckless allegations. The purpose of all this is to arouse opinion against us by painting us as aggressive militarists, anti-Christian, particularly anti-Catholic, and hypocritical expansionists. They want others to believe that we want to make Goa an Indian colony.

These allegations are repudiated by the Goan people in the Portuguese possessions themselves, despite the authoritarian regime there and the repression, the censorship and State-controlled propaganda. The Goan liberation movement, however, continues to grow and may well be measured by the increase in violence and recklessness of Portuguese allegations and propaganda. Goans outside Goa, mainly in India and East Africa, have expressed themselves in

2. Lakshmi Menon, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for External Affairs, confirmed in the Rajya Sabha on 24 August that a Portuguese warship had arrived at Diu with contingents of Portuguese and African troops and ammunition.

favour of this movement. They demand the end of alien rule and the reunion of Goa with the motherland.

The Portuguese allegations about Indian hostility to Roman Catholics and the danger to Catholics if Goa joined the Indian Union have been repudiated most emphatically by the Roman Catholics of India and, more particularly, by their eminent leaders. The Catholics in India regard these Portuguese allegations not only as false but as a slur on themselves and their country. They point to the five million Catholics in India who have absolute religious freedom and enjoy the consideration and respect of the rest of their compatriots. They know that the guarantees of our Constitution are a reality. Recently, at a widely attended meeting of Goans in Bombay,<sup>3</sup> composed of people of all shades of opinion, mostly non-sectarian and non-party, this feeling found emphatic expression and the falsity of Portuguese allegations was exposed.

I deeply regret that the Portuguese Government should have decided to arouse religious passions to serve their colonial ends. They have failed in this endeavour.

I would like to take this opportunity of stating once again some aspects of our basic approach in respect of Goa, when it becomes a part of the Indian Union:

- (a) The freedom and rights guaranteed by the Constitution of India and which specifically refer to freedom of conscience, worship and practice of religion, will extend in full measure and in all their implications to these areas.
- (b) The special circumstances of cultural, social and lingual relations and the sense of territorial group which history has created will be respected.
- (c) Laws and customs which are part of the social pattern of these areas and which are consistent with fundamental human rights and freedoms, will be respected and modifications will be sought only by negotiation and consent.
- (d) As we have done in the rest of India, full use will be made of the administrative, judicial and other services, confident that the return of freedom to and the unity of these areas with the motherland will enable adjustments to be made in harmony with progress and with the desires of the people....

3. A public meeting was held in Mumbai on 22 August to condemn the firing on unarmed and non-violent Goan volunteers by Portuguese troops at Terekhal fort on 16 August. The firing had resulted in the death of one volunteer.



I would like to say on behalf of our country and Government that we have no animosity towards Portugal or her people. We believe the freedom of the Goans, now subject to Portugal, would be a gain for Portugal as well. We will continue to pursue, with patience and firmness, the path of conciliation and negotiation. Equally, we must declare that we would be false to our history and betray the cause of freedom itself if we did not state, without reserve, that our country and Government firmly and fully believe in the right of our compatriots in Goa to free themselves from alien rule and to be reunited with the rest of the motherland. This will serve the cause of friendship and understanding, even as freedom to India has led to friendly relations between the United Kingdom and India. We would therefore invite the Portuguese Government to cooperate in the peaceful consummation of these endeavours.

## 11. To U.N. Dhebar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
September 30, 1954

My dear Dhebar,<sup>2</sup>

When you were here a few days ago, we had a talk about the incident at the Diu border when a band of people trying to enter Diu was stopped by your police and ultimately there was a lathi-charge.<sup>3</sup> As I told you then, this lathi-charge left a bad taste in the mouth, and we should avoid, as far as possible, this or any other kind of violence in this matter. We cannot function as if we were policemen protecting Portuguese property. In Parliament here there has been strong criticism of that.

I realise that the lathi-charge was due to stone-throwing, etc., by the Communist members of that group. We should try to avoid a situation arising when this kind of conflict takes place. Our object is to show to the world that we are not encouraging these bands of Indian nationals in going into Portuguese territory. We do not do so because there is any high principle involved. I can

<sup>1</sup> JN Collection.

<sup>2</sup> 1977); Chief Minister of Saurashtra, 1948-54; also see *Selected Works* (second edn., 1977), p. 406.

<sup>3</sup> Injured in a mild lathi charge resorted to by the police at Diu border on 26 September when about 50 Communist persons, while trying to break through

well imagine our deciding otherwise in this matter. It is a question of proper tactics and procedure. If we allowed Indian nationals to go in in large numbers this might be made to appear as if the residents of these Portuguese possessions were opposed to merger with India and outsiders were forcing them. We want to make it perfectly clear that a great majority of the residents of these territories and Goans themselves want a merger with India. It is for this reason that we have discouraged outsiders, who are not Goans or residents of these territories, from going in large numbers.

This present object of ours does not necessitate any strong measures of the kind which lead to violence. If in spite of our attempts to stop people some wish to go in, that cannot be helped and we are in no way responsible. I hope you will issue clear instructions about this matter.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 12. To Morarji Desai<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
September 30, 1954

My dear Morarji,

... I saw two days ago a deputation which had come here on behalf of the Goa Liberation Council<sup>2</sup> or some such name. These people had come from Bombay and struck me as a responsible and decent lot. I had a long talk with them. The first thing they said was that it was very necessary to have some experienced administrators in the liberated territories in Bombay and Saurashtra. I entirely agreed and told them that we ourselves were of the same opinion. We could not take any direct action in this matter, but indirectly we were prepared to help. They even suggested that we might release someone in service for this purpose. I said that this would not be a good thing, but surely there must be many retired men who would be suitable. Obviously, they have to know the language, i.e., Gujarati.

They then said that our procedure in allowing people to go in and out of Goa was very strict indeed. One could understand our preventing any large

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. A delegation on behalf of the Goa Liberation Council, headed by its President. A Soares, met Nehru on 28 September. See also *ante*, p. 334.



group from going in, but even individuals were treated very strictly and searched. The result was that it was defeating the work of the popular organisation. I think this matter might be looked into. I wrote to you about this sometime ago.<sup>3</sup> I feel that some way should be found to permit individuals to go in and out.

They then said that Congress organisations on the border districts should help in various ways, including the prevention of smuggling, etc. This would remove the impression that only Socialists and Jan Sangh people were helping. They mentioned some well-known persons on our side of the border who were prepared to help in this way if they knew that we have no objection.<sup>4</sup>

They were worried very much about the lack of information about prisoners in Goa. The result was that wild rumours were spread.

They mentioned to me the recent use of some American banks in Bombay by the Portuguese to get over the restrictions put by us. I did not know what the facts were. I hope you are in touch with this matter and are enquiring.

They pointed out that there was an iron curtain round Goa and no papers could go in and come out, and no information could come out. That, of course, is obvious. It was in this connection also that they said that it was desirable for some individuals from outside to be able to go there to find out and come back and report. Some new channels have to be built up for receiving this information on both sides.

They mentioned that 400 more armed men had arrived in Goa bringing up the total strength to 6,500. The Portuguese authorities in Goa were swinging over more to Pakistan and Ceylon.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Nehru wrote to Desai on 3 September that he had told Peter Alvares that day that "there was no ban at all on any individual going in quietly, even Indians", and the facility Alvares wanted for some of his men to go in and come out of Goa without difficulty "might be easily arranged." Replying on 11 September, Desai said that to allow Indian nationals to enter Goa without necessary travel documents was "more likely than not to expose the Indian entrant to real risk of capture and torture and us to the charge of connivance at surreptitious entry."
4. On 30 September, Nehru also wrote to Balvantray Mehta, General Secretary, AICC, saying that the impression "that only the Socialists or the Jan Sangh people were prominent on our side" had to be removed. While the organisation of satyagraha was at this stage limited to Goans only, "there is much that can be done on the borders by (Congress) volunteers and others to show our sympathy" and also to help in stopping smuggling, Nehru added.

### III. BILATERAL RELATIONS

#### (i) Pakistan

##### 1. To Ali Yavar Jung<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 7, 1954

My dear Ali,<sup>2</sup>

...You refer to a statement made by Grafftey-Smith.<sup>3</sup> We know him well as UK High Commissioner at Karachi. He was, and no doubt is, violently anti-Indian. As for Kashmir, it is relevant to point out what Pakistan has done in East Bengal. During the last elections there, out of 309 seats, 300 were won by the opposition, i.e., chiefly by the United Front. I suppose this is an unprecedented result of an election, and yet the Constitution has been suspended in East Bengal and there is Governor's rule, in effect martial law. Large numbers of people have been arrested, the press has been muzzled, meetings, etc., cannot be held.

Members of the local legislature cannot meet informally and privately

The Governor, Iskandar Mirza,<sup>4</sup> has made it quite clear

that he is against him. Workers in

are a good



You may remember the terrible killing that took place at a factory in East Bengal a little while ago. This was entirely a Bengali and non-Bengali affair (both Muslims). The Bengali Muslims were shot down ruthlessly by the hundred.

Much has been made of the statement made by Fazlul Huq<sup>5</sup> to an American newspaperman, in which he is alleged to have said that East Bengal wanted independence. Fazlul Huq has denied this and stated that what he said was that he wanted fullest autonomy within Pakistan and freedom from interference.<sup>6</sup> Fazlul Haq, of course, makes loose statements. This whole episode of the American correspondent, it appears, was a deliberate plot. Mohammad Ali<sup>7</sup> and the American Ambassador, who are constantly in touch with each other, encouraged the correspondent to go to Fazlul Huq. The moment the correspondent came out, this part of the interview was seized hold of and made much of.

The whole business of East Bengal is one of the most shameless incidents of domination and suppression of a people, that you can find anywhere. I think that it would be worthwhile bringing this aspect informally before the Egyptian Government....

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 2. To Jairamdas Doulatram<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

7th June, 1954

My dear Jairamdas,

I see from the newspapers that you received a telegram from Iskandar Mirza,<sup>2</sup> the new Governor of East Pakistan, and that you replied to him offering your cooperation, etc.

I think it would have been better, in the circumstances, if you had not replied to him, or had sent a brief and somewhat curt reply. Recent developments in Pakistan, and more particularly in East Bengal, have been very extraordinary. We should not say much about them because our saying anything does not help, but we should avoid any expression of sympathy or cordiality with this new regime there.

I am writing to you not because there was any great importance in your answering Iskandar Mirza's telegram,<sup>3</sup> but rather for the future, so that we might avoid taking any step which might strengthen an undesirable regime.<sup>4</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. In a telegram of 31 May, addressed to the Governors of Assam and West Bengal, Iskandar Mirza expressed the hope for "the fullest cooperation" in removing the difficulties of the respective peoples; and added that "minorities as citizens of Pakistan will be given every opportunity to lead a life of usefulness and dignity and that I will regard their life and honour as my own."

3. In his reply on 3 June, Doulatram said, "...My Government and myself will be only too happy to extend as heretofore our fullest cooperation in settling matters affecting welfare of our respective peoples. I welcome all that Your Excellency has said about minorities in Pakistan and wish to assure...that the Muslim minority as citizens of India will continue to receive in my State fullest opportunities for progress and protection of legitimate interests."

4. Nehru wrote a similar letter to H.C. Mukherjee, Governor, West Bengal, adding that "East Bengal has been converted completely into a colony of West Pakistan under military rule."



### 3. Dilution of Travel Restrictions<sup>1</sup>

It is not clear to me whether the practice that has been followed now, as detailed in the Home Ministry's or your note, is tied up with any law or is merely an executive decision by us. Partly it may be derived from agreements with Pakistan, such as the Indo-Pakistan Passport Agreement, 1953, paragraph 18.

2. I should like the Home Ministry to consider the new situation that has arisen. The restrictions for Pakistanis coming to India were introduced because of very special reasons flowing from the Partition and its consequences. More particularly, they were tied up with the ownership of the property. Normally, as between two independent countries, there are no such restrictions and people can visit each other's country easily. So far as relatives are concerned, it is still easier for them to do this.

3. Therefore, we should consider this matter, first of all, as we would consider the case of any other country, forgetting the restrictions that we had introduced in the past years. Secondly, we should consider it from the point of view of the numerous family contacts that necessarily exist between India and Pakistan. Where a particular family is concerned, i.e., children, sisters, etc., there should be full liberality shown. In fact every facility should be given for such near relatives to come to India, unless there is some special reason to prevent that.

4. It seems to me wrong to prevent children coming to India where most of their family may reside.<sup>2</sup> No national interest is involved. Where there is so, human consideration must prevail. Please draw attention of the Home Minister to this matter.

1. Note to the Principal Private Secretary, 11 June 1954. JN Collection.
2. In a note of 18 July 1954 to the Cabinet Secretary, Nehru wrote that the existing rules regarding children in Pakistan who might wish to return to their families in India, were unsatisfactory. While there had been "much confusion" about children of divided families, there was "absolutely no reason why we should not permit a child to come back to some members of the family here."

#### 4. To Eugene R. Black<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
21st June, 1954

Dear Mr Black,<sup>2</sup>

I refer to your letter of 13th March, 1952, concerning the setting up and functioning of the Indus Basin Working Party and my letter of 15th March, 1952, in which I indicated our readiness to participate in the cooperative work proposed by you for resolving the dispute that had existed for sometime past between India and Pakistan regarding the distribution of the waters of the Indus system of rivers. We were confident at the time that, with the good offices of the Bank, it would not be long before the Working Party would reach agreement on a comprehensive plan for the most effective use of the water resources of the Indus Basin for the greatest good of both countries.

2. The cooperative approach initiated by the Bank enabled the Working Party to collect and study a large mass of engineering data indispensable for the planning, on a functional basis, of the development of the water resources of the Indus system of rivers with its many complicated technical problems. This immense task would never have been accomplished but for the invaluable help and assistance afforded throughout by the Bank Engineers.

3. Notwithstanding this very useful basic work, prolonged efforts to agree on a common approach towards comprehensive planning proved fruitless. At the instance of the Bank representative, both parties, however, agreed to put up plans of their own. These plans showed such basic divergence of concept that it became clear there was no prospect of making any progress towards settlement unless the Bank took some initiative in the matter.

4. In these circumstances the Bank representative put forward on 5th February, 1954, with the full support of the Management of the Bank, a proposal for the consideration of both sides to serve as the basis of an agreement. This was, according to the Bank, "based on concepts of its own which would lead to a more equitable and economic result." At the same time the Bank made it clear that it was prepared to accept a large element of compromise under which each side would retain its own share of the irrigation uses that it wishes to

... not meet some of the



1954, the principles of the Bank proposal as the basis of agreement in the interest of a speedy and constructive settlement and in the spirit of goodwill and friendship that has guided us ever since the beginning of this controversy.

6. Unfortunately Pakistan's reaction to the Bank proposal has been negative. Its reply dated 14th May, 1954, contains a virtual rejection of the Bank proposal. According to the Bank's memorandum to Pakistan dated 21st May, 1954, the Bank was "unable to perceive that the message constituted acceptance of the Bank proposal in principle, either as a basis for agreement, or even as a basis for further joint discussion". Notwithstanding this the Bank in its memorandum made an urgent appeal to Pakistan for a reconsideration of this negative attitude and expressed the belief "that, if any progress is to be made with the co-operative work, there must be, as a minimum, an understanding that further discussions will proceed on the basis of the Bank proposal, taking as a starting point the division of waters there proposed...." The Bank Management earnestly requested "that the Government of Pakistan should within the next week advise the Management of the Bank of their readiness to accept an understanding in the foregoing sense...." This appeal, as also the subsequent efforts of the Bank over the last two weeks, has produced no positive result. Under these circumstances there is, as had been stated in the Bank memorandum, no prospect of progressing with the cooperative work undertaken with the participation of the Bank. The persistently negative and uncooperative attitude of Pakistan has, therefore, made impossible the continuation of the talks initiated by you in March, 1952, and Pakistan has thereby voided the understanding under which we have been working for the last two years.

7. I would like to take this opportunity of expressing our high appreciation of the spirit of impartiality and fairness with which the Management and the Engineers of the Bank have approached this delicate problem through the last two years. The Bank proposal in its precision, succinctness and objectivity has definitely proved that, with a practical approach and with readiness on both sides to make sacrifices, it is possible to find a solution of this complicated problem. The Bank proposal will be regarded as an invaluable contribution towards the solution of this long-drawn dispute. I trust that sooner or later the Government of Pakistan will come to realise the benefits of an agreed settlement on the basis of the Bank proposal and the substantial advantages that would accrue to Pakistan therefrom.

8. Notwithstanding the persistently negative attitude of Pakistan which has until now frustrated all attempts at settlement we would be ready to consider arrangements for renewed cooperative work on the basis of the Bank proposal as soon as Pakistan indicates its willingness to you on that basis. I trust that the good offices of the Bank would in that case be available in as helpful and ample a measure as in the last two years.

9. Although, in view of the situation explained in para 6 above we are no

longer bound now by the unilateral restriction implied in your letter of 13th March 1952 under which, de facto, India could not undertake any major new developments whilst Pakistan could do so without any restriction, we would be willing to include in the arrangements for renewed cooperative work, referred to in para 8 above, appropriate provisions for the transitional period which would enable developments to proceed in both countries on an agreed schedule as envisaged in the Bank proposal.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 5. To M.S. Mehta<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 25, 1954

My dear Mohan Sinhaji,<sup>2</sup>

I have sent you a reply to your telegram.<sup>3</sup>

I am prepared to deal with the Prime Minister of Pakistan as correctly as circumstances require. I cannot do more. I know it for a fact that everything that I write to him is passed on to others, notably the Americans. That does not help. Therefore, any information that I give him will be of a general nature. It is not fair to those who discuss matters confidentially with us to be put in a false position by our telling it to others.

I have just read a letter from Makki Atal<sup>4</sup> in which he describes an interview he had with the Foreign Secretary of Pakistan. The Foreign Secretary, it appears,

1. JN Collection. A copy of the letter was sent to the Commonwealth Secretary.
2. (1895-1985); High Commissioner of India in Pakistan, 1951-55; also see *Selected Works* (second series) Vol. 12, p. 305.
3. Nehru hoped that his message, meant for all Colombo Conference Prime Ministers and giving "information about Chou En-lai's rather sudden and unexpected visit" to India, had already being conveyed to the Pakistan Premier by the Sri Lanka Premier. Nehru asked Mehta to tell the Pakistan Premier that he would send a brief report of the talks directly.
4. Jai Kumar Atal (b. 1914); joined ICS, 1936, and served in various capacities till 1947; Deputy High Commissioner to Pakistan, 1952-54; Minister, Indian Embassy, Washington, 1954-56; Joint Secretary, MEA, 1957-59; Ambassador to Turkey, 1959-66, Ethiopia; 1963-66, Yugoslavia & Greece, 1966-69, Italy and High Commissioner to Malta, 1969-71; and Secretary, MEA, 1972-74.



talked the most absolute nonsense. I am getting a little tired of these people who have neither decency nor good sense. Having behaved themselves in a scandalous manner in East Bengal, they have the audacity to accuse us of encouraging communism and the rest in East Bengal. All I can do is to restrain myself from expressing my feelings about those who govern Pakistan today. It is difficult for me to find any kind of virtue in them.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 6. To M.S. Mehta<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 28, 1954

My dear Mohan Sinhaji,

Your letter of the 21st July reached me in Ajmer. I returned to Delhi this morning.

I really do not know what we can do with Pakistan at present. I realise fully the desirability and indeed the necessity of having friendly and cooperative relations. I go on repeating this in public, as I did it in my closing speech at Ajmer also. But what to do about it is not at all clear to me.

I have endeavoured to direct India's policy into constructive channels, avoiding attacks on other countries and the promotion of hatred. Read the resolutions passed by the AICC at Ajmer. Apart from the one about foreign pockets in India, which, considering the circumstances, is moderately worded, all the resolutions deal with our own work in India. They are addressed to the Indian people. There is no element of attack or criticism of any country in them. I think they truly represent the mood of the great majority of the people here.

In Pakistan, on the other hand, the whole atmosphere is full of hatred, violence, threats and utter frustration. I feel very sad about this. I wish an opportunity might come our way to make a constructive move. Not having such an opportunity now, I prefer to remain silent.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 7. To Eugene R. Black<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 19, 1954

Dear Mr Black,

I thank you for your letter of August 13, 1954, forwarding your proposals for a new phase of cooperative work with the assistance of the Bank.

In my letter of August 8, 1954, I expressed the view that clarification of some points covering the terms of reference should precede the resumption of the negotiations. Nevertheless, in order to afford the maximum assistance to your efforts to resolve this dispute, I am prepared to accept the suggestion now made by you that these clarifications should come about in the actual process of working out the plan. Accordingly, I hereby accept the terms of reference and procedure for the resumption of cooperative work on the basis of the Bank Proposals<sup>2</sup> as contained in Annex A to your letter of August 13, 1954. To avoid any possible misunderstanding, however, regarding the terms of reference, as proposed by you, I would like to state that in giving this acceptance, I assume, that the words "feasible means", used in para 4 of Annex A, refer only to the feasible means, within the framework of the division of waters envisaged in the Bank Proposal, that might be adopted to meet any deficiencies; and that the words "costs involved" in para 5 of Annex A relate only to the cost of replacement works as envisaged in the Bank Proposal, with the uses listed in para 2 of Annex A.

1. JN Collection.

2. The Bank, in the main, proposed that: (i) The representatives of India, Pakistan and Bank would assemble in Washington on 1 October 1954 and prepare, by 30 September 1955, a comprehensive plan, taking as starting point the division of waters envisaged in the Bank's proposal of 5 February 1954. (ii) The plan would aim to accomplish from the flow of waters of the three western rivers the following irrigation uses: (a) Historic (pre-partition, actual) withdrawals of all canals in Pakistan and in Jammu and Kashmir State, (b) Bring most of Pakistan Sutlej Valley canals up to allocation; (c) Requirements of Thal and Kotri; and would examine the extent of any surplus available from flow of the western rivers after meeting those uses. (iii) The plan would then examine the extent to which and the manner in which the following additional uses could be met out of any such surplus: the additional requirements of Sukkur and Gudu, and of the future development in Jammu and Kashmir State. (iv) The plan would outline feasible means that might be developed to meet any deficiencies if the flow supplies of the western rivers were inadequate. (v) The planning would include engineering works required, costs involved and sharing thereof, the arrangements for the period of transition and all other pertinent matters. (vi) Each Government would promptly make available to the Bank Representative data and information asked for and give access to irrigated areas and works.



It is of course understood that, as is usual in all such cases, and as had been stated expressly in your letter of November 8, 1951, concerning the former Working Party, the Bank, before selecting its representative and other personnel (para 1 and 6 of Annex A), would ascertain that they would be acceptable to the two Governments.

As regards the transitional arrangements for September and October 1954, proposed by you in Annex B,<sup>3</sup> they unfortunately do not appear to be fully satisfactory, the supplies available for the Bhakra canals under these arrangements being so small as to have little practical significance. The transfer possibilities indicated by Pakistan in the figures supplied on August 9, 1954, regarding paragraph 1(c) of the Government of Pakistan's message of 28th July 1954, which apparently form the basis of para 2 of Annex B, do not represent a complete picture. Apart from this, there are a number of other points in connection with Annex B which would appear to need closer examination and discussion. It appears necessary, therefore, that representatives of the Bank should come over to India and Pakistan, as early as possible, to assist in the conclusion of a transitional agreement for 1954. It would be desirable also that an agreement on transitional arrangements for *rabi* 1954-55 and *kharif* 1955 be reached before the new planning body commences its work. The presence of the Bank representatives in India and Pakistan would also provide a welcome opportunity for holding informal consultations between representatives of the Bank, India and Pakistan with a view to ascertaining what new data should be collected or what new studies should be carried out in India and Pakistan before the new planning body meets in Washington.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Paragraph one of Annexure B provided that during September and October 1954, India would limit additional irrigation uses in her territory so as not to reduce canal withdrawals in Pakistan; paragraph two provided: "There will be taken into account, as replacement of supplies available to Pakistan, 70 per cent of the following total: the amount of Ravi supplies which shall actually be received at Balloki plus 1,000 cusecs of Chenab supplies which shall be deemed to be received at Balloki."

## 8. To Mohammad Ali<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 23, 1954

My dear Prime Minister,

Thank you for your letter of the 14th July which you sent me in answer to my letter of the 13th April 1954. I hope you will forgive me for the delay in replying to it. You have been away from Karachi for a considerable part of this time and I have also been touring and otherwise very much occupied. I would also draw your attention to the letter<sup>2</sup> addressed by me to you dated May 7, 1954, to which I have had no reply yet. This letter dealt with the evacuee property problem.

2. In your letter of the 14th July, you refer to the opening of the Bhakra canal.<sup>3</sup> I need not deal with this matter fully at this stage because I am glad to find that, through the good offices of the World Bank, a further agreement about future negotiations, on the basis of the World Bank proposals, is in sight. But I should like to remove some misunderstanding. You have not been in touch with this matter except lately and I can, therefore, well understand that you are not fully posted with the background. When the President of the World Bank first made his proposal to the then Prime Minister of Pakistan and to me, and we both agreed to it, it was generally understood that the preliminary talks with the World Bank would take about six months or so. In my talks with Mr Black, this was mentioned as a rough estimate. I made it clear to him that we could not commit ourselves, indefinitely, to the assurance we had given about not diminishing the supply of water. We pointed out particularly that the Bhakra-Nangal project was under construction and would gradually take shape. We were spending vast sums of money on this project and we could not be expected to suspend it or stop its future development. It is true that no period was mentioned in the written assurance that was given.

3. Instead of six months, as anticipated, these talks went on for a year and then for two years. In the course of these talks, our representatives at Washington clearly mentioned that the Bhakra-Nangal scheme was developing

1. File No.KS-17/54, MHA. Also available in JN Collection.

2. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 25, pp. 353-355.

3. Mohammad Ali wrote that India had taken a "precipitate action" by opening the Bhakra Canals on 8 July "while negotiations were still in progress for the settlement of the canal waters dispute with the World Bank and in spite of the undertaking contained in President Black's letter of March 13th, 1952, that so long as this cooperative work continues with the participation of the Bank neither side will take any action to diminish the supplies available to the other side for existing uses."



and the time was rapidly coming when part of it would be ready and we would require additional water supplies. Early in 1954 this was clearly stated both to the Bank separately and at the joint meetings. Even when the Bank made its final proposal, this was pointed out by us. We were anxious that your representatives should be fully informed of the position. Later we gave formal notice of it when we found that the negotiations through the Bank had come to a standstill because, at that time, you were not prepared to accept the proposals of the Bank, which we had accepted.

4. You will appreciate that any assurance of the kind that was given by us is of an interim character. It could not possibly continue indefinitely regardless of other circumstances. Otherwise, it would be open to one party merely not to take any step and thereby prevent the other from functioning.

5. Further, as a matter of fact, even on the opening of the Bhakra canal and after, we did not reduce the normal supply of irrigation water to Pakistan,<sup>4</sup> and I must confess I fail to understand the reason for the outcry in Pakistan on this subject.

6. Because of this self-denying act on our part, we have lost a whole season to the great disappointment of large numbers of agriculturists who were expecting this water.

7. I need not go into this question any further at this stage. I hope that further talks will take place now on the basis of the acceptance of the Bank proposal by both sides and, separately, an ad hoc arrangement will also be arrived at.

8. I should like to remind you of the canal water agreement between India and Pakistan which was arrived at on the 4th May 1948. That agreement was signed, among others, by your present Governor-General and by me. It gave India the right to restrict water supplies provided we gave Pakistan enough time to make other arrangements. In fact, we did not lessen or restrict the supply of water to your canals at any time during these six years. There was some argument about a year ago about some minor restriction, but that was, I think, adequately explained at the time. You will observe that we have tried our utmost during these years to be cooperative in this matter with Pakistan and not to take any step which might cause injury to the agriculturists in Pakistan.

4. In his reply of 21 September Mohammad Ali claimed that the formal opening of the Bhakra canal "was in fact preceded by a steep fall in supplies reaching Pakistan. The supplies below Ferozpur in the Sutlej fell from 23,700 cusecs on July 4 to 9,310 cusecs on July 7, i.e., the day preceding the formal opening of the canal. Never in the past had supplies gone so low at that time of the year. This naturally caused alarm among our people..."

9. The second point that you deal with in your letter is the question of military aid from the United States of America to Pakistan and its effect on the Kashmir issue.<sup>5</sup> We have discussed this question repeatedly and I do not feel that I need add anything to what I have already written. I do not and cannot challenge your right to accept that military aid or to come to any arrangement with any country. But I ventured to point out to you the consequences of that step on certain important questions which concern us. You refer to the threat to your security. It is not clear to me from what source that threat comes, or how your security is endangered. If you think that threat comes from India, I think you are completely mistaken because that is not only entirely opposed to our policy but, in the circumstances of today, outside the range of possibilities. But, whether it is possible or not, if that aid is in relation to India, then naturally it affects us and we are concerned. If this bears direct relation to the Kashmir issue, then the whole context of that question changes and we have to consider it afresh from a new point of view.

10. In discussing certain preliminary steps to be taken in regard to Kashmir, we had repeatedly considered the quantum of forces to be kept there. We had not come to an agreement, but there was the possibility of an agreement on the facts as they then were. We were agreeable to withdrawing a very considerable part of our armed forces from Kashmir State, provided Pakistan took certain steps including the withdrawal of her forces from the Kashmir State territory occupied by her. This position changes completely when the military resources of Pakistan increase greatly because of the aid received from the United States. We do not know how much aid Pakistan has received or is likely to receive. But, in any event, it is a natural presumption that it will be considerable. In addition, Pakistan will have the powerful military backing of a great power. In these circumstances we have now to take into consideration this additional military strength of Pakistan. The basis of our previous discussions, in regard to quantum of forces, ceases to have relevance and entirely new considerations emerge and must apply.

5. Mohammad Ali denied apprehensions expressed by Nehru in his letter of 13 April 1954 concerning Pakistan's decision to receive military aid from the US. He wrote that, rightly or wrongly, Pakistan did believe that a threat to her security existed and her decision to receive the aid was purely a 'defensive step. Mohammad Ali further said that Nehru's letter seemed to imply that India would now wish to retain even larger forces in Kashmir. He added that it was a matter of the highest importance that the plebiscite in Kashmir must be free and that "demilitarisation would be purposeless if it did not result in securing the freedom of the vote."



11. It was on this preliminary question that we could not come to an agreement and because the preliminaries were not settled, we could not go further ahead. The present development renders the basis of our discussions on this subject unreal.

12. It is also evident that our approach to these problems differs widely. You have ruled out a no-war declaration,<sup>6</sup> which I have repeatedly suggested, and you have accepted and rely more on foreign military aid. A no-war declaration brings more security than military preparation and creates a better atmosphere for the solution of problems. I agree that those problems have to be solved as soon as possible. But to oppose a no-war declaration till those problems are solved, neither brings security nor helps in the solution of these problems.

13. You are no doubt aware that some time ago my Government and the Government of the People's Republic of China issued a joint declaration in which we mentioned five principles which should govern our relations. These included mutual respect for each other's independence and territorial integrity; non-aggression, and non-interference with each other. Such a declaration gives far greater assurance of security and friendly relations than military pacts or military preparations. To agree to any such declaration does not mean that we should not try to solve our problems. It means that we should solve them in a better and more friendly atmosphere, having ruled out the possibility of a recourse to war, which should be your desire as it is mine.

14. I have in the past drawn your attention to the violent propaganda in Pakistan in favour of war with India. Many instances of this have occurred in recent months. You will appreciate that this is not a background for friendly talks. So far as I am concerned, I am anxious and eager for a settlement about Kashmir and other issues. In regard to the canal waters issue, we agreed to the World Bank's proposals even though they threw a very heavy burden on us. No one can accuse the World Bank of partiality to India in this matter. They went deeply into this question and considered it, in consultation with your engineers and ours, for two and a half years. In regard to the evacuee property

6. Mohammad Ali wrote that a mere 'no war declaration' would serve no useful purpose so long as the disputes between India and Pakistan continued to poison the relations between the two countries. He was convinced that the right approach was that the disputes should first be peacefully and amicably resolved.

matter, my last letter <sup>7</sup> to you, written more than three months ago, has elicited no reply.<sup>8</sup>

15. During the last few months a great and welcome development has taken place in international affairs owing to the conclusion of the Geneva Agreements on Indo-China. The long drawn-out and disastrous war has been ended and for the first time after many years, there is no war between nations in any part of the world. That is a development for which all of us should be devoutly thankful. Grave perils and dangers still confront us in the world, but a new turn has been taken—away from war and towards peace. That can be strengthened by each country resolving to maintain peace and avoid war and not by preparing for war and having military talks and alliances which can only be meant against some other country. I would wish that Pakistan and India took advantage of this new situation that has been created and approached each other in a more friendly and cooperative way.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. For Nehru's letter of 7 May 1954 to Mohammad Ali, see *Selected Works* (second series) Vol. 25, pp. 353-355.
8. In his reply of 22 September 1954, Mohammad Ali wrote that: (i) India's reasons why urban evacuee property should not be privately sold or exchanged were unacceptable; (ii) India's decision to acquire and dispose old and dilapidated evacuee property was a clear violation of the Agreement of January 1949, which guaranteed the evacuees their right to sell or exchange their properties; (iii) By ruling out private sales and exchanges India had presented Pakistan "with only one alternative, namely, settlement on a Government-to-Government basis as demanded by your Government." (iv) The decision imposed "a wholly unnecessary administrative and financial responsibility... which the Government's machinery is ill-fitted to discharge", and (v) India's estimate of the current value of the evacuee property in India and Pakistan was "based on a wholly unreliable data" and therefore unacceptable.

## 9. To Mohammad Ali<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
September 29, 1954

My dear Prime Minister,

I received your letter of the 21st September from your High Commissioner in Delhi<sup>2</sup> on the 25th September. You mention in this that you wish to publish

1. JN Collection.

2. Ghazanfar Ali Khan.



the correspondence between us on the 1st October. Yesterday, I sent you a telegram suggesting that the publication be deferred until the 5th October, so that for completion of record, my present reply could also be included in the published documents. In this telegram, I also made some other suggestions about publication which I hope you will approve.

2. Your letter deals with the Canal Waters dispute and the Kashmir question. I notice that the letters which you propose for publication deal principally with Kashmir and that some letters dealing with the Canal Waters dispute have not been included in your material for publication at present.

3. We have corresponded on both these matters, as well as on the Evacuee Property issue at great length during the past many months. I confess to a feeling of frustration at this lengthy correspondence which appears to lead to no result. The same arguments are repeated, the same replies are sent. It would almost appear that we have got into some metaphysical tangle or, worse still, that we have lost sight of the essence of the matter in dealing with it after the manner of petty lawyers. I have been wondering what purpose it serves to repeat the same thing over and over again. There is a sense of unreality about all this which distresses me.

4. In your letter you repeat that the Agreement of May 4, 1948, in regard to Canal Waters was signed under duress. A more extraordinary statement I do not remember to have come across at any time. I wrote to you once about this at some length and pointed out that the Agreement was signed by your present Governor-General<sup>3</sup> who, you will agree with me, is not a man to suffer duress. I speak from personal experience of this Agreement, which you do not possess. There was no question of stoppage of water in the event of the Agreement not being signed. In fact, this was never hinted at. It was with the utmost goodwill that the Agreement was discussed and signed. It is not difficult for you to confirm this by a reference to your Governor General and the others who were present there including many Ministers of Pakistan and the West Punjab Government. It took two years for your Government to discover that the Agreement was signed under duress.

5. This approach to this question of Canal Waters itself indicates how completely divorced it is from reality. I do not wish to discuss the past at any length here because I have dealt with it previously. But, coming to the present, the issue is of the utmost simplicity. The World Bank made some proposals which, in spite of their onerous character, we have accepted. If Pakistan accepts them in the same way without reservation, we lay the foundations of a full agreement for the future. If it does not accept them, then we have to continue to labour in order to find some basis for agreement. But we cannot consider

3. Ghulam Mohammed (1895-1956): Governor General of Pakistan, 1951-55; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 5, p. 80.

ourselves bound by any arrangement till some agreement is arrived at. We have assured you, however, that we shall continue to pay every attention to the needs of West Punjab in this matter in so far as we can. Indeed, we have shown our goodwill in this matter by not adding to our supplies during the past two or three months even though the Bhakra canals were completed. We did so, not because of any particular subsisting agreement with Pakistan but because we do not wish the farmers of West Punjab to suffer. Our aim throughout has been that we should prevent or at least minimise any suffering caused to farmers on either side of the border. That was the basis of the agreement of the 4th May 1948 which you repudiate.

6. I do not wish to say much more in this letter on this subject. I would refer you to my previous letters to you as well as to my letters to Mr Black, the President of the World Bank. Three years ago, I wrote to Mr Black on the 25th September 1951.<sup>4</sup> In the course of this letter I stated, "We have at present under construction a big river valley scheme in the East Punjab called the Bhakra-Nangal project.... This project will, of course, have to continue. I mention this because the Pakistan Government have sometimes suggested that work on this project should be stopped." For all these years, we had made our position perfectly clear and it has been a matter of the utmost surprise to us that you should continue to raise objections which have no basis in fact.<sup>5</sup>

7. I am enclosing a note on the Canal Water issue which has been prepared by our Irrigation & Power Ministry which has been in charge of this issue in the discussions with the World Bank.

8. As regards Kashmir, I wish you would realise how much it has distressed me, as it has distressed my colleagues, that our repeated efforts to find a peaceful solution have met with no result. All our thought and energies during these years have been directed towards the building up of our country, economically, industrially, agriculturally and otherwise. We have planned on an extensive scale and we have even achieved substantial results. Apart from our desire to settle this old dispute regarding Kashmir, the fact of such a dispute comes in the way of our great constructive effort. We have been anxious to settle it and to settle it peacefully. It was for this reason that I welcomed meeting you both in Karachi and Delhi, because those meetings led me to think that a way out had been found. Unfortunately other developments took place which, for the moment at least, put a barrier to further progress. So far as my Government is

4. For letter to Eugene R. Black drafted by Nehru on 23 September 1951, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 16, Pt. II, pp. 369-372.

5. In his letter of 21 September Mohammad Ali stated that "... construction of new channels and extension or widening of the existing canals in India to effect increased withdrawals since Partition have been reported in the Indian press itself from time to time. These withdrawals cannot but impose a heavy burden on the supplies available in the Sutlej, the Beas and the Ravi rivers to the detriment of existing uses in Pakistan."



concerned, we are anxious and eager to settle this problem once for all and we can conceive of no method of settlement except that of a peaceful negotiation. We stand by all the commitments we have made.

9. What then has happened to come in the way? I have written about this to you on several occasions. The acceptance of American military aid by Pakistan is entirely a matter for your Government to decide as an independent country and it is not for me to question your right to do so. But such aid, both politically and militarily, brings certain consequences and I have ventured to point out these consequences. Among those consequences is an addition to a possible threat to Kashmir.<sup>6</sup> Both in law and otherwise, the Government of India have the responsibility for the defence of Kashmir and we cannot divest ourselves of it. Because of this, I pointed out that the question of quantum of forces had to be viewed in this new context. This is not a matter of personal goodwill on your part or on my part. I have no doubt about your personal goodwill and I hope you have none about mine. But, as a responsible Government, we have to fulfil our responsibilities. We have not forgotten what happened to Kashmir in the month of October 1947 when a sudden and brutal invasion took place. We need not go into the responsibility for this. The fact is that such an invasion took place and that it can easily take place because of geographical nearness and other factors. The Pakistan Government of the day stated that it had nothing to do with that invasion. Later this denial broke down under the stress of adequate proof, which was accepted by the UN Commission on Kashmir. But whatever the responsibility of the Pakistan Government was then, the fact of invasion and aggression was obvious and fully established. Are we to take a risk of that again, realising that this would lead to very serious consequences to both countries? That risk becomes far greater with additional military aid to Pakistan.

10. I fear that our approach to the Kashmir question, as our approach to many international questions, is not the same. If I write to you and your predecessor about a no-war declaration, that is in line with my view about world affairs also. As you know, we aid at creating a peace area because we think that this is a surer guarantee of security and peace than military or like pacts and agreements. That also produces an atmosphere for the settlement of disputes by peaceful negotiation.

6. In his letter of 21 September 1954, Mohammad Ali wrote that Nehru's attitude that India would have to maintain much larger forces in Kashmir during the plebiscite than previously in view of Pakistan's decision to receive military aid from the US "completely rules out any possibility of agreement between us on the question of demilitarization, since retention in the plebiscite area of armed forces of the size you envisage would destroy the very freedom of the plebiscite." Mohammad Ali added that in the circumstances there was "no scope left for further direct negotiations between you and me... This case must therefore revert to the Security Council."

11. I would again urge you to consider this matter dispassionately and to come to the conclusion, as I came long ago, that we can only settle our disputes between ourselves and by peaceful methods of negotiation, however long they might take. Peace is always better than conflict and a peaceful approach is always to be preferred to one based on military power. If that military strength is added to because of the help of a foreign Power, that confuses the issues still further and brings a new and dangerous factor into the situation because it reverses the growth of real freedom in the countries of Asia, for which we have all sought and struggled for so long.

12. I learn from the newspapers that you have left Karachi on your way to the United States of America. I am, however, sending this letter to Karachi and I hope that it will reach you wherever you are and that you will give earnest consideration to what I have written.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## (ii) China

### 1. Tibet and China<sup>1</sup>

The various questions raised in these notes and in Mr Kapur's<sup>2</sup> letter are important not only in themselves, but because they are concerned with much larger issues. Indeed, they are concerned with our wider policy towards China and our general world policy.

2. Naturally, the Tibetans have our sympathy. But that sympathy does not take us far and cannot be allowed to interfere with a realistic understanding of the situation and of our policy. I have an impression that Mr Kapur has not

1. Note to the Secretary General, Foreign Secretary and Joint Secretary. MEA, 18 June 1954. JN Collection.
2. B.K. Kapur (b.1910); political officer posted in Sikkim from March 1952 to February 1955; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 4, p. 160.



fully appreciated this wider policy of ours. It is necessary, therefore, that he and others concerned should understand it and should realise that this policy is the only one which might be helpful to the Tibetans, not in the measure perhaps that they desire, but to some extent. Any other policy of encouraging the Tibetans to oppose Chinese overlordship over Tibet would be raising false hopes in the Tibetans which we cannot fulfil and is likely to react unfavourably on the Tibetans. It would, of course, be opposed to the principles we have laid down in our recent Agreement with China.

3. Mr Kapur talks that the Chinese Government is not likely to be influenced by considerations of non-interference, etc. At the same time he hints that we should also not be influenced by any such considerations, except in so far as that we should not do anything which might create obvious difficulties for us. That is neither a moral nor a practical proposition.

4. No country can ultimately rely upon the permanent goodwill or bonafides of another country, even though they might be in close friendship with each other. It is conceivable that the Western Atlantic alliance may not function as it was intended to and there might be ill will between the countries concerned. It is not inconceivable that China and the Soviet Union may not continue to be as friendly as they are now. Certainly it is conceivable that our relations with China might worsen, though there is no immediate likelihood of that. Therefore, we have always to keep in mind the possibility of a change and not be taken unawares. Adequate precautions have to be taken. If we come to an agreement with China in regard to Tibet, that is not a permanent guarantee, but that itself is one major step to help us in the present and in the foreseeable future in various ways. If there is an agreement at Geneva about the problems of Indo-China and Korea, that is no guarantee about the future, but it is certainly a big step forward to lessen tension which enables the countries concerned to think more objectively and peacefully and perhaps find a surer basis for peace. In spite of that agreement they will not give up their suspicions or their preparations, but other factors will also come into the picture. At present an objective and realistic understanding is made almost impossible by emotional responses. The Russians and the Chinese are full of charges against "Western Imperialism" and aggression and all that. The Americans and others can only think in terms of Communist aggression and villainy, of international communism trying to dominate over the world, and so on. All this prevents intelligent thought. If we wish to discuss these matters helpfully, we must avoid certain terms which create powerful reactions in the mind, such as imperialists, communists and the like. I do not like Mr Kapur talking about Chinese communists, although they are communists. He should talk about the Chinese Government. In the same way, I do not like people talking about the Iron Curtain. The mere mention of these words confuses thought and shows that we are not considering a matter objectively.

5. Of course, both the Soviet Union and China are expansive. They are expansive for evils other than communism, although communism may be made a tool for the purpose. Chinese expansionism has been evident during various periods of Asian history for a thousand years or so. We are perhaps facing a new period of such expansionism. Let us consider that and fashion our policy to prevent it coming in the way of our interests or other interests that we consider important.

6. I can quite understand that many people in Tibet have been disappointed at the agreement between us in China over Tibet. This must be partly because of the colour put on it by the Chinese in Tibet. That agreement, however, was quite inevitable. It was a recognition of a certain factual situation which we could not possibly change. We have, in fact, at least got some advantage out of that agreement in other respects. If we had not had that agreement, the position would have been no better for us in Tibet and a little worse for the Tibetans. It certainly would have been worse for us from a wider point of view.

7. We must remember that our so-called interests in Tibet derive largely from our inheriting certain British interests to which they succeeded in establishing in the days of British expansionism. We became the inheritors of British imperialism to a slight extent. We were popular with the ruling classes of Tibet at this stage because they thought we would come in the way of Chinese expansionism. We could not do so in Tibet and we could not possibly hang on to privileges which had no meaning in the present state of affairs.

8. Mr Kapur says something about our not throwing cold water on various movements in Tibet against the Chinese though we should not associate ourselves with them, that we should allow them to simmer and not die out. Let us be clear about this. Whatever happens in Tibet proper is beyond our reach. We can neither help nor hinder it. The question is what we do in our own territory. Do we encourage this or not? It is clear that we cannot encourage it. At best we can tolerate it, provided it is not too obvious or aggressive. A very delicate balance will have to be kept up.

9. Kalimpong is and has been a nest of intrigues and spies. It is not only a centre of Tibetan emigres, but also of Communists (Chinese). Also of Americans, White Russians and many others. We tolerate all these persons and we can tolerate also the Tibetans of various kinds and views. But if any of these indulge in aggressive activities which might lead to violence, then obviously we cannot tolerate them. I am sure that the Tibetan emigres in Kalimpong, etc., are in close touch with the Americans, White Russians, etc., and are being encouraged by them with money and in other ways. In fact, I heard that there was a question of their collecting arms also. All this seems to me childish and totally unrealistic.

10. Even one of the major and much advertised efforts of the Americans to bring down the People's Government of China through Formosa is now recognised



to be futile. Is it then in the slightest degree conceivable that some petty violent effort organised by Tibetans and others on our border would produce results in Tibet? This can only be thought of in terms of some aggressive Americans as a diversion from their larger world policy or in case a big war occurs. From the Tibetan point of view, it can only prove harmful. There is not the least chance in the world of China leaving Tibet or being driven out of Tibet, unless China is defeated in war. Of that there appears to be no chance. Therefore, these adventurous tactics beyond the borders of Tibet have no meaning and can only embarrass and prove harmful. We need not come in the way if they are peaceful and unobtrusive. but I quite agree with SG that we should explain our policy and the world situation to the people from Tibet so that they may not misunderstand us. It is clear that if they indulge in any aggressive action and the Chinese Government complains to us, we shall have no alternative left but to take some steps against them, at any rate to curb them. We shall certainly not hand them over to the Chinese State, because they have a right of asylum in our country and we can give them the fullest assurance about this. At the same time we cannot permit our territory to be used as a base of operations against the Chinese.

11. The real argument in favour of Tibetan freedom or autonomy is the nature of the country. It is most inhospitable to others, it cannot maintain large numbers of foreigners and the like. If the Tibetans are stout enough to keep up a spirit of freedom, they will maintain a large measure of autonomy and the Chinese will not interfere. If the Tibetans actively rebel, they will be ruthlessly put down by the Chinese and even their autonomy will go. They are between the Soviet Union and China and one or other of these two Powers will have a dominating political influence there. We in India cannot exercise it for geographical as well as other reasons. As a friendly Power to China we can be helpful occasionally in the diplomatic field.

12. The brother of the Dalai Lama,<sup>3</sup> whom I met some years ago, is obviously connected with various under-ground activities. Some time back we warned our officers not to get entangled in them. That warning should be given again. That does not mean that we should be unfriendly to him. It simply means that we should be friendly and frank and should explain the limitations of the position.

13. We must remember that Tibet has been cut off from the world for a long time and, socially speaking, is very backward and feudal. Changes are bound to come there to the disadvantage of the small ruling class and the big monasteries. Religion may continue to be a powerful force to hold the Tibetans together, but social forces are also powerful. Thus far the Chinese have been careful not to interfere with social customs, religion, etc. So far as I know,

3. Dalai Lama (b. 1935); temporal and spiritual leader of Tibet; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 16, Pt. II, p. 647.

they have not even interfered with the land system which is feudal. I can very well understand these feudal chiefs being annoyed with the new order. We can hardly stand up as defenders of feudalism.

14. I want to make one thing perfectly clear, and this should be made clear to the Tibetans who are in India, that there is no question of our handing them over to the Chinese. They have every right to live in India or to seek asylum in India and we shall respect that.

15. As regards the Tibetan Mission in Kalimpong, we need not take any step about it and so far as we are concerned, they can continue for the present, but I rather doubt if they will be allowed to continue by the Chinese authorities. We must make sure, however, that the Tibetan Mission, as the Joint Secretary says, is not used as a cover for something else.

16. As regards the Dalai Lama's treasure which is now in Gangtok, I do not see the point of transferring it to Calcutta or elsewhere. First of all we have no direct knowledge of the Dalai Lama's wishes. Secondly, so long as it is in India, it does not much matter whether it is in Gangtok or in Calcutta. It is under our control. If adequate guards are not there, we should make arrangements for proper protection. Any attempt to move it will probably get some kind of publicity. It is far better to allow this matter to lie low. If at any time the Chinese claim it, then we shall have to consider what we should do about it. For the present, our view should be that it is a private treasure of the Dalai Lama and it is for the Dalai Lama to dispose of it.

17. Our policy thus should be an observance, in letter and spirit, of our agreement with China in regard to Tibet; at the same time we continue our friendly feelings for Tibet and her people and make it clear that our traditional friendship with them continues. This, however, cannot lead us to any course of action which is against our agreement with China and which we think will be harmful even to Tibet and her people. For the rest, we have to be vigilant and wide awake.

18. SG suggests a holiday camp for soldiers at Kalimpong. This is not a bad idea and it might be investigated.

19. Our general position as contained in this note should be explained to Mr Kapur.

20. Mr Mullik,<sup>4</sup> the DIB, should also be made to understand it. I shall be seeing him also. We have to be very careful about our activities in Kalimpong because of the espionage and counter-espionage that is continually going on there.

4. Bhola Nath Mullik (b. 1905); joined the Indian Police in 1927 and served in various capacities in Bihar and Orissa; Director, Intelligence Bureau, Government of India, 1950-64; author of several books including, *My Years with Nehru: The Chinese Betrayal*, 1971 and *My Years with Nehru: Kashmir*, 1971.



## 2. Trade and Frontier with China<sup>1</sup>

I have read the fuller report of Dr K. Gopalachari<sup>2</sup> on the Sino-Indian Conference held in Peking.<sup>3</sup> This report is a good one and gives a detailed account of the background as well as of the negotiations.

2. Since this Agreement was concluded, an important event has taken place affecting the relations of India and China. This is the visit of Mr Chou En-lai to Delhi, the talks he had with us and the joint statement issued at the end of these talks.<sup>4</sup> This visit and the joint statement undoubtedly mark an important step forward in our relations with China.

3. I have previously written on several occasions about our general approach to China and Tibet. I need not say anything more about it here. I agree with the approach indicated in Joint Secretary's note.

4. The Agreement between India and China over Tibet marks a new starting point for our relations with China and Tibet.<sup>5</sup> The previous agreements have only a certain historical importance now. In any future consideration of this matter, the basis will be our Agreement of 1954.

5. We must work this Agreement with the full intention of giving effect to it. That is to say, we must work it in a friendly way, friendly to China and Tibet. This means that all our Officers, Trade Agents etc. who have to deal with matters concerning Tibet, must understand our basic policy and must realise that they have to function in accordance with not only this Agreement but in keeping with that basic policy of ours vis-a-vis China. Our Consul-General in Lhasa as well as our Trade Agent and officers at check-posts should be made

1. Note to the Secretary General and the Foreign Secretary. 1 July 1954. JN Collection.
2. Adviser to N. Raghavan, the Ambassador who led the Indian Delegation at the Conference.
3. The reference is to the negotiations between the officials at Beijing between 31 December 1953 and 29 April 1954 when the Agreement on Tibet was signed by India and China.
4. For text of the joint statement issued after talks between Nehru and Chou En-lai in New Delhi on 28 June 1954, see *ante* pp. 410-412.
5. When the issue of selling rice to China came up, Nehru wrote a note to the Foreign Secretary (not printed.) on 25 July 1954: "I am clearly of opinion that we should agree to sell rice to China almost in any quantity. We have got large stocks... If the Chinese want to send rice to Tibet we should not object to it... Our selling rice to China... will indicate our healthy food position and that of China in this respect...."

to appreciate this fully. I agree that Trade Agents etc. should be carefully chosen. But I doubt if it is necessary to have a special cadre of officers for the border region. This may be examined. While there is a certain advantage in having special cadres for specialised posts, there is also the disadvantage of having too many such special cadres. Specialisation is good, but, there is always the danger of the specialists losing sight of the larger picture.

6. In future, we should give up references, except in some historical context, to the McMahon Line or to any other frontier line by date or otherwise. We should simply refer to our frontier. Indeed, the use of the name McMahon is unfortunate and takes us back to the British days of expansion.

7. All our old maps dealing with this frontier should be carefully examined and, where necessary, withdrawn. New maps should be printed showing our Northern and North Eastern frontier without any reference to any "line". These new maps should also not state there is any undemarcated territory. The new maps should be sent to our Embassies abroad and should be introduced to the public generally and be used in our schools, colleges etc.

8. Both as flowing from our policy and as a consequence of our Agreement with China, this frontier should be considered a firm and definite one which is not open to discussion with anybody. There may be very minor points of discussion. Even these should not be raised by us. It is necessary that the system of check-posts should be spread along this entire frontier. More especially, we should have check-posts in such places as might be considered disputed areas.

9. Our frontier has been finalised not only by implication in this Agreement but the specific passes mentioned are direct recognitions of our frontier there. Check-posts are necessary not only to control traffic, prevent unauthorised infiltration but as symbols of India's frontier. As Demchok is considered by the Chinese as a disputed territory, we should locate a check-post there. So also at Tsang Chokla.

10. In particular, we should have proper check-posts along the UP-Tibet border and on the passes etc. leading to Joshi Math, Badrinath etc.

11. The Joint Secretary in his note has mentioned the possibility of our increasing the strength of our garrisons at some of our border towns such as Gangtok, Leh, Simla, Almora etc. I do not think this is necessary from the point of view of guarding this North Eastern frontier. In Leh, we have adequate forces. Round about Simla in the Punjab, we have also quite adequate forces. But, apart from this, I do not consider it at all necessary to keep large contingents of our forces near this border area. Apart from check-posts, we should have some kind of border militia. I like the idea that this Border Militia should be raised locally and used for the construction of roads etc. This will not only give a sensation of security to the people there but add to their self-respect. These people in the Border Militia would be the leaders in their villages and



they could help greatly in organising construction work with voluntary labour etc. It is not necessary for this Border Militia to have a high standard of professional efficiency such as our Border Scouts or the Assam Rifles have. It seems to me important that one of their principal duties should be that of construction, cottage industries and the like. This would be an innovation for us but it is a right and natural development. The Defence Ministry should be requested to examine this matter.

12. I think that we should definitely encourage trade with Tibet. There has been some hesitation on our part to do so and some items have been practically banned. I do not see why we should ban any item except arms and ammunition, or anything in which we are in short supply. Tibet is a natural market for India. It is not a big market from the point of view of quantity. We should retain this market and supply them with various quantities of manufactured goods that they require. We must not think that by doing this we are strengthening China's control over Tibet. The small trade that will take place in this way will make little difference to the political or the military aspect. From the economic and psychological points of view, it will be advantageous to us.

13. We have stated previously that we cannot allow much trade on the ground of transport difficulties. That seems to me a wrong way to put it. We should allow as much trade as possible. If transport difficulties come in the way, they will limit the trade. It is not for us to plead transport difficulties and refuse permission for trade. Therefore, we should agree to free and unrestricted transit of goods to Tibet through India subject only to our own demand and supply position. Naturally the quantity sent to Tibet will be limited by transport difficulties.

14. As a matter of fact, the demand in Tibet for some articles is so great that these are smuggled across the Nepal-Tibet frontier, and they fetch fantastic prices in Tibet. Articles like bicycles, radios, textiles and any number of other things could easily be sent to Tibet through our normal channels.

15. There has been a certain reluctance in sending petrol across. The apprehension was that this would be used by the Chinese Army. We have sent small quantities of petrol. I think we should be prepared to increase these quantities. In any event, the total quantity sent is not likely to be much. The petrol that is smuggled through Nepal to Tibet sells there, I am told, at Rs 50 a gallon! Oil lubricants can also be sent. In fact, we should develop a normal and healthy trade with Tibet. This will be advantageous also to our border people.

16. As I have said above, we need not raise the question of our frontier. But, if we find that the Chinese maps continue to indicate that part of our territory is on their side, then we shall have to point this out to the Chinese Government. We need not do this immediately, but we should not put up with this for long and the matter will have to be taken up.

17. As this note deals with defence as well as trade matters, I am sending copies of it to the Ministries of Defence and Commerce and Industry.

### 3. To Chou En-lai<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
September 21, 1954

My dear Prime Minister,

I have now received from our Ambassador in Peking Your Excellency's letter dated August 25, 1954, conveying on behalf of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, an invitation <sup>2</sup> to me to visit China.<sup>3</sup> I have already communicated through our Ambassador my acceptance of your kind invitation, and wish to express to you once again my grateful thanks for the opportunity afforded me of visiting your great country.<sup>4</sup> It was a great pleasure for all of us to meet Your Excellency in Delhi last June, and I shall be very happy to renew the contacts then made and to meet His Excellency the Chairman and other members of the Central People's Government in Peking.

You have been good enough to leave to me to indicate a date for the visit which would suit my convenience. I have accordingly communicated to you through our Ambassador my proposals in this regard, and I am glad to know that these have been found acceptable to you.

Allow me, Your Excellency, to avail myself of this opportunity to express my highest regard.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Earlier Chou En-lai who had extended a similar invitation to U Nu and agreed to Nu's request for a joint visit, wished to know Nehru's views on this.
3. Nehru in a cable of 27 August asked N. Raghavan, Ambassador in China, to explain to Chou En-lai, that while it was "a pleasure to me to be with Premier Nu... the two of us coming together to Peking at this juncture would rather look like a conference and would take away from other aspects of this visit. It would be better if we visited Peking separately and had full talks there. Inevitably there is some difference between two persons meeting and three." On 30 August U Nu sent a message agreeing with Nehru that "a joint visit might create misunderstandings.... We could even be accused of definite alignment as against SEATO..."
4. Nehru visited the People's Republic of China from 18 October to 2 November 1954.



## (iii) Nepal

1. To M.P. Koirala<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

June 4, 1954

My dear Maitrika Babu,<sup>2</sup>

As you know, we had full discussions with some of your Ministers who came here a little while ago about various matters. I also had several talks with His Majesty the King.<sup>3</sup>

As a result of these discussions, a number of matters were settled and we took action accordingly. We have agreed to give very considerable financial help to the Nepal Government for developmental and like purposes.<sup>4</sup> We have done this because of our keen desire to help your government and to see that it makes good. In fact, what we have done for Nepal, we would hesitate to do in that way for any of our own States. The strain on our financial resources is very great because of our own developmental programmes. We do not expect much help from outside. Indeed, we may not get any at all and we are not anxious to get it. We are following an independent policy in world affairs which is not to the liking of some other governments. We do not therefore wish to rely upon them for financial help.

This has cast a great burden upon us. We shall shoulder it anyhow. I am merely mentioning this to you to point out how, in spite of our financial burdens and in spite of numerous demands from every State in India, we agreed to help the Nepal Government in a variety of ways. Naturally, we want our money to be utilised to the fullest extent for development and not to be wasted in any way.

1. JN Collection.

2. (b. 1912); Prime Minister of Nepal; also see *Selected Works* (second series). Vol. 2, p. 476. In February 1954 M.P. Koirala became the head of a Coalition Government comprising of his Rashtriya Praja Party, Praja Parishad, Nepali Congress under D.R. Regmi, All-Nepal Jana Congress and independents.

3. Tribhuvan Bir Bikram Shah.

4. The Government of India was committed to give Nepal Rs.7 crore in aid mostly as grant and with no conditions attached. The aid programme included the building of Tribhuvan Rajpath, Gauchar airport, minor irrigation works, Trisuli Hydro-electric project, hospital equipment and the running of health schemes, ammonium sulphate for grow more food campaign, assistance to Indian Military Mission, scholarships and geological survey of Nepal. Rs. 1.5 crore had already been spent by September 1954.

When your Ministers were here, we discussed the coordination of our foreign policies and there was complete agreement on a note we had prepared.<sup>5</sup> Copy of this note was sent to you also. I have not heard again on this subject.

We sent Shri Shankar Prasada,<sup>6</sup> Chairman of the Indian Airlines Corporation, and Shri Jain<sup>7</sup> to discuss the question of air transport within Nepal.<sup>8</sup> I understand that an Air Agreement was practically arrived at when this was postponed at the last moment. The visit of our two chief men to Kathmandu was thus, in a sense, wasted. It seems to me that there is a vital difference in the way we look at such matters and the Nepal Government's approach to them. We consider these public services from which private interests should be kept out. We have therefore made this a public corporation and acquired all private interests. In Nepal private interests seem to dominate the scene. That is, of course, the business of the Nepal Government and we have no wish to interfere. But we see no reason to get tied up ourselves with private interests elsewhere when we have avoided this in our own country.

The recent incident in Kathmandu, when our MPs arrived there and were met by a hostile demonstration,<sup>9</sup> has produced strong reactions in India. I must say that I have been powerfully affected by it too. I am not afraid of demonstrations, but the whole background of Nepal appears to me so weak and inefficient that I cannot get a grip of it. I was not at all anxious that our MPs should go there. Nevertheless, since they went, we expected that there would be no demonstrations and scenes. I know that your Government is not responsible for this and has expressed its regret. I know that it is the Nepali Congress and the Gorkha Parishad, may be helped by foreign money, which has done this, although they may deny it later. But the fact remains that India is insulted in this way. I would not tolerate this in any country in the world, however powerful it might be.

I am told that there is little harmony in your Cabinet and intrigues continue for personal advancement. When your Ministers were here, I spoke to them, in the presence of the King, about harmony and working and efficiency and integrity and all that. They all agreed.

5. There was no formal confirmation of an aide memoire on foreign policy which had been sent through D.R. Regmi, the Foreign Minister.
6. (b. 1905); chairman, Indian Airlines Corporation and Air India International, 1954-58; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 7, p. 30
7. Lakshmi Chandra Jain (b. 1910); Director-General, Civil Aviation, Government of India, 1953-57; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 4, p.585.
8. Both the persons had arrived in Kathmandu on 24 May 1954.
9. When a goodwill delegation of nine members of Indian Parliament arrived at Gauchar airport, Kathmandu on 28 May 1954, they were met with black flag demonstrations, anti-India slogans and stone throwing by Nepali students and others. Shortly thereafter Gorkha Parishad leaders, Mrigendra Shamshere and his sons Bharat and Jagdish, were arrested for their alleged complicity in the demonstrations.



You will appreciate that it is not surprising that I have a feeling that India is not getting a fair deal in Nepal. We go all out to help the Nepal Government, financially and otherwise, and yet our people are subjected to insults there and intrigues against India continue. In addition, progress in any direction is remarkably slow. I am disturbed and distressed by all this and therefore I am writing to you quite frankly on this subject.

The world is in the grip of a very grave crisis and no one knows what the decision at the Geneva Conference may be within the next few weeks. This may lead to a grave worsening of the international situation or to an easing of it. The chances are fifty-fifty. At this moment no country can afford to slacken or to have a weak government.

I should like you to give consideration to these matters and to write to me frankly as to what your own views are. It is not good for Nepal or for India to drift aimlessly when the world faces a crisis.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 2. To M.P. Koirala<sup>1</sup>

Camp: Mashobra  
June 29, 1954

My dear Maitrika Babu,

Thank you for your letter of June 24th.

I have written to you previously quite frankly, as I thought that there should be no reservation between friends. I was disturbed at various developments in Nepal, and, more particularly, at what I felt was the very slow pace of governmental motion in Nepal. I felt sure that you would not mind my writing to you frankly.

I feel that both from the short distance and the long distance points of view it is necessary for this pace to be quickened. The progress in a country depends, of course, on all kinds of schemes and projects which often require money. But, I am convinced that the basic element is to create a certain psychology in the people. This is partly helped by the schemes and projects, but in reality it depends on other factors. The major one is a direct and continuous approach to the people. It is always a dangerous thing to allow

opponents to get the lead with the people in their propaganda and their approach. They must be met on their own ground and in a spirit of some aggression, so far as this approach to the public is concerned. If the public begins to think that there is some fear in the mind of the Government, then they react to it badly. The Government should have courage and strength to deal with matters rapidly and effectively and then to explain them to the public.

I think a substantial step has been taken by you in starting the Advisory Assembly.<sup>2</sup> This gives an outlet to public feeling and brings you in contact with it. I would suggest that other and more direct contacts with the public are also needed. Also a feeling of effectiveness and integrity in the administration....

As you know, I have had long talks with the Prime Minister of the People's Government of China, Chou En-lai.<sup>3</sup> These covered a great deal of ground and I believe we came to understand each other to some extent. I was favourably impressed by Chou En-lai. He is a person of high intelligence and receptiveness to ideas. He is by no means the narrow-minded person that Communists often are. He was anxious to understand the position in South and South-East Asia and he told me frankly that he did not know very much about these various countries and wanted me to enlighten him. He also told me that India was economically and industrially more advanced than China. His saying so had some significance and showed that he took an open view.

I think he was considerably impressed not only by our talks, but also by what he saw in India during his brief visit. He saw friendliness both in the Government and in the people without any trace of fear. He saw also that we had a definite policy which, though friendly to China, nevertheless, was based on our own thinking and experience. He was anxious to assure me of the peaceful intentions of his Government in Asia and of his desire for a peaceful settlement in Indo-China and elsewhere.

Nepal was not mentioned in our talks. This was partly due to lack of time because other subjects took up all the time. But it was really due to my not mentioning Nepal deliberately. I thought it best not to bring it up in any form. I discussed, however, quite frankly the mischief that was caused by local Communist parties in countries and the apprehension in many of these countries of what is called 'international communism'. He told me that he thought these local Communist parties were very foolish and that there was no question

2. A nominated Advisory Assembly convened in April 1954 was boycotted by the Nepali Congress which alleged that the representation of the parties in the council bore no relation to the political situation. Gokhale the Indian Ambassador reported in June 1954 that Koirala had "grown in stature" and his speeches in the Assembly had "earned him high praise."
3. For the text of Nehru's conversation with Chou En-lai, see *ante* pp. 366-396 and 398-406.



whatever of trying to create trouble in other countries. They were anxious to avoid this....

Altogether, my talks with Chou En-lai brought both of us much nearer to one another and it would be easier in future for us to discuss matters freely and, wherever possible, to cooperate.

I hope that this brief summary of my talks with Chou En-lai will be of help to you. So far as the establishment of diplomatic relations between Nepal and China is concerned, I think that your past and present policy is the correct one and you should not encourage this at this stage or in the near future.

If the King goes to Calcutta for further treatment,<sup>4</sup> we shall, of course, be happy to give every facility and help. We are very anxious that he should recover his health. I hope you will convey to him my greetings and good wishes and my hope that he will be soon well again.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. The King who had been to Europe from 21 September 1953 to 16 January 1954, to undergo medical treatment for cardiac problems, became indisposed again in the first week of June 1954.

### 3. To B.K. Gokhale<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 6, 1954

My dear Gokhale,<sup>2</sup>

I returned to Delhi yesterday and received a bunch of letters from you. There are five of them, all dated June 29th, 1954. These letters deal with a variety of subjects and problems. They will be naturally considered carefully in our Ministry. Meanwhile, I am giving you some of my reactions immediately in regard to some matters mentioned in them.

2. My general feeling about Nepal for some time past has been that while we should give help to the best of our ability, it would be quite wrong for us to go too far in this direction and make it appear that we are trying to win

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. (1892-1973); Ambassador of India in Nepal, 1952-55; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 19, p. 564.

Nepalese goodwill in this way. There are of course limits to what we can do in Nepal in the shape of help. There are tremendous demands upon us from all over the country and we just cannot pour money into Nepal in the hope that this will bring results. We can and should help Nepal in a decent way. It is obvious that we cannot compete with the Americans in this matter. They have infinite resources.

3. Apart from our own financial difficulties, I think it would be psychologically wrong to promote, what I called some time ago, a one-way traffic. This kind of thing develops on the other side into some kind of a blackmail. They curse us and frighten us and then, in a sense, we pay hush money hoping that this would create a good effect. What happens is that we get more curses and then we have to pay more money to please them. This is not good enough. I repeat we shall help them within reason and no more, and even that help we shall delay or stop if there is misbehaviour in Nepal towards us. I indicated our general approach and policy towards Nepal in my letter to M.P. Koirala,<sup>3</sup> which, you said, created a sensation. That will be our policy and we are going to be firm about it. I am not in the least bit afraid of the Gurkha Parishad, the Nepali Congress or the Ranas or B.P. Koirala<sup>4</sup> or the Americans or the British in Nepal or all of them put together. I do not see why we should act in a frightened way. Nepal, or rather some people in Nepal, can be mischievous and do us harm. But if they go too far, they are likely to injure themselves much more. If it comes to a final test, we can, if we so choose, prevent Americans or others from functioning there. I would not hesitate to do so if matters came to a crisis. People in Nepal forget that India is on three sides of the country and the fourth is Tibet.

4. Therefore, any policy that we pursue in Nepal should be friendly, helpful, but at the same time very definitely firm and dignified, and it should be made perfectly clear that there are limits to our patience and we are not going to be browbeaten by the Gurkha Parishad or the Nepali Congress or anybody else.

5. Because of this, I do not see why we should go out of our way to ask the Nepal Government how long they want our Military Mission there.<sup>5</sup> The

3. See *ante*, pp. 485-487.

4. (1914-1982), led an armed struggle which resulted in the overthrow of the Rana regime in 1950; was leader of Nepali Congress, the main opposition party at this time; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 2, p. 479.

5. The Indian Military Mission went to Nepal in February 1952 at the invitation of the Government of Nepal to reorganise and train the personnel of the Nepalese Army. The work of reorganisation was over and the Mission was preoccupied with the training programme at this time. Pay and allowances of the officials were wholly borne by India. All Indian officers functioned in a consultative capacity and had no executive authority delegated to them by Nepal.



Military Mission is there and will continue there.<sup>6</sup> When they want it to go away, we shall consider what we should do. The fact that the Gorkha Parishad or others agitate against this, has not the slightest effect on me.

6. You refer to the ban of the Communist Party in Nepal.<sup>7</sup> I had vaguely heard of this and had forgotten it. We are in no way concerned with it. The Nepal Government can keep the ban or remove it, just as they like. You should make it perfectly clear to the Nepal Government that we are not concerned with this matter in the slightest and they can decide about the ban as they like. I am inclined to agree with you that if the ban is not effective, as it is not, there is no point in keeping it.

7. I agree with you also that if there is no present or near danger to Nepal from the so-called Communists. A far greater danger is from the Americans. You refer to the Anglo-American bloc. I do not think there is any bloc in so far as Nepal is concerned, though it is quite possible, as you say, that Colonel Proud<sup>8</sup> is hand in glove with the Americans in discrediting India....

9. I am inclined to agree with you that there is no need to enact a Foreigners Registration Act in Nepal. It will not be given effect to. If the Nepal Government wishes to check foreigners, they can easily do so by restricting visas to them...

11. I am prepared to object to the British setting up a wireless transmitting station in East Nepal and yet to maintain our own wireless transmitters near the Nepal border. We have made it perfectly clear to every country that we have special interests in Nepal and that we are not going to tolerate other countries' special interests there. Repeatedly the Nepal Government has asked us for permission for their troops to cross Indian territory. Sometimes we have had joint operations with them. All these necessitate our presence at Biratnagar, Birganj and Palpa etc., and having wireless transmitters, both from the point of view of Nepal and India.

12. We expect you to send us such information as you get about American or British or other activities in Nepal. We realise that this information cannot be backed up by legal proof. At the same time there must be some non-legal nevertheless reliable, proof for this. Otherwise, if we take action, we might be placed in a difficult position. You should send us all the information you can

6. Gokhale had suggested that in view of intensified agitation by the Nepali Congress and the Gorkha Parishad against the Military Mission, India should ask Nepal for what period they would like the Mission to continue.
7. Gokhale wrote that the ban on the Communist Party of Nepal imposed two years ago, though ineffective, helped the Communists to work under the halo of a banned organization, play up the theme of Indian interference and cooperate with the Gorkha Parishad and the Nepali Congress in their attacks against the present Government in Nepal.
8. Colonel Proud, First Secretary of the British Embassy in Kathmandu and an old officer of the Gorkha Regiment, had been in Nepal for the last six years.

get but state always the degree of reliability that we might attach to it. One good instance is of course worth any number of vague charges. We have no hesitation in speaking to the British or American Mission here about it, whenever we consider this necessary....

13. I am glad to know that the Advisory Council is gaining strength. I should like them to go ahead with the income-tax and land reform proposals in Nepal and not be afraid of the Ranas or others.

14. I am rather surprised to learn from your letter that Nepalese citizens are eligible for all appointments under the Government of India and that they enjoy full citizenship rights in India. I did not know this.

15. You refer to all kinds of plots, etc., being hatched at what you call "all-night" and "all-white" parties. Are the Ranas included in the "all-whites"?<sup>9</sup>

16. These intrigues are interesting and we should of course keep ourselves fully informed. But all this is so infantile and adventurist that I am not impressed. India is not quite so weak or feeble as to be insulted or treated insolently by anybody in Nepal, whether Nepalese, or British or American. If there is any violent group in Nepal against India, we shall not remain silent or passive.

17. These people in Nepal, who think and talk mischief, are cowards. They should be made to realise, politely but firmly, that there are some things we will not tolerate and we will take necessary action if people misbehave against India. You say that Regmi made some very foolish statements in your presence about opposing our foreign policy if he ceases to be Minister.<sup>10</sup> Also at hinting that some of our men might be assaulted if they went into the bazaar of Kathmandu. I do not mind very much if one or two of our men are assaulted. We have to take these risks. But if they are assaulted, Mr Regmi and others might regret it. The point is that we cannot adopt a soft and frightened policy with this crowd. I have become convinced that only a firm policy will pay. Therefore, I am opposed to any withdrawal from our check-posts, or our Military Mission, or our Trade Agents or our wireless instruments or in any other way.<sup>11</sup> They will have to put up with us even if they do not like us. If we decide to leave any time in future, it will be with dignity and not under threats.

9. Gokhale reported that at these parties of Ranas and "white men", plans were hatched to arrest M.P. Koirala and set up a dictatorship of the Gorkha Parishad and the Nepali Congress or alternatively a military dictatorship.

10. Regmi, the Foreign Minister, had made these remarks when a delegation of the Indian Members of Parliament had called on him on 30 May 1954.

11. The Gorkha Parishad and the Nepali Congress were agitating against the check-posts on Nepal-Tibet border, set up at India's instance and manned by Indian policemen working for Nepal; and wireless transmitters at the offices of Indian Assistant Commercial Attaches in Biratnagar, Birganj and Palpa in Nepal.



18. Your list of matters to be taken up under technical aid will be examined. I agree with you that the Tribhuvan Rajpath<sup>12</sup> must be expedited. I also think that it would be a good idea to utilise our Gurkha soldiers for work in Nepal.<sup>13</sup>

19. You say that unfortunately a feeling is growing both amongst Nepalese and Indians in Kathmandu that the staff of the Indian Airlines Corporation are unduly cautious and over-emphasize safety regulations.<sup>14</sup> Whatever the Nepalese and others may feel about this, our instructions are that they should be over-cautious and they will continue to be so. I am surprised that you should even suggest that in order to please some foolish Nepalese, we should lessen our security arrangements.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

12. The construction of the Tribhuvan Rajpath, the first seventy-nine mile long all weather motor-road, linking Kathmandu with Raxaul on the Indian frontier, began in 1952. Work on the highway was progressing under the supervision of Indian engineers with funds provided by Indian Government. About 3,500 Nepalis were employed on this construction in June 1954. The expenditure incurred on this project was converted into outright grants to Nepal under the Colombo Plan.
13. Gokhale had hoped for approval of a scheme, to come into operation from October 1954, under which the Gurkha soldiers of India would be utilized for welfare work and propaganda amongst ex-servicemen in the eastern and western hills inhabited by the Gurkhas. This was essential to counter a rival union, which created disaffection against India.
14. Gokhale reported that there were some occasions when IAC planes were not able to stick to schedule owing to weather conditions although Jain Airways had no difficulty in taking off or landing at Kathmandu.

#### 4. Meeting with the Nepalese Ambassador<sup>1</sup>

The Nepalese Ambassador<sup>2</sup> came to see me this afternoon and handed me the attached letter from the Prime Minister, Nepal....

4. I told him that it is very odd about mountaineering and scientific expeditions all wanting to go to Nepal. This raises a good deal of suspicion in my mind and I should like to discourage them. The Japanese mountaineering

1. Note to Secretary General, MEA, 25 August 1954. JN Collection. Extracts.  
2. Mahendra Vikram Shah.

expedition did very little real mountaineering. Probably it was financed by Americans. All this made me think that the real object had nothing to do with scientific expeditions or mountaineering and that these people were surveying these areas and doing some kind of intelligence work. This should not be encouraged. I would advise the Nepal Government to say quite frankly that in the conditions in Nepal at present they did not wish these foreign expeditions to visit various parts of the country. Each expedition was a burden to them as it meant making special security and other arrangements. It will be better for any real scientific expedition to come at a more favourable time much later.

5. About the Chinese Ambassador's<sup>3</sup> suggestion, I reminded him of what the King of Nepal had done in the matter. The King had pointed out to the Chinese Ambassador then that if a Chinese Embassy was opened there, this would lead to a formal establishment of an American Embassy, which they did not wish to have. It was true that there were Americans working there in various ways but the establishment of an American Embassy would add largely to their number and their activity.

6. The same answer was given to the Americans....

3. Yuan Chung-hsien.

## 5. To M.P. Koirala<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

August 30, 1954

My dear Maitrika Prasadji,

Thank you for your letter of the 21st August which you have sent from your Nursing Home.

I have been much concerned about your health. I am glad that the operation for appendicitis was successfully performed<sup>2</sup> and that you are now recovering from it. I hope that you will soon be quite fit again and will be able to return to Nepal.

It has been unfortunate that both the King and you should be unwell at the same time. At a difficult moment in Nepal the lack of a guiding hand makes a great difference. I note what you say about your talks with B.P. Koirala. This is a matter entirely for you to judge. It is difficult for me to understand the variations in personal attitudes and contexts in Nepal. I can, I think, form a fairly good appraisal of various social and other forces at work. But where it

1. JN Collection.

2. In Calcutta.



becomes the question of politics of individuals, I feel a little at sea. If your talks with B.P. Koirala yield any satisfactory result, I should be happy. The way to judge such a result is not in individual terms, but in the effectiveness of Government functioning later.

In Nepal, forces which had been kept in check for a hundred years or so were released four years ago. This took place before a proper discipline or training could develop. The whole background was authoritarian and lacking integrity. The problem therefore was a very difficult one. No one could expect miraculous changes suddenly. But one did hope for a foundation to be laid for political, administrative and economic progress. Unfortunately, there was so much friction at the top and personal rivalries that these major problems could not be tackled effectively. The record of the past four years has thus been a somewhat disappointing one from the point of view of these basic foundations being laid. Your country has, no doubt, made some progress. I do not measure that progress from the number of petty developments that might have taken place and which may be good in themselves. The test is the growing discipline, competence and integrity in the functioning of the governmental apparatus. It is for you to judge what progress has been made in this direction. I often think that the old legacy of the Rana period still pursues Nepal and it has not been easy to get rid of it.

You mention in your letter some friction in your Cabinet. Occasional difference of views, or even friction, does no great harm, provided there is this basic unity and discipline. In my Cabinet here we have a number of top-ranking and able men. We differ often, but that itself does not really come in the way of our joint working. Before Parliament and the public we are a united team.

So far as the public is concerned, it naturally takes time to develop democratic discipline. But some progress to that end should be made. That usually comes from an effective functioning of Government at the top which percolates down to lower levels and ultimately to the public. Efficiency and integrity are the basic things. Even policy is a secondary matter, although important.

I hope therefore that you will lay the greatest stress on this efficiency and integrity and deal heavily with incompetence and even more so with lack of integrity. Nothing will strengthen your Government so much as a feeling in the public that incompetence and corruption are not tolerated. Our people, whether in India or in Nepal, attach more importance to integrity than perhaps in many other countries. A man who has the reputation for integrity will be believed in and given opportunity to work. If that belief is lacking, then even his good work will count for little in the eyes of the public.

I have ventured to point out to you in the past the necessity for getting rid of some of the old customs of the Rana regime—flaunting luxury, big parties, night clubs, indulgence in alcoholic drinks and the like. These may not be

important from the individual point of view, but socially speaking they have a great importance.

In this connection I should like to mention, if you will not mind, the reputation which your Inspector-General of Police has got. He has a bad reputation and for a disciplined force this is an exceedingly bad example.

In a country like Nepal, obviously, the Army and the Police have an important part to play. I am glad that a certain discipline and efficiency has come to some sections of your Army. I am sure you would like the Police also to be made a strong and disciplined force. At your request, we have sent a Police officer from here. I do not quite know what work he has done thus far. In such matters an officer at the top may do some good, but it is easier to bring about that discipline with a small team consisting of lower grades of personnel. This is more or less the approach we have made in the Army and that approach, though of course on a much smaller scale, might be equally effective in the Police.

Nepal, like India, has been affected by tremendous floods. So far as we are concerned, we have never had anything like the floods we are having now in the UP, in Bihar, West Bengal and Assam. We have nearly a thousand miles of flooded area, and the burden of this is very great upon us, both in the present and in the future. We shall, of course, try to help you to the best of our ability, but our resources are very severely strained.

So far as our resources in trained personnel are concerned, we have undertaken a tremendous burden in Indo-China where we are sending one hundred and fifty officers, civil and military. This has led to our reducing our officer personnel in India greatly and we are hard put to it how to meet this situation.

However, whatever our difficulties, we shall do our utmost to help you in Nepal.<sup>3</sup> But if we send any of our good officers there, I hope that he is fully utilised. If he is not so utilised, then he is being wasted to some extent there when he can be much more effectively used in India. Therefore, I am anxious that the officers we have lent to you should be made to give good work. That they can do only if they are given the opportunity and the cooperation of your officials and others in Nepal.

We have sent you Bhatia<sup>4</sup> and two or three others. Bhatia is a good man,

3. A Directorate of Aid Programme consisting of one director and four officers, was established in early 1954, to deal with India's aid programme in a coordinated manner in close cooperation with Nepalese officials. The four officials with special knowledge of police, law, engineering and parliamentary procedure had been sent on the specific request of the Government of Nepal.

4. K.B. Bhatia (b.1907); ICS, on deputation to the MEA, was sent to Nepal in early 1954 and became Director of Aid Programme of Government of India in January 1956; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 24, p. 591.



knowing his job, and he can be of great use to you, provided only he is given the opportunity. I hope that this opportunity will be available to him and that your Government will fully profit by his presence. In particular, it would be a good thing if some of your bright officers had the chance of working with him and being trained by him so that when he leaves, others can carry on that work.

We talk of developmental schemes and the like. But all these really come after a certain basic change and progress made in the administration. In a sense, the first development is in the personnel of the administrative apparatus. Otherwise, there is always dependence upon outsiders, which is not a good thing. In India, we take help from abroad and we have a number of technical people here from foreign countries. But we try to avoid getting them as much as possible and we are reducing their number progressively. Our main object is training our own people for all grades of work. We are training them now in tens of thousands.

Bhatia is here now and I had a talk with him this morning. He will be going back in a few days' time to Kathmandu.

You must have followed the international situation. The Indo-China settlement is a very good thing, but the situation in the Far East continues to be delicate and dangerous. We have to be particularly careful about foreign influences in our countries at this moment. You are yourself aware of this matter and so I need not press it.

I hope that when you go back to Kathmandu, you will convey my greetings and good wishes to the King and to your colleagues. To you I send my good wishes for your early recovery.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 6. To the King of Nepal<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
September 11, 1954

My dear Friend,

I am writing to Your Majesty after a long interval. I have not thought of troubling you with letters because you have been unwell and I have been anxious

1. JN Collection.

about your health. I have, however, written from time to time to your Prime Minister, Shri M.P. Koirala. In view of the close and friendly relations between Nepal and India and, if I may say so, my own intimate connection with developments in Nepal during the last four years, I have ventured to write frankly whenever occasion demanded it. Your Majesty has been good enough to seek my advice from time to time and I have placed this at your disposal.

I am anxious above all about your health. For personal reasons, I am concerned about your health. But even for larger national reasons and the good of Nepal, your health is a matter of great importance. Your Majesty occupies not only an exalted position in Nepal, but has been, and continues to be, the central figure in these various developments that have taken place. It is, therefore, of high importance that Your Majesty should keep fit and healthy to give proper direction to affairs in Nepal. I trust that under proper care and treatment you will recover your health.

I was grieved to learn of the death of your sister. This must have been a great blow to you and I offer my sincere condolences.

Our Ambassador in Kathmandu has kept us informed of developments in Nepal and has also informed us, from time to time, of Your Majesty's concern in regard to them. I need not tell you that I entirely share in that concern. This is so because of my great interest in the progress in Nepal and also because whatever happens in Nepal affects India. Any Government of India would be deeply interested in Nepal's prosperity and progress and would view with concern any deterioration in the situation in Nepal<sup>2</sup> which weaken the country and come in the way of its progress. So far as my government is concerned, it has been so intimately connected with the great changes in Nepal during the last four and a half years that inevitably our interest is even greater and more intimate. Your Majesty will remember that we have always laid stress on two factors. One is the independence of Nepal and the other is our desire to see Nepal progress, politically and economically, along democratic lines. Indeed, the two are connected in many ways because without progress no strength can be built up and no country can function with real independence. We see in the world today many countries which are called independent but which depend more and more on outside agencies because of their own internal weakness.

2. The relations between the four parties which constituted the government, were becoming increasingly strained. On 23 December the Advisory Assembly adopted by 28 votes to 18 a motion demanding that all legislative measures should be presented to it before they were enacted as law. Although this motion was opposed by M.P. Koirala, many members of the ruling parties voted with the Opposition. The crisis came to a head on 30 January 1955 when a motion reducing the budget grants to the Foreign Ministry was carried by 43 votes to 39 and Koirala resigned the next day.



Hence the progress of Nepal in every way, that is, administratively, politically and economically, becomes an urgent necessity.

Geography and history and a common culture have placed Nepal and India very close to each other. Those ties are inevitable and, for my part, welcome. At any time this would have been so, but at the present juncture this is even more evident. We have, therefore, recognised these factors in our relations with each other. No other country can have those intimate ties with Nepal that India has. Reference has been made to this in our Treaty<sup>3</sup> and its accompanying documents. On later occasions in recent years we have also discussed many matters together. I have had occasion to discuss these with Your Majesty as well as with your Ministers. In regard to Foreign Affairs, it has been agreed that there should be close collaboration and consultation with each other so that the foreign policies of the two countries should be in line with each other. Defence inevitably falls into the same sphere of collaboration. We have, therefore, gladly offered Nepal our help in training and modernising her Army.

This is the basis of our relations, that is, a common foreign policy and defence, and any relations with other countries have to be governed by this factor. In regard to the internal development of Nepal, whether this relates to the administrative structure, the police force or developmental schemes, we have endeavoured to help to the best of our ability and our resources. Our resources are limited and there are great demands placed upon them. We are making a great effort to build up India and make her a progressive State with higher standards of living for all her people. We are aiming at putting an end to unemployment in this country. I am glad to say that we are making marked progress in many directions. In fact, in some important respects, we have reached or even exceeded the targets of our Five Year Plan within three years. Thus we have made great progress in the production of foodgrains and cloth and many other important articles. Our economy is sound. We have built up some great industries and laid the basis for the advance of science by building a large number of national laboratories all over the country. We are on the eve of rapid industrial growth. All this is satisfactory, though it is not as far as we would like it to go and we want to speed the process. But the very fact of this effort causes a great strain on us and our resources.

Nevertheless, we have endeavoured to help Nepal and we shall continue to do so to the best of our ability. We have viewed the progress of Nepal as important for us in India as well as in Asia.

3. By a treaty of friendship signed at Kathmandu on 31 July 1950, the Governments of India and Nepal agreed to have 'everlasting peace and friendship' between the two countries, and to consult each other and devise effective counter-measures to meet any threat of aggression.

We have felt, however, that the results thus far achieved in Nepal have not been commensurate with the efforts made. This has been partly due to the lack of an efficient administrative apparatus and to the continuous uncertainty in the political field there. Many changes have been made from time to time, but the feeling of stability and certainty has not come. The administration continues to be rather weak and even the men we have sent to help or advise have often not had full opportunity to give of their best.

Apart from this, there appears to have been frequent interference in various ways by foreign countries which apparently do not like the close and friendly relations existing between Nepal and India. Some elements in Nepal also, chiefly I suppose for reasons of internal politics, have been trying to raise anti-Indian feelings. I am convinced that the people of Nepal have no such feelings and, indeed, are friendly to India, but certain groups undoubtedly have encouraged these anti-India sentiments. I have heard with considerable surprise that some group has announced an anti-India Day celebration in the near future. I have no doubt that Your Majesty's Government would deal with these matters in an adequate way. To encourage these disruptive elements is to weaken Nepal and do a disservice to her, apart from being unfriendly to India.

What I am most concerned with is the slow pace of administrative, social and economic changes in Nepal. The great change-over that came over Nepal four and a half years ago, in which Your Majesty played such a leading part, naturally led people to expect an improvement of their lot. If that improvement did not come, then there was bound to be frustration. We find now this frustration and a common criticism that their lot is the same as it was before and there is no great change. A small group of rich people still live in luxury and little is done for the mass of the people. The administrative system continues to be weak and even decisions of government are not carried out. There is constant intrigue in all grades and spheres. To this internal intrigue is added foreign intrigue. A position thus arises which can only lead to progressive deterioration, as indeed it has done.

One of the present troubles of Nepal is the financial and economic crisis that is impending and which falls heavily on the people. I have noted with regret that the value of the Nepalese rupee has fallen considerably, chiefly due to an imbalance between imports and exports. That, no doubt, is due to the import of unnecessary luxury goods and to the continuance of the great difference between the rich and the poor. Complaints are often made of lack of integrity.

All this comes in the way of progress or even stability and it has to be tackled with vigour. There has been far too much of a tendency in Nepal to drift and for time to be spent on interminable discussions and talks while little time is given to the real work to be done in the administration.

I have written frankly to the Prime Minister, Shri M.P. Koirala, on many



of these subjects. I am now venturing to write to Your Majesty because I feel that Your Majesty is the only person who can give a right lead at this difficult moment in Nepal and stop this policy of drift which can only add to the grave difficulties Nepal suffers from. I would earnestly, therefore, suggest to Your Majesty that effective steps should be taken to meet these various difficulties that have arisen and that in doing so the people's good must be kept in view and not merely the satisfaction of one group or another. It must be realised that a mere political change at the top is not enough. That can only be the beginning of other important changes which strengthen the country and bring relief to the masses of the people. Above all, the administration must be strong and effective and must have integrity.

I am not presuming to suggest any particular measures. That is for Your Majesty and your Government to determine. We shall be happy to advise in regard to any of these matters and to help, but the initiative has to come from Your Majesty's Government.

There have been some very important developments in the international field in recent months. The Geneva Conference led to a settlement in Indo-China and put an end to a disastrous war. That was good, but the settlement was by no means a permanent one and there is a great danger of conflict in the Far East or South-East Asia. The recent treaty signed at Manila, called the South-East Asia Treaty, is, I think, a very unfortunate development. We have kept ourselves away from it as we think it has come in the way of peace. I am mentioning all this because this difficult and grave world situation has to be borne in mind in considering what we should do. In no country can we allow matters to drift, much less in India or in Nepal. We shall have to face dangerous situations in the future and we must, therefore, work hard to strengthen ourselves and thus prepare to meet them.

I have ventured to write to Your Majesty fully and frankly. I trust you will appreciate the spirit in which this letter is written. We cannot remain indifferent to anything that we feel is not good for Nepal or India.

I earnestly trust that Your Majesty will regain your health soon and apply yourself to these many problems of Nepal.<sup>4</sup> Yours is a heavy responsibility. We should like to help you in so far as we can. But the responsibility inevitably must remain with Your Majesty and your Government.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. However, the King continued to be in ill health because of his cardiac problems and died on 13 March 1955 at Zurich in Switzerland. The next day his eldest son Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah ascended the throne in Kathmandu.

(iv) Sri Lanka

1. Students from Sri Lanka<sup>1</sup>

... 2. I think that we should continue to give the normal facilities, which are given now, to students coming from Ceylon to Madras for education. Indeed, we should make a point of showing that, in spite of our differences of opinion and some conflict with the Ceylon Government over various issues, we, on our part, will continue to give these facilities to students from Ceylon. We cannot discriminate between Jaffna and non-Jaffna Ceylonese students. As it happens, most of the students who come to Madras are probably Tamil or Jaffna students. But, I would advise our High Commissioner that, while encouraging the Jaffna Tamils to come to Madras for education, he should also encourage such non-Tamils from Ceylon who wish to come. On no account must it be made to appear that we are encouraging only the Tamils.

3. You have already spoken about this to the Madras Ministers. We should make it further clear to them that this is a matter of larger policy which should be understood and given effect to.

1. Note to the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 18 June 1954. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. To K. Kamaraj Nadar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 26, 1954

My dear Kamaraj,

I see from a Press item that it is proposed to send a five-man delegation led by L.S. Karayalar, acting President of the Tamil Nad Congress Committee to Ceylon early next month on a fact-finding mission.<sup>2</sup> I do not know how far it is true, but this seems to me a very inopportune time to send such a mission. I do not

1. JN Collection.

2. *The Hindu* published a report on 21 June 1954 that K.G. Rao, President, Ceylon Indian Mercantile Chamber, after returning from Madras, had told the Press in Colombo that such a fact-finding delegation would visit Sri Lanka from 5 to 10 July, to ascertain the position of not only stateless persons of Indian origin but Indian nationals as well.



know what is meant by fact-finding mission. Every fact is known and our relations with the Ceylon Government are strained at present over this issue of people of Indian descent in Ceylon. For a Congress delegation to go now for the purpose of finding facts will be exceedingly irritating to the Ceylon Government and might well prove embarrassing to the organisations of Indians there.

As you perhaps know, some of our MPs are visiting Ceylon. I was rather doubtful even about their visit. But, ultimately I did not wish to come in their way because their visit is a purely sightseeing one and has nothing to do with politics. But the proposal to send a fact-finding mission is hundred per cent political.

I hope, therefore, that you will dissuade this delegation from going.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 3. The Agreement of January 1954<sup>1</sup>

Your telegram 114 D of June 30<sup>2</sup> and our subsequent telephonic conversation. Prime Minister considers that whatever the wording of the agreement<sup>3</sup> interim elections were envisaged during January talks. Also proposal to keep separate electoral registers in force for ten years from the elections in 1957 with the result that common electoral rolls will not be effective until the 1972 elections is inconsistent with the spirit of the agreement. He feels however that a definite statement taking exception to the Ceylon Government's proposals regarding electoral rolls while the more important question of what is to happen to stateless persons is still under discussion might not be appropriate.

1. Cable from Subimal Dutt, Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, to C.C. Desai, High Commissioner in Sri Lanka, 1 July 1954. File No. C/54/6421/5. MEA. Extracts.
2. Dutt was informed that John Kotelawala, at a meeting with Desai on 28 June, had taken the stand that India had agreed to separate electorates for ten years and "although Act will be passed now, separate electorates will not actually come into existence until 1957 and therefore ten year period should count from then." Desai's contention was that separate electorates should come into existence on promulgation of amendment of the Act.
3. During Kotelawala's visit to India in January 1954, India and Sri Lanka signed an agreement, agreeing to take steps to stop illegal immigration. The Sri Lankan Government also agreed to register all people of Indian origin by the end of 1955.

2. On the whole he agrees that you should make it clear to the Ceylon Government that the steps proposed by them are not in accordance with the January agreement and that in order to remove any possible misunderstanding the Government of India would be compelled to issue a statement making their position clear.

3. In case the Ceylon Prime Minister does not change his proposals despite further representations from you it is our intention to issue an informal statement on the 4th July saying that the proposed constitutional amendments which will in effect keep the separate electorates in force until 1972 and does not provide for interim representation of registered citizens in Parliament are not in accordance with the spirit of the January agreement<sup>4</sup>....

4. On 1 July, the Sri Lankan Cabinet accepted two proposals for amendment, namely, termination of special constituencies on 1 January 1966 and putting all registered voters on par with other voters except in the matter of voting, in deference to the wishes of Tamil MPs and India's representations. Following this development, Nehru noted on 3 July: "I think we should be cautious about issuing a statement as also of showing any approval of the Ceylon Government's action. We should certainly not let it be understood that we are consenting parties to what they are doing. I am anxious that, in our drawing attention to this matter, we should not allow the public to overlook the much bigger question of the stateless people."

#### 4. To John Kotelawala<sup>1</sup>

Camp: Mashobra  
July 3, 1954

My dear Prime Minister,

Our High Commissioner in Ceylon has forwarded to me your letter to him of the 24th June in which you refer to the visit of the Prime Minister of China to India....

3. You have suggested... that I should consult all others who participated in the Colombo Conference before I come to any conclusion with the Chinese Prime Minister regarding matters of common concern. It is always desirable to have such consultations in regard to as many matters as possible. In regard to the specific matters dealt with by the Colombo Conference, if there was to be any deviation from the general principles laid down at the Colombo Conference,



I think it would be necessary for such consultation to take place.<sup>2</sup> Those principles were general and, so far as India is concerned, we have functioned throughout in terms of those principles. Whenever our representative was consulted at Geneva by the various powers concerned, or in my talks with Mr Chou En-lai, we put forward those broad principles. I am glad to say that gradually the Members of the Geneva Conference, or many of them, expressed their broad agreement with the Colombo approach, though they did not say so explicitly.

4. It would not be quite proper for any of our countries, which were represented at the Colombo Conference, to adopt a policy which was at variance with those general principles and conclusions of the Colombo Conference. If, owing to some unforeseen development, one of our countries thought it necessary to do so, it would certainly be the right course for it to inform the other countries.

5. That seems to me the proper course to adopt for all of us. But, it hardly seems to me feasible for any of our countries not to take any action without consulting the countries of the Colombo Conference. That would mean our evolving an identical foreign policy.

6. Undoubtedly, it would be desirable for us to have a similar approach in foreign affairs. In fact, this is not always so, and there are sometimes broad differences. You could hardly expect me to tell the Chinese Prime Minister that I could not have any effective talk with him without consulting other countries.

7. India is in constant touch with a large number of foreign countries on a variety of subjects. Possibly our contacts are greater than those of most of the other Colombo Conference countries. We can hardly refer such matters as come up to us daily from different parts of the world to other countries for consultation.

8. I hope, however, that the area of mutual consultation will grow. That depends really on the area of mutual agreement about general policies.

Your sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. The Prime Ministers of Sri Lanka, India, Pakistan, Myanmar and Indonesia met in a Conference in Colombo and Kandy from 28 April to 2 May 1954 to discuss the international situation and the stability and security of the South-East Asian region in particular. The Premiers expressed their determination to resist outside interference in their countries' affairs and affirmed their faith in democratic institutions. The final communique issued on 2 May urged among others speedy ceasefire in Indo-China; suspension of hydrogen bomb tests and representation of People's Republic of China in the UN. For Nehru's observations at the Colombo Conference, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 25, pp. 423-434.

## 5. To John Kotelawala<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 17, 1954

My dear Prime Minister,

I find from the official report of the Parliamentary Debates in the House of Representatives of Ceylon reference to an Adjournment Motion by Mr S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike.<sup>2</sup> This was based on a newspaper report of what our High Commissioner, Shri C.C. Desai,<sup>3</sup> was alleged to have said. In the course of your reply, you are reported to have said as follows:

The conduct of the diplomat in question was unfortunate in that he little realises that he lives here in this country and that he is liable to be removed without notice.

Further you say:

I will not tolerate interference not only by diplomats but even by other countries. The only excuse we can give India is that she is new to diplomacy and in the selection of her diplomats. With regard to Mr Desai's utterance, the only thing I can say is that he must be suffering from a mental aberration.

It appears that subsequently Shri C.C. Desai made it clear to your satisfaction that the newspaper report was not correct.

I am venturing to write to you because you have made a certain reference in your speech not only to our High Commissioner in Ceylon, but also to India and the way she conducts her diplomacy and selects her diplomats. That, you will appreciate, raises somewhat larger issues.

If you are of opinion that any representative of India in Ceylon is not agreeable to you, then we have no desire to keep him in Ceylon. If further you feel that the Government of India, being new to diplomacy, does not function in proper ways in other countries, then we shall have to consider whether we should continue to function at all in a place and in a way which is not agreeable to you.

As we have made repeatedly clear, there is, and can be, no question of interference on the part of India in an internal matter of Ceylon. If our High Commissioner interfered in any way, that would be improper and we would

1. C.D. Deshmukh Papers, NMML.
2. (1899-1959); Sri Lankan politician; Minister and Leader of the House of Representatives, 1947; Leader of the Opposition, 1952-56; and Prime Minister. 1956-59.
3. (b. 1900); High Commissioner in Sri Lanka, 1953-54; see also *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 7, p. 628.



ourselves draw his attention to it. You were pleased, however, to express your views without even any reference to our High Commissioner and without verifying whether the report was correct or not. Further, you expressed your opinion about India generally.

It may be that the experience and ability in diplomacy of India and Ceylon differ and that our standards of public behaviour are also not the same. But since you have raised these matters in your speech in the House of Representatives of Ceylon, I am writing to you on this subject.

The Agreement between Ceylon and India which you and I signed some months ago laid certain obligations on both countries. In view of differences of opinion in regard to the interpretation of that Agreement, the possibility has arisen of one interpretation being considered as an interference by the other country. Because of this it is for us to consider how we are to meet this contingency.<sup>4</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Nehru wrote to Kotelawala on 11 August 1954, "It appears that, when our Finance Minister, Shri C.D. Deshmukh, was in Colombo (in July), you discussed this matter with him. You felt that it would be better to close that incident, and, therefore, suggested that my letter (of 17 July) need not be formally delivered to you, although you had seen it. Shri Deshmukh has reported this to me on his return here." Nehru added, "I do not wish to have an unnecessary argument about this matter, nor did I write to you previously with that intent. My sole desire was to bring to your notice how we felt about certain matters. As the letter I wrote to you previously has actually been seen by you and you are aware of how we felt, the matter can be allowed to rest there."

## 6. To John Kotelawala<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
7th September, 1954

My dear Sir John,

Thank you for your letter of the 2nd September.<sup>2</sup>

1. JN Collection.
2. Kotelawala proposed to send a team of railway experts comprising of Minister of Transport and Works, General Manager of Railways and two Chief Engineers, on a ten-day visit, to see and study the Indian Railways, with the purpose of cutting the losses of Sri Lankan railways, electrification of the suburban railways and to purchase of railway stores at lower costs.

We shall welcome any team of railway experts that you send here for studying our railway system. They could also discuss the matter of the purchase of railway stores. I am sending your letter to our Railways Ministry who will, no doubt, be interested in this proposal and welcome the visit of your team of railway experts. The date of the visit of the team might be fixed by previous reference to our Railways Ministry.

With all good wishes,

Yours very sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## (v) Indonesia

### 1. Assistance to Indonesia<sup>1</sup>

I have no doubt that Indonesia will accept American aid and might be thus influenced by American policy. Indonesian policy and affairs have been and are likely to continue to be in a state of flux. Whatever attitude they take up will be opposed by some considerable section of the people and by some party or other. They signed the San Francisco Treaty<sup>2</sup> and had to face a good deal of opposition at home.

The present Government, though not dependent on the Communists, has their support and would not like to lose it.<sup>3</sup>

So far as we are concerned, our policy is quite clear. We should keep in close touch with the Indonesian Government, keeping them fully informed of our policies and other developments, and we shall give them such help as we

1. Note to the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 14 June 1954. JN Collection.
2. The Peace Treaty which followed Japan's unconditional surrender in World War II in 1945, was signed on 8 September 1951 by forty-eight countries, though not by China, the Soviet Union and India. It restored Japan's full sovereignty but with the continued presence of US bases in that country. This was widely viewed in Japan and elsewhere as unequal and unacceptable.
3. In Indonesia, at this time the ruling party known as PNI (Nationalist Party) though the second largest party in the Provisional Parliament, formed government with the support of eleven parties including the Communist Party, the Greater Indonesia Party (PIR) and the democrats.



can. Psychologically, the first is even more important than the help we give. That is why I propose to write from time to time directly to the Prime Minister.

I have stated previously that we should not appear to push our help.<sup>4</sup> That is bad from every point of view and that is not appreciated. It is suspected. We cannot compete with America in giving any country help. Everybody knows what our position is.

I think it would be particularly wrong to give free arms supplies. As for free training, military or civil, to a certain extent, it might be given. Colombo Plan assistance<sup>5</sup> is a multi-lateral matter to be considered by various countries.

I really am surprised to read about our refunnelling the aid we get from the US to Indonesia. That would be completely improper from every point of view and almost, if I may say so, immoral. We get this aid for specific projects and under specific agreements. As a matter of fact, it is unlikely that we will get much aid.

4. Earlier, on 5 June, Nehru wrote to the Commonwealth Secretary: "We have every desire to help ... subject to our capacity to do so. But, I am definitely against making ourselves too cheap or too eager to help.... it may well give rise to suspicion of ulterior motives. The Americans are eager to help every country and indeed have poured out help in various ways. And yet, they have not created any goodwill for themselves. It is irritating to any country to be treated in a superior way. Therefore, some kind of initiative must come from Indonesia for us to consider it."
5. Based on an Australian initiative at a meeting of Commonwealth Ministers in Colombo in January 1950, the Colombo Plan was intended as a means by which richer Commonwealth countries could assist the poorer members. Later USA and Japan became major donors to the scheme for educational and food aid, loans, equipment, technical cooperation and training programmes.

## 2. Cooperation for Peace in Asia<sup>1</sup>

We have had many welcome and honoured guests in Delhi city. It has been our good fortune to welcome them here but I doubt that anyone has come from Asia so welcome as you are, Sir and Madam Ali.<sup>2</sup> For Many reasons you are

1. Speech at a State Banquet in honour of Ali Sastroamidjojo, Prime Minister of Indonesia, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 23 September 1954. From Press Information Bureau. Also printed in leading newspapers, including *The Hindu*, 25 September 1954.
2. Ali Sastroamidjojo and his wife were on a visit to India from 21 to 26 September 1954. This was the first occasion when a Prime Minister of Indonesia visited India. Nehru visited Indonesia in 1950 and later Dr Soekarno. President of Indonesia came on a brief visit to India.

welcome, but your coming here and the recent history of Indonesia has struck all kinds of chords in our minds and hearts. During our long struggle for freedom naturally we sympathised with other countries situated as we were. There was commonness in our struggle and in our objectives, but it is true to say that nothing roused the emotions of our people here so much as the struggle for the independence of Indonesia. Why that was so, it is not very easy to say because there were many reasons. Thinking of Indonesia, our minds go back to ages past, to times which are celebrated in epics, in traditions and in stories. When we lived together, the people of Indonesia and our people in many ways, and they were always ways of peace.

Now, recently there has been some discovery of South-East Asia. People have come to realise that there are countries in South-East Asia because I suppose when they read through geography, they had a vague sense of the continent of Asia—a big one, rather remote, with certain countries and certain cities, to which sometimes tourists went. Also if they knew something about their history, they knew that some hundreds of years past, perhaps 400 years past, when the people of Europe purchased spices and other things, it brought people from other continents and other countries to South-East Asia. But apart from that, I suppose South-East Asia was a name they knew just as a tourist knew. As I said, suddenly, almost suddenly, South-East Asia has come into life of many people—not, I am sorry to say, in a very happy way, but rather connected with problems, with conflicts and the like. Now, in the same way, I suppose Asia too has rather come up but Asia appears to have problems—difficult problems and conflicts. So far as we, who live in Asia, who live on this side of South-East Asia, are concerned, we are also aware of those problems. But we of Asia who live here sometimes act emotionally, and therefore there is a difference in considering all these questions. Well, we in India and you, Sir, in Indonesia, or other neighbouring people, there is something historically, culturally and traditionally which brings us together much more than the mere sense of problems. So, when you come here, immediately thousand memories buried in our conscious and subconscious cells, come up and we think of hundreds and even thousands of years of contacts and then those contacts being broken and we, although we were neighbours, being separate, and living our lives apart, connected with other countries. But at last, after some hundreds of years of this kind of disruption and separation, something happens, we wake up again, and waking we pick up the old threads again. We see our neighbours, and for the moment, this intervening period, whether it was 200 years or 300 years or more, vanishes, and those threads are picked up, of course not in the same way, because the world has changed and we have changed and our problems have changed. Nevertheless, we feel that sense of happiness with an immemorial past, a happiness in which we function together.

Therefore, when you come here, Sir, we welcome you not only as a guest



but as friends who meet again after a long interval and, therefore, there is a certain emotional element in our meeting and in our task. Both our countries have within a short space of time of each other achieved our independence and we have many similar problems to face, similar difficulties, similar enthusiasms. Therefore, also inevitably we look to each other for understanding, for sympathy, for cooperation—not any kind of cooperation which cuts us off from others, which separates us from others or which is opposed to others, because having learned during a long period of subjection many lessons, I hope, that as far as possible, it is not good to encourage conflict, to encourage hatred. So we do not, when we function cooperatively, think in terms of limiting that cooperation for ourselves, but rather to have it in a wider sense, in a wider way to include others also.

This afternoon, Sir, you were speaking to Members of our Parliament and you referred to certain basic principles which govern Indonesia. You call them the *pantja sila*, which is from our Sanskrit word *panchasheela*. We talk also of another Panchsheela or principles, which have recently come to the fore. You may call them Panchsheela also in the same way which on the face of it are obviously admirable and it is difficult to imagine how to oppose them or to dislike them unless one thinks that behind them is hidden some evil motive. It is difficult to judge all motives, but anyhow it is something to say the right thing. It has become our habit to dabble in public affairs, not even to say the right thing, much less to feel it. Therefore, it is a good thing for us to hold up this new Panchsheela, if I may say so, because it is the right thing and even though we may not live up to it completely, it shows us the right path, and even though there might be some evil behind it, but saying the right thing and trying to act up to it will gradually do away with that evil in the end.

You spoke this afternoon, Sir, about peace. I doubt if there are any people in the wide world—I certainly do not think there is any country in the wide world which does not desire peace—and yet unfortunately we get entangled in fears and suspicions of each other, and so while desiring peace we sometimes walk away from peace, or sometimes act in a manner which makes peace, more difficult. Peace is obviously necessary for all the world and, if I may say so, it is even more necessary; it is an urgent necessity and a passionate word for us, the people of South-East Asia. After a long period of internal difficulties and conflicts in our struggle for freedom, we have reached a stage when in a large measure we could fashion our own destiny, and we are eager and anxious so passionately to achieve something, to build our countries, to do away with the evils and the poverty and the misery that encompass so many people in our country, and it is obvious that we cannot do so except in peace and through peace. If by our own folly or the folly of others peace is broken, then all our problems of building up are also broken. Therefore, we desire peace with passion.

Words are used now—shooting war, cold war, and all kinds of new words are invented to hide the fact, that somehow we have got off the track of right

acting and thinking. I do earnestly hope with your cooperation, Sir, like other countries in this area we will keep away from acting or thinking in any way which leads away from real peace. I hope indeed that all countries in the world will do so, because it is to the interest of all. The world is a big one and who am I to speak of the world? But, at any rate, I can venture to say about my own country that whatever views we may have here in regard to many matters and however we may differ in regard to many matters, but in this matter of peace we are at one in this country, and I am quite sure that that is the feeling of the people of your country, Sir, too. So this matter which is of such great importance in the world today as well as so many other matters, which are also important to us—whether they are political or economic or cultural—I do hope that our countries will continue to cooperate fully and thereby build up an area of peace which will ever grow. And because you, Sir, have been labouring to this end, we welcome you most and specially in this country.

## (vi) United States of America

### 1. To G.L. Mehta<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

7th June, 1954

My dear Gaganvihari,

Thank you for your letter of May 26th, in which you refer to your interview with Stassen<sup>2</sup> and others.

I am glad that you have made our position clear to them. So far as this American aid is concerned, we are definitely not anxious that it should come to us. But, as, I think, I wrote to you, for us to say that we do not want it itself becomes an act of ill-will and I want to avoid that. I am, by no means, clear that we will even accept it finally if it is passed by Congress, etc. For the present, I wish to say nothing about it and I would like you not to refer to it either.

1. JN Collection. A copy of the letter was sent to the Secretary General.
2. Mehta wrote that Harold Stassen, Director, Foreign Operations Administration, met and told him on 26 May that US Administration, though unable to check criticisms in the Congress, was "firm in its decision to continue economic and technical aid" which was "very important" because of US friendship with and appreciation of India's efforts for planned economic and social development. "Occasional differences in views and policies should not be allowed to deflect it from this course...", Stassen said, and added that any demand for imposition of conditions with regard to this aid was unacceptable.



So far as aid from Ford Foundation is concerned, that stands on a separate footing and, as at present advised, we shall accept it.

The world situation is developing very rapidly and in this context our policy is opposed to US policy. The time may come when this opposition is so marked that it would be improper for us to accept aid.

As you must have seen, some very extraordinary happenings have taken place in Pakistan, and notably in East Bengal. After general elections which resulted in the opposition winning 300 seats out of 309 (an unprecedented result in an election), the constitutional structure of East Bengal has been suppressed and Governor's rule brought in. In fact, it is military rule and considerable armed forces have been sent by West Pakistan to East. Martial law is threatened. All political life is at a standstill and hundreds of leading men have been arrested.

All this is bad enough, but what is worth remembering is that Pakistan seldom does anything important now without consulting US authorities or their representatives. It is on the strength of US military aid that Pakistan appears to take such steps. Our own information is that the US Ambassador<sup>3</sup> in Karachi is kept in close touch with events. Therefore, the US Government becomes partly responsible for this policy of Pakistan in East Bengal. In the name of democracy, the US has strange knack of supporting all the reactionaries and undemocratic forces that it can find—Chiang Kai-shek, Bao Dai, Syngman Rhee and now Pakistan.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Horace A. Hildreth.

## 2. To Chester Bowles<sup>1</sup>

Camp: Mashobra  
July 1, 1954

My dear Chester Bowles,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 22nd June. I have read with interest the two articles that you have sent me. I am pleasantly surprised at the way you are

1. JN Collection.

2. (1901-1986); a leading Democrat from Connecticut and US Ambassador to India and Nepal, 1951-53; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 16, Pt. II, p. 716.

carrying on a campaign for greater understanding of the Eastern situation. Nothing can be more true than what you say that power is measured by many things, but the ultimate measure is the people. That is true always, whatever the form of Government. But it is far more true in a democratic set-up than in any other.

I find often that there is resentment, bordering on anger, among many Americans at developments in Asia. This leads to the conclusion that the other party must be wrong. Who is right or wrong is never an easy matter to decide. But the mere fact that the other party thinks or functions differently is itself a major consideration. Mere resentment does not help in creating understanding.

Unfortunately, American policy in the East has got tied up with some elements which not only do not inspire respect but are considered completely reactionary. The result is that the United States lose that sympathy from the people which might otherwise come to them. People in the East think in terms of political and economic progress. Anything that appears to tie them up with reactionary regimes and with the maintenance of a status quo that they dislike, naturally cannot appeal to them. The appeal can only come from what they consider a liberating force.

I am glad to know that there is a possibility of your coming to India during the winter. We should be very happy indeed to meet you again.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 3. The Fulbright Scheme<sup>1</sup>

I appreciate that the Fulbright Scheme is, from some points of view, not liable to abuse.<sup>2</sup> Certainly, it is far preferable to the Leadership Scheme which, I think, should not be encouraged at all....

1. Note to Secretary General, MEA, 18 July 1954. File No. 40(25)/48-PMS. Extracts.
2. There were at this time three schemes in operation for sending Indians for technical training or for advanced studies to the US under schemes sponsored by the US Government, namely, the Technical Assistance Programme, the Fulbright Scheme and the Leadership Scheme. N.R. Pillai opined that Fulbright scholarships were intended for persons who had reached a certain standard of scholarship, acquired some maturity of judgment and passed the impressionable age. He added that a review of the scheme might be undertaken in a year or so.



3. I am all for broadening the outlook of the person. But mere breadth is not enough; there must be some depth also. As far as I can see, there is neither breadth nor depth about the average American. There is technical knowledge in a special field which is certainly important. The United States of America is hardly a place where one would go to at present in search of the higher culture.

4. Also conditions are so different from India there that a person being trained there is apt to apply unsuitable standards in India. He gets too machine-minded. He cannot function without the machines which he has seen in the US.

5. I should like Indian scholars to learn something about other parts of the world—European countries and some Asian countries and even Africa. That would broaden their outlook much more.

6. However, I am not opposed to the continuation at present of the Fulbright Scheme. But we must from now onwards collect material to be able to judge it in the future.

#### 4. US Investments in India<sup>1</sup>

We have received a note from our Consul-General in New York.<sup>2</sup> He calls this note: "Reflections on the Suicide of President Getulio Vargas<sup>3</sup> of Brazil." In effect, however, he deals with the question of American investments and interests in India, more especially in some major fields of activity, like oil and electrical equipment. The note is interesting and deserves our consideration.<sup>4</sup>

1. Note to the members of the Cabinet, 10 September 1954. JN Collection. Copy sent to the Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission.
2. A.S. Lall, the Consul-General, reported that President Vargas, before he committed suicide, recorded in a written statement that he had failed to develop the economy of Brazil or raise the living standards of its people because American capitalists had a complete grip on the economy, including the power and machine-tool industries.
3. Getulio (Dornelles) Vargas (1883-1954); President of Brazil. 1930-45 and 1951-54.
4. Lall warned against India blindly "employing the results of industrialization in America and elsewhere..." He added that a joint Indo-American or Indo-German team, for example, should survey and study the Indian situation and then write a blue-print for a project based closely on the utilization of available Indian raw materials, existing machinery, workshops and skills. Till this was done India would continue to produce goods for a small fringe of the richer classes and thereby accentuate social and political tensions. In the allocations of contracts to American oil companies, like Stanvac, for drilling oil in the Bengal Basin, this principle was not followed. "The American pattern", he concluded, "must be judged on the basis of events elsewhere including the suicide of President Vargas."

2. Recent political developments and, more especially, the Treaty signed two days ago at Manila in regard to a so-called South-East Asia Defence Organization, have introduced a very important new factor to the situation which we shall have to consider carefully. The whole question of US aid to India may have to be reconsidered in this context.

3. I am sending you a copy of our Consul-General's note.

## (vii) Soviet Union

### 1. To K.P.S. Menon<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
8th August, 1954

My dear KPS,<sup>2</sup>

... About Soviet relations with India, there is no doubt that the Soviet Union wants to go ahead with them.<sup>3</sup> They would, indeed, like some kind of a non-aggression pact. The Soviet Ambassador<sup>4</sup> met me about two weeks ago or a little more. This was just before I went to Ajmer for the AICC meeting. He said to me vaguely then that the Soviet Government approved entirely of the five principles which China and India had agreed upon as the basis of their relationship. Could not that be made the basis of relationship between India and the USSR?

4. I told him that those principles could be applied to any country and I could make that quite clear. Indeed, in our Resolution at the AICC, we did refer to this matter in general terms.

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. (1898-1982); Ambassador of India in the Soviet Union, 1952-61; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 15, p. 326.

3. Menon, India's Ambassador to USSR, in a telegram of 7 August, reported a recent interview of Subandrio, Indonesia's Ambassador, with Malenkov, Soviet Prime Minister. Malenkov repeatedly commended India's example and praised Nehru's stature in international affairs, and asked why Indonesia, though mature enough, could not attain the same stature. Menon assured a curious Subandrio that no "formal rapprochement" was under contemplation and Malenkov's tributes denoted his appreciation of services which India, together with other Colombo Powers, had been rendering to the cause of peace.

4. Mikhail A. Menshikov, Soviet Ambassador in India.



5. Yesterday the Soviet Ambassador came to see me again. He referred to his previous talk and said that now that we were gradually developing relations on the cultural, scientific and technical aid field, it would be a good thing to have some kind of an agreement or treaty in regard to them. In this treaty those five principles could be mentioned as the basis of our relationship.

6. I have told him that I was glad to see this development of our relations in cultural, scientific and technical matters and I certainly wanted our relations to be governed by those five principles. But a regular agreement or treaty would have to be considered from two points of view: (1) the exact language, and (2), and even more important, the occasion and the timing for it. The right thing may be done at the wrong time.

7. I pointed out that any step, though right in itself, if it produced misunderstanding and wrong impression, should be avoided. There was the chance of any such agreement between us at the present moment giving rise to misunderstandings and apprehensions in the minds of many people. We had just accepted Chairmanship of the International Supervisory Commissions in Indo-China. We did not wish to do anything which might make people doubt our neutral position. We had refused to have anything to do with the proposed South East Asia Organisation.

8. Thus, I did not encourage this idea of our having any formal agreement or treaty with Russia in these matters. I told him that we could, when the right time came, give thought to this.

Your sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 2. To K.N. Katju<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 28, 1954

My dear Kailas Nath,

Your letter of August 27 about the policy to be pursued in regard to the issue of passports for the Soviet Union and China.<sup>2</sup> I agree with you that this policy must be reviewed.

There is no present proposal for the building up of a tractor factory by the

1. JN Collection.

2. Katju suggested that in view of recent developments a "firm policy" be adopted on the granting of passports and visas to leaders of Communist Party of India who wished to visit China and USSR.

Russians in India,<sup>3</sup> but there is a much bigger proposal which is under consideration. This is for the Russians to build a steel plant in India. This has not gone beyond the preliminary stage. But, *prima facie* it is a very attractive proposition from our point of view, and all the Ministries concerned, that is, Finance, Commerce & Industry and Production as well as the Planning Commission have approved of our proceeding further with it. This will probably involve some Russian experts coming here and then some of our steel experts going to Russia.

Also, we are likely to get some money for technical aid from Russia through the UN. The Soviet Union has deposited a large sum with the UN for such technical aid.

As you must know, a big delegation of Indian businessmen is soon going to the Soviet Union headed by Kasturbhai Lalbhai. There is another delegation which is going to study their agriculture and farms. A third has already gone for their Agricultural Exhibition. I need not mention the Cultural Delegation which has recently left and some teachers and students who will also be going soon.

There is no doubt that we can get much technical and scientific help from Russia. In regard to some processes, we cannot get this help from America or England because they want to keep them secret. In Russia, they have no such inhibition and are prepared to help us in developing them. Normally speaking, therefore, our contacts on the technical and like levels with the Soviet Union are likely to increase. They will certainly be profitable to us from the developmental point of view. All these will involve some Russians coming here, but, as far as I can see, the numbers will be relatively limited and those Russians will be more of the technical and scientific kind. Not to take this help would be to lose something that would definitely be profitable.<sup>4</sup>

3. Katju had written that: "With our present land reform policy to fix the ceiling of big holdings and these smallness of holdings of millions of our cultivators, I doubt whether tractors would ever play an important part in our agricultural economy. Tractor is useful in Western countries where farms are large and human labour is scarce. Here the conditions are exactly reverse."
4. In an earlier letter of 19 June 1954 to Katju (not printed) Nehru wrote that there has been a growing opinion in the UK and other European countries that in regard to science, industry and trade, they should encourage these exchanges with the USSR. "I have no doubt that this policy should be followed in India... Our trade with Russia is likely to expand, and, from purely business point of view this is to our advantage... It is impossible to keep India a closed country, and, in a sense, normal business and scientific exchanges create an atmosphere both here and elsewhere, which somewhat helps in preventing the aggressive type of communism. There is no real choice between either keeping our doors closed or keeping them open with some restrictions." Nehru concluded that "we should not put a barrier against people from Russia coming here for specific objects, provided we pick and choose the object and the person."



The only objection that can be raised is from the security point of view.<sup>5</sup> I do not think that it takes us very far. Either we have to close the door more or less completely or allow these people to come in. To allow some to come and not others is neither here nor there. Of course, everyone who comes in this way passes through some kind of a normal check which we apply to foreigners.

We are sending our Planning Officer, Tarlok Singh <sup>6</sup>, to Russia. We are further sending a delegation of experts to Yugoslavia soon. We are thus spreading out in various ways in most of these countries. I shall personally be going to China probably in October.

I do not myself think that any real question of security arises. At the present moment, both the declared policy of the Communist countries and, what is more important, their obvious interest, are in being friendly to India and to discourage certain type of Communist activity even by Indian Communists. In fact, the visit of some Communist leaders to Russia has now a slightly opposite effect, that is, they are toned down by the praise they heard of India everywhere there.

In the present context, the danger to security comes much more from American agents who are spread out in vast numbers all over this country and not merely confined to technical jobs. There is no doubt that they bribe heavily and influence even our Press. They go all over our border areas, wherever they are allowed. They create disaffection with our Government and our policy and they are known to have been in close contact with the communal organisations.

I think, therefore, that your suggestion that we should relax considerably our policy of issuing passports and visas is correct. That does not mean that we should take everything for granted, but, unless there are very special circumstances, we should not object. The objection should be rather to large numbers than to individuals, unless some particular individual is obviously undesirable.

In these international matters, there is always an element of risk in whatever one might do. The friends of today might be the enemies of tomorrow. Our main objective is to build up India and we should take advantage of any proposal to that end, unless it is clearly undesirable. At the present moment, I would almost say that, owing to various circumstances, we have rather undermined the Communist position in India.

5. Katju mentioned the Intelligence Department's fears that if Russians came to establish industrial concerns then it would be "exceedingly difficult to keep a watch over them from the security point of view" and if they assisted Indian Communists.

6. (b. 1913); also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 1, p. 121.

As regards China, while much is said here about the progress made in China, there is a new trend visible among those who have visited China. Some of them have said that our industrial progress is greater than in China. As a matter of fact, Chou En-lai himself told me so when he was here.

I am returning your papers.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

### 3. To K.P.S. Menon<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 30, 1954

My dear KPS,

I have just sent you a telegram.<sup>2</sup> I am writing to you more fully. Indeed, I ought to have written to you some days ago, but a multitude of activities prevented me from doing so.

On the 17th August, the Soviet Ambassador came to see me. I think I have already written to you about a previous visit of his, in the course of which he had suggested India and the Soviet Union coming to an agreement on cultural and like matters and laying down as the guiding principles of our policy the five principles which have become so famous now....

When the Soviet Ambassador came to see me last, he was more precise and, in fact, he produced a draft agreement. I believe this draft has been sent to you by the Foreign Secretary. However, I enclose a copy.

You will see that the draft refers to our developing relations in the field of culture, art, science and technique; to mutual exchanges of students, specialists, publications, etc; to helping each other in industrial and agricultural production by rendering technical assistance, supplying capital equipment, machinery and raw materials, etc.

But the crux of the agreement is in the reference in the preamble to the five principles.

As I told the Soviet Ambassador, I am in entire agreement with the spirit underlying this draft agreement, both in regard to the preamble and the substantive clauses, subject to such minor modifications as might be considered necessary. In fact, I wanted our relations to develop on these lines and I was

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. Not printed.



happy to find that they were doing so. But I felt that any formal agreement at this stage would naturally lead many people to think that we were taking a very definite step in one direction and thus lead to some misunderstandings about our general policy. More especially, because of our commitments in Indo-China, it was desirable that we should do our work there without any such misunderstandings, even though these might be unjustified. We worked for peace and we were sure that the Soviet Union was also anxious to work for the maintenance of peace. Anything that came in our way in this work, though entirely unobjectionable in itself, should be avoided. Therefore, I felt that this was not a suitable time for us to take up this matter of an agreement. Later this might be feasible.

The Soviet Ambassador also conveyed his Government's invitation to me to visit the Soviet Union. I thanked him for this and said that I had long wished to go there and I should like to avail myself of this invitation whenever I had the opportunity to do so. At present I was completely tied up. I am terribly busy here till the middle of October. After that I pay a brief visit to China. In November and December, again, I am terribly occupied with Parliament. In January we have our National Congress, the Science Congress and other important functions, including our Republic Day, so that for these few months there was no possibility of my accepting this invitation. Even February would be difficult because of our Budget Session.

The Soviet Ambassador suggested to me that I might pay a brief visit to the Soviet Union from China. I said that this would not be feasible at all. It was difficult enough for me to find the time to visit China. I could not extend that time. Apart from this, I do not want to pay a very brief and casual visit to the Soviet Union. I would like to make a visit there rather a special event.

As I have suggested to you in my telegram, I should like you to see Molotov about these matters. First of all, thank him on my behalf for his invitation and explain to him my difficulties in the near future, as I have mentioned above. Tell him, however, that I shall certainly keep this visit in mind as I am anxious to go to the Soviet Union and meet its leaders....

Speak to Molotov also about this draft agreement that the Soviet Ambassador gave me and take up the line I have suggested above. I am anxious to develop our relations, culturally, scientifically, industrially, etc. I think that it is far better to do this in fact than merely to have an agreement about it.

You will, of course, entirely appreciate my argument and, I am sure, you will put it across to Molotov in the best way possible.

Yours sincerely  
Jawaharlal Nehru

(viii) Egypt

1. To Ali Yavar Jung<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 17, 1954

My dear Ali,

...I do not like the idea of your leaving Egypt so soon for a considerable time. We attach importance to our relations with the Egyptian Government and people and to the problems that are developing there. I also realise that sometimes, when serving at the UN, you may have the feeling that you are not being utilised in the best possible way. Krishna Menon is apt to keep things to himself....

There are at present four major centres of political activity, or rather three with a fourth developing. There is the UN which is supposed to be a common platform; then there is the Western group of nations and the Communist group. Fourthly, something is developing which was referred to by Chou En-lai himself as a South-East Asia pattern. This is not necessarily confined to South-East Asia. But for the present, the important countries in this group are India, Burma and Indonesia. This fourth group is beginning to make its weight felt, and I have no doubt that this tendency will grow, because it represents a trend which is both, I think, correct and which appeals to large numbers of people. All other problems of individual nations are influenced by these major groupings. Thus, what happens in Egypt will, undoubtedly, be influenced by other world developments. If India is to be helpful in Egypt, or elsewhere, she has to play her part in these major developments.

All this indicates the importance of the next session of the UN. That session will meet in about two months' time and it is quite likely that much will happen during these two months which might make a great difference. For the moment, however, we presume that nothing upsetting will happen.

We attach importance to Egypt from many points of view, but Egypt has to be seen in proper perspective. Egyptian leaders, if I may say so, have not yet developed that perspective. I read a pamphlet the other day by Nasser.<sup>2</sup> It was something about the Egyptian revolution. I was rather surprised to read it, because it showed a great deal of earnestness, but also a great deal of immaturity.

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. Abdel Gamal Nasser (1918-1970), Prime Minister of Egypt. 1954-56; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 23, p. 50.



I want you to go to New York because of the possibility of your having to be leader of the delegation there....

I want you to make it perfectly clear to the Egyptian Ministers that this does not mean that we attach less importance to Egypt. The fact that we sent you there itself shows the importance we attach to Egyptian problems. We could easily have sent someone else, who was not required elsewhere, from time to time. It is because we feel that we will be serving the cause of Egypt better in this way that we are asking you to go to New York....

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## **2. Message to Abdel Gamal Nasser<sup>1</sup>**

I am happy to learn that an agreement satisfactory to both the parties concerned  
has been reached between the Government of the United Kingdom in regard to the

### 3. Admission of Egyptian Officers to Staff College<sup>1</sup>

I agree that we must r



3. I met Nuri el Said<sup>2</sup> some months ago when he came to India rather suddenly. He was obviously a very clever man. But he represented to me a type of a past age. He could only think in terms of getting some arms from some place, probably more to defend his own group than for any major purpose. Yet his talk was interesting.

4. I had read almost fully Prime Minister Nasser's interview which appeared in the *US News and World Report*.

5. You refer to economic and military aid to Egypt from the US and you have pointed out to Nasser the dangers involved in this. As regards military aid, these are obvious. In fact, there can be no military aid without military alignment, whatever one may say about it. Even economic aid, unless very carefully handled, brings some risks. We have taken a fairly independent attitude towards the US in regard to matters of policy. We have even gone so far as to supply so-called prohibited articles to China, much to the indignation of the US. How have we managed to do so, without leading the US to stop their economic aid? For the simple reason that we were perfectly prepared not to have that aid. In fact we would not have been sorry if that aid stopped. I am not at all keen on that aid, even though it helps. Because of this, our position has been a strong one, as we are prepared for any consequences of that type. The American position was weak because, in spite of their irritation with us, they attach too much importance to India and did not wish to worsen our relations. As you know, they often say that if India is lost, Asia is lost.

6. Egypt's weak position is obvious when Nasser says that he is afraid to recognise China because of American reactions. That is how policy is influenced by other countries...

9. The question of Afro-Asian conference is full of difficulties.<sup>3</sup> That does not mean that we should not have it. I am more and more inclined to think that such a conference might do some good. But I do not see how we can just meet without the fullest preparation. That is what I suggested to the Prime Minister of Indonesia. He will be coming here probably on the 21st September for five days and we shall discuss this question with him. Perhaps we shall be in a better position then to say something more definite about the proposed conference. I myself do not see that conference materialising for some months and not this year....

12. As for Nasser's suggestion that India should be represented, in a semi-official way, at the proposed Islamic Congress, I confess I do not see how this

2. (1888-1958); Prime Minister of Iraq for five tenures between 1930 and 1957: also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 25, p. 500.

3. Nasser had suggested that in appreciation of the difficulties in the way of an Afro-Arab-Asian conference at Djakarta, a preliminary meeting of Arab-Asian States might be held and requested Nehru to support such a meet and take up the subject when he met the Prime Minister of Indonesia.

can be done and what good it will do.<sup>4</sup> It would be difficult to explain this in India as it will be wholly opposed to our normal policy.

13. About Nasser's visit here, he would be welcome almost at any time....

18. In any Afro-Asian conference, I should very much like to have African States represented. Sudan can easily be represented. I would particularly like the Gold Coast and Nigeria. I do not quite know how to bring in Morocco and Tunisia, although I would like to have them. The difficulty is that most of Africa continues to be colonial and we are not going to invite the colonial administrations.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Nasser felt that participation by Indian Muslims would help keep the proposed Islamic Congress above possible exploitation by Pakistan and also beyond politics as such.

## 5. To Ali Yavar Jung<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
September 9, 1954

My dear Ali,

Last night I wrote a long letter to you in reply to yours.<sup>2</sup>

We have now received news of the actual wording of the SEATO Pact, which was signed yesterday. We had been led to expect something like this, but this wording is perhaps a little worse than we had expected. I do not like it at all and this raises fresh difficulties. We shall have to consider carefully what our action should be in this matter and consult, more especially Burma and Indonesia.

In view of all this development, I feel more reluctant than ever to receiving any kind of aid, that is, economic aid, from the US. We have, of course, not asked for this aid at any time. The initiative has come from the US. Whether we should accept it now or not will have to be considered. I am mentioning this to you so that you might keep this background in view in any possible talks you might have with Prime Minister Nasser.

I see also in this morning's papers a message from Ankara to the effect that Egypt may soon join in a joint plan with the USA, Turkey and Pakistan for the defence of the Middle East. This may be the Turkish hope, but it seems

1. JN Collection.

2. See the preceding item.



that Egypt's attitude is by no means clear. They judge all these matters from some very limited point of view without taking into consideration the larger aspects. There is no doubt that if Egypt joins this MEDO arrangement, it will be unfortunate.

I have just seen your telegram No. 148 of September 8th to N.R. Pillai about our joining the proposed Jerusalem Conference.<sup>3</sup> Normally, this would be difficult for us as I do not quite see where we come into the picture. If Egypt or the Arab League join MEDO, this would become even more difficult. Major developments are taking place in the world and we have to judge these smaller matters in their light.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Ali Yavar Jung reported that the Lebanese Foreign Minister would welcome Indian participation, and if India was willing, he would insist on changing the name from Islamic to Arab-Asian conference. Jung felt India should agree to participate and cut out the possibilities of Pakistan seeking leadership in the region and using the conference for anti-Indian purposes.

## (ix) Miscellaneous

### 1. To Moshe Sharett<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 5, 1954

My dear Mr Sharett,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 21st May which reached me through your Consul in Bombay.<sup>3</sup> Although we have not met, I have endeavoured to follow your activities in Israel, and I was therefore happy to receive your letter.

At the Colombo Conference, the subject of Israel was brought up by the Prime Minister of Pakistan with a view to condemning Israel lock stock and barrel. Some of us were not agreeable and since then much has been said in Pakistan about India not supporting Pakistan in this matter at Colombo.

1. JN Collection.
2. (1894-1965); head of political section, the Jewish Agency, the "almost government" of the Jews, 1933-48; Minister of Foreign Affairs, Government of Israel, 1948-54, and Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, 1954-55; elected Chairman, World Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency, 1960.
3. G. Doron.

It was in this connection, a little later, that I had a talk with U Nu, the Prime Minister of Burma. I told him that India recognised Israel about two years ago but that we had not exchanged diplomatic representation. There was no basic objection to this; indeed, normally this follows recognition. But we had felt that we might not be able to serve the cause we have at heart if at this juncture we exchanged diplomatic representation. I am convinced that the problems of Israel and the Arab countries can only be solved by some settlement between them.<sup>4</sup> It is possible that at an appropriate moment, we might be of some service in this matter. But, unfortunately, this whole question is wrapped up in passion and prejudice and it is no easy matter to find a way out. If we established diplomatic relations with Israel at the present juncture, this would not facilitate our task.

This was the general line of our talk. Perhaps, I did not explain myself clearly and U Nu misunderstood me to some extent.

You have quoted in your letter the appropriate and beautiful words of the Song of Songs. Unhappily the world has become much too complicated for these simple and natural approaches.

All good wishes to you.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Sharet's policy of moderation and de-escalation of the Arab-Israel conflict led to serious differences with Ben-Gurion, a close political associate since 1920s, and ultimately resulted in Sharet's resignation and his leaving politics in 1956.

## 2. To Kiyoshi Kikkawa<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 16, 1954

Dear Mr Kikkawa,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter has been forwarded to me<sup>3</sup> and I have read it with great interest. You and all others, who had the terrible experience of being at Hiroshima at

1. JN Collection.
2. Kiyoshi Kikkawa, a Japanese who remained in hospital for six years after being severely wounded by the atomic bomb at Hiroshima in 1945, wrote to Nehru on 26 May 1954 to say that having himself had "the experience of the most miserable event in the human history", he was starting a signature movement for a stoppage of the use of atomic and hydrogen bombs and requested Nehru to appeal to the people all over the world for such a stoppage.



the time of the atomic bomb explosion, have my fullest sympathy. I entirely agree with you that we must not have any more of such explosions of the atomic bomb or the hydrogen bomb, which cause such vast destruction and suffering. We must work for peace and friendly relations among different peoples and different nations, so that we may all be spared the horrors of war.

I send all my good wishes.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 3. To Lakshmi N. Menon<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 24, 1954

My dear Lakshmi,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of June 22nd.<sup>3</sup>

You refer to our uncompromising stand against colonialism. That stand, no doubt, should continue. But I do not quite understand the inferences you have drawn from this. At the present moment the whole of Africa is stirred and is facing very severe repression in the east and the north. We have to encourage the major forces fighting for freedom and not, by some narrow logic, split them up into little bits which cannot progress much. In Africa today Dr Nkrumah<sup>4</sup> is the outstanding champion of African freedom and large numbers

1. JN Collection.

2. Lakshmi N. Menon (1899-1994); Member, Rajya Sabha, 1954-60, and Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister, 1952-57; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 8, p. 299. She represented India on the Trusteeship Committee of the UN in 1953.

3. Lakshmi Menon wrote that in 1953 when the Togoland unification question came up "we continued to maintain" that unification of two Togolands was desirable and France and UK, the administering authorities, should pursue common programmes and policies so that when trusteeship ended, there would be a united Togoland. Administrative union of British trust territory of Togoland with Gold Coast, a British colony, was a convenience permitted under Trusteeship agreement. However, she added, conversion

of Africans look up to him.<sup>5</sup> There are, of course, many minor groups pulling in different ways. I have no doubt in my mind that we should, by and large, support Dr Nkrumah. In fact, last year when we went into this question fairly thoroughly, this was what we told Dr Nkrumah and our instructions to our delegation at the UN were on those lines.

It was because of this that some modification was made in our attitude at the UN towards the end. I do not think this is in any sense an infringement of our general policy.<sup>6</sup> It is in fact a carrying out of it in a practical way. The Gold Coast is on the verge of Independence or, at any rate, near it. The fact of the Gold Coast becoming a free country will have far-reaching consequences all over Africa. There is great danger in little bits of territory being kept separate in the name of some theoretical policy, and thus allowed to be influenced by colonial powers.

This is, broadly speaking, the line we are taking up and I see no other practical alternative. Anything else would be playing into the hands of various interests.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. In the face of rising nationalist activity the UK granted a new constitution and in the general elections held in June 1954, Kwame Nkrumah emerged as Premier. Under his leadership, British Togoland voted to unite with Gold Coast and, as a result, an independent Republic of Ghana was formed in 1957.
6. In her letter of 22 June Lakshmi Menon enclosed a report from *The Hindu* correspondent, who quoted Krishna Menon, India's representative in Trusteeship Committee in 1954, as saying that when the question of both Togoland and the Ewe peoples who inhabit them came up in March 1953, "India shifted her position on this issue from one of strongly supporting unification to one of open mind. If an African state were to absorb another African territory it would amount to African imperialism.... but voluntary accession of a people to a neighbouring state was acceptable." This change in policy, she feared, "would be fraught with serious consequence....".

#### 4. Despatch of Books and Newspapers to South Africa<sup>1</sup>

I do not know which Ministry was responsible for these restrictions on the despatch of books, newspapers, etc., to South Africa. It is quite clear that these

1. Note to the Principal Private Secretary, 19 July 1954. JN Collection.



restrictions or prohibitions were completely wrong. Books and newspapers should never be considered as normal trade-goods. By banning them we hurt ourselves and cannot put our view across there; we hurt also the numerous people of Indian descent there who look to India in cultural matters.

This ban on books and other publications should be immediately removed. This has nothing to do with the Ministry of Finance. This note should be seen by the Ministry of External Affairs and should be sent on to the Communications Ministry.

We have now no direct contacts left in South Africa as our representative has been withdrawn.<sup>2</sup> Therefore it is all the more necessary to have our books and papers sent there.

2. The Government of India terminated its trade agreement with the Union of South Africa and withdrew its High Commissioner in 1946 in protest against its policy of apartheid. On 26 June 1954, the Government announced its decision to close the office of the High Commission in South Africa at the instance of the Government of South Africa.

## 5. To M.A. Rauf<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

July 29, 1954

My dear Rauf,<sup>2</sup>

...I shall write to you from time to time when you go to Canada. Generally speaking, our relations with Canada have been good and sometimes even intimate. Indeed, of all the Commonwealth countries, we have got on best with Canada, apart from the UK. It is strange how different the Canadians are from the Americans of the United States! They are quieter, better behaved and generally give an impression of restrained friendliness, unlike the boisterousness and rudeness of the Americans. The Prime Minister, St Laurent,<sup>3</sup> is a very likeable person. He is unlike the average politician. He is a man of absolute integrity and is a devout Catholic. Lester Pearson,<sup>4</sup> the Foreign Minister, is also good.

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. (1904-1964); Ambassador of India to Japan 1952-54, and High Commissioner to Canada, August 1954-58; also see *Selected Works* (first series). Vol. 15, p. 296.

3. Louis S. St. Laurent (1882-1973), Prime Minister of Canada, 1948-57; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 12, p. 413.

4. Lester B. Pearson (1897-1972), Minister for External Affairs, Government of Canada, 1948-57; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 8, p. 111, & Vol. 10, p. 170.

We shall be cooperating with Canada rather intimately in the Indo-China Commission.

I am very grateful to you, or rather to your wife, for all the care and trouble she took about Rita.<sup>5</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Rita Dhar, daughter of Vijayalakshmi Pandit.

## 6. Cable to B.F.H.B. Tyabji<sup>1</sup>

Please inform Indonesian Prime Minister that we have given much thought to name for Presidentship UN. We feel that after signature of Manila Treaty for South-East Asia any support for Prince Wan,<sup>2</sup> however we may qualify it or explain it, would mean some indirect support of this Treaty.<sup>3</sup> Prince Wan would claim to speak for Asia. We feel strongly about Manila Treaty and are going to express ourselves in unequivocal terms about it. Therefore, only choice for us is to abstain from voting on Presidential election or explain vote in favour of Van Kleffens.<sup>4</sup>

2. There is a new proposal being considered now. This is that Van Kleffens might be supported for Presidentship and Burma should be put forward for Vice-Presidency.<sup>5</sup> That is, our support of Van Kleffens must be based

1. New Delhi, 10 September 1954. JN Collection.

2. K.N.B. Wan Waithayakon (1891-1975); Ambassador of Thailand to USA, 1947-52; Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1952-58, and Deputy Prime Minister, 1959-68.

3. Prince Wan had signed the SEATO Treaty on 8 September 1954 for Thailand, which was ruled by the Army from 1946 to 1957.

4. Eelco Nicolaas Van Kleffens (b. 1894); served in various capacities in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Netherlands, 1922-45; Ambassador to US, 1947-50, minister to Portugal, 1950-56; president, ninth session of UN General Assembly, 1954; chief representative in UK of European Coal and Steel Community, 1958-67.

5. In a cable sent on the same day Nehru, while agreeing with Krishna Menon, instructed him not to vote for Wan Waithayakon and to favour Myanmar for the Vice-Presidentship, if possible.



on obtaining support for Burma. In existing circumstances, this appears desirable.<sup>6</sup>

3. Of course, we must try to get fullest support of Asian and other countries for Indonesia in regard to West Irian question and Van Kleffens' election would make no difference to this.

6. On 21 September the UN General Assembly elected Van Kleffens as the new President who would replace the outgoing President Vijayalakshmi Pandit. A day earlier Prince Wan of Thailand had withdrawn his candidature to become the first American sponsored candidate in UN history not to get elected. On 22 September Myanmar's Representative was among the seven Vice-Presidents elected by the Assembly.





## LETTERS TO CHIEF MINISTERS





I'

New Delhi  
3 June, 1954  
Id Day

My dear Chief Minister,

The newspapers are full of the Geneva Conference. In spite of these full reports, it is a little difficult to find out what is really happening, and yet the main picture is clear enough. What is happening in Geneva is, I need hardly say, of the highest importance. It may represent a turn towards peace or towards war, and war now means a major war developing into something on a world scale. Recently a turn for the better took place in regard to Indo-China and the High Commands of the warring factions there are now meeting in Geneva to discuss technical details connected with a ceasefire. That is good, in so far as it goes. But there are too many obstacles yet for any assurance that a settlement will come.

2. A recent move, apparently by Thailand but obviously inspired by the USA, has been to ask the Security Council to send observers under a peace sub-commission to the Thai-Indo-China border. It seems rather odd to choose this particular moment to make this request, just when there is a talk of a ceasefire and a possible settlement in the Indo-China region. There has been no danger to the Thai border ever since the Geneva Conference met. Therefore this move has little to do with the present, but rather indicates an expectation of failure at Geneva. If there is failure, then a number of peace observers at the border there would hardly be of much help. Raising this particular question in the Security Council at this present juncture, to some extent, lessens the chances of a settlement at Geneva. The issues there are very delicately balanced and every little thing counts this way or that way.

3. As a matter of fact, the UK Government has been much put out by this Thai request and even the French Government has not liked it. Nevertheless, the matter is going to be considered in the Security Council. We are not there, but we have made our views clear to some of the Powers concerned and expressed our apprehension at this step. Probably, if this matter is pressed in the Security Council, some of the countries which privately disapprove of it, may publicly support it, because of their bonds with the USA.

4. The Indo-China situation concerns us especially in two ways. One, of course, is the possibility of a breakdown in the negotiations, leading to an

1. The letters in this section have also been printed in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Vol. 3, pp. 552-556, 558-570, 572-601, 605-614, and Vol. 4, pp. 1-25, 31-38, 42-49.

extension of the war area. The French are politically and militarily in a very weak position. If the war continues, they are likely to suffer further defeats. This will not be tolerated by the US and they might then intervene directly. Such intervention by the US is likely to be followed by China intervening also directly, and that means full-scale, war between the US and China. If that once happens, then a world war will not be far off. Because of this, what happens at Geneva is of the highest importance.

5. The other aspect concerning us is in the event of some possible settlement. There is a great deal of talk about neutral nations undertaking the burden of policing the area in case of a ceasefire. When people talk about neutral nations, the first country they think of is India. This may be an honourable position for us, but it also brings responsibility. We have refused to commit ourselves in any way. But circumstances are such that it may be difficult for us not to undertake some kind of responsibility. We have made it clear, however, that we can only do so if there is agreement between the two parties and at their invitation. Further that we shall only undertake peaceful duties and not commit ourselves to anything which might lead to military operations.

6. You must have seen frequent references in the newspapers to the visit of Shri V.K. Krishna Menon to Geneva and to his meeting the leading delegates there. Many people have thought that he is intervening in some way on behalf of India or that he has carried some special messages from us to the Geneva Conference. This is not correct. It is true, however, that he went to Geneva, on his way to New York, at our instance. I suggested to him to spend about four or five days there and meet the representatives of the UK, the USA, the Soviet Union, and China especially, and explain to them our own attitude and, more especially, what the Colombo Conference had done. We have no proposals or suggestions to make. When Shri Krishna Menon got there, he had long talks with the principal parties and it was found that his presence there might perhaps be useful because he could meet the delegates informally and talk to them frankly. In the conference itself there is so much rigidity and formality that such informal approaches seldom take place. A person who represents a neutral country has thus a certain advantage in informal discussions. I believe that Shri Krishna Menon's presence in Geneva has done some good in this way. In fact, when he went away to London, it was suggested to him to return to Geneva where he has gone now. He has been in close touch with Mr Eden, Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom, who has been working hard for peace.

7. We have taken particular care not to give any publicity or to stress in any way the informal part that India has taken behind the scenes at Geneva. Yet the fact remains that this part has been an important one, and might well make some difference. In fact, most close observers have realized that any real settlement in South-East Asia must have the goodwill and support of India, even though India is not officially connected with the Geneva Conference. All



this brings additional responsibilities upon us. We try to avoid them but we cannot escape when such great issues are at stake.

8. Negotiations in regard to the French establishments in India are proceeding in Paris. The pace is rather slow. Partly this is due to the complicated state of French domestic politics, with the Government hanging on by a thread, and partly to the French preoccupation with Geneva. After much preliminary talk, the French Government made some definite proposals, which we found totally unacceptable.<sup>2</sup> We are now making some counter-proposals which, in essence, give us authority in these settlements while maintaining a measure of French prestige. This is, of course, suggested only for a brief period at the end of which there should be full transfer. If these proposals of ours are not agreed to, then there will be a break in the negotiations and our representatives will come back. Meanwhile, there have been several bad incidents in these French establishments as you must have read in the papers.

9. A very important, but not wholly unexpected, development has taken place in East Pakistan which has gone under Governor's rule. This is remarkable so soon after a general election which gave a tremendous majority to one group, and in a country predominantly Muslim, in the month of Ramzan and on the eve of Id. Pakistan today represents a country in a state of progressive disruption, both political and economic. Apparently, the only thing that really holds it together is the army. But it is doubtful how far even a good army can succeed in this task for long. So far as we are concerned in India, it is better for us to avoid saying much about these developments in Pakistan. We have to be vigilant, however, because, when the military mind is in control, anything may happen.

10. At a recent meeting of the Congress Working Committee, special attention was drawn to the *panchayat* system.<sup>3</sup> I would commend your attention to that resolution because I think it is essential for us to develop these self governing institutions from the village upwards. I believe that the bases of our political and judicial systems should be the *panchayats*.

11. In my last letter to you, I referred to some remarks made by Mr Appleby

2. The talks in Paris failed due to the insistence of the French Government on retaining effective control while allowing Indian officials to share some authority with the French in certain military departments.
3. The resolution passed on 22 May 1954 strongly advocated setting up of *gram panchayats* to decentralize the judicial administration.

during his recent visit to India. You will be interested to read a note<sup>4</sup> of his regarding our Community Projects and Extension Service. I attach a copy of it.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Appleby, while commending the "general success of the programme," found "an insufficient reorientation to the really revolutionary commitment to a National Extension Service," due to "a lingering pre-occupation with old activities and old ways of working."

## II

New Delhi  
15 June, 1954

My dear Chief Minister,

During the past fortnight, by far the most important thing from the world point of view has been the Geneva Conference. As I write this letter, it appears to be collapsing. It is just possible that the conference will adjourn without breaking up completely, leaving the military talks to be continued. If so, it might state that when the ceasefire talks are over, the other matters will be further considered. That appears to be possibly the most favourable outcome that one can expect now from this conference, or the result might be worse and may be a complete break-up.

2. There have been two questions discussed at Geneva, the Korean question and Indo-China. Both have acted and reacted on each other. The Indo-China situation has been the graver because war is going on there and the position of the French grows daily worse. And yet, perhaps the real difficulties at Geneva related more to the Korean question. It was proposed that the present neutral supervisory commission in Korea might be ended. This would have led to the ending of the armistice in Korea also and that might well have meant the resumption of war. The South Korean leaders continuously talk of war. Thus, there has been a fear of war starting in Korea and war continuing in Indo-China.

3. There have been fairly full reports in the press about the discussions in Geneva, though often there is a definite slant given to these reports. It has been unfortunate that, during the greater part of this conference period, there has been no adequate Indian press representation there, which can give a more objective analysis of the situation. I have received almost daily reports from



Mr Eden. Presumably these are sent to all Commonwealth countries. In addition, I have sometimes had personal messages from Mr Eden. I have also had reports from time to time from Shri V.K. Krishna Menon. This has enabled me to follow these proceedings a little more easily than I might otherwise have done. Even so, the entire situation has been so complicated that it is difficult to understand the inner workings of it. Our position has been, as you know, that, for the sake of helping the cause of peace, we would be prepared to undertake certain responsibilities, provided always that there is an agreement between the rival parties. When Mr Eden suggested that the Colombo Conference countries should undertake the supervision of an armistice in Indo-China, we pointed out to him that we could only accept something which had been agreed to by both the parties. As the Soviet Union and China did not accept this proposal of Mr Eden, it fell through, just as the proposals had also fallen through. The Soviet Union had no particular objection to Pakistan being one of the countries, but did object to Pakistan being considered a neutral country because of the military aid that the US have given it.<sup>1</sup> At the same time, both the Soviet Union and China vigorously opposed the suggestion that no Communist country could be neutral.

4. It is always difficult to know what public opinion is in countries like the Soviet Union and China. We can only discuss governmental opinion. In the United States, on the other hand, there is so much public opinion and so varied that it is difficult to know what it is in the balance. Even the US State position is difficult to understand. Important people speak in different ways or with different emphasis. Some talk of intervention and war,<sup>2</sup> others say that the US should not intervene.<sup>3</sup> The balance now appears to be in favour of non-intervention, for the simple reason that the French collapse in Indo-China has gone too far, and even intervention might not yield the results aimed at.

5. An American writer, describing these international conferences, uses the simile of a poker game in the old wild days of the west in America. Apparently

1. On 5 June 1954, Molotov, while reaffirming that the joint armistice commission should consist of India, Pakistan, Poland and Czechoslovakia, said that if objection was raised to considering Poland and Czechoslovakia as neutral, then "in no lesser degree" objection can be raised against the capitalist countries."
2. On 16 April 1954, Vice-President Nixon stated that "to avoid further Communist expansion in Asia and Indo-China, we must take the risk now, by putting our boys in. I think the Executive has to take the politically unpopular decision and do it."
3. For example, on 18 April 1954, Senator Mansfield warned that US intervention in Indo-China might prove to be the start of a world war. He wanted France to grant independence to Indo-China immediately.

the players not only played it with cards but with six shooters in their hip pockets. If the distribution of the cards was not favourable, the six shooters came out and decided the outcome of the game. So, if the political situation is not favourable, the big weapons come out and war is thought of. At present, in Indo-China, both the political and the military situation is entirely favourable to the Vietminh. In Korea, there is a stalemate. In the wider field there is a fear in the mind of the military people in the US that the Soviet Union is progressing fast in the atomic field and might even go ahead of the US, so far as the hydrogen bomb is concerned. Thus, the fear is that both the strategic balance and the weapons balance is turning against them. Should one wait for this to happen or indulge in the desperate venture of an appeal to arms? This is where what is called a "preventive" war comes in. There has been far too much loose talk in the United States and now that the hard facts of the situation are being appreciated a little more than they were, there is confusion in thinking and anger and some sense of frustration. A war now does not offer a clear chance of success. A war later might be still less likely to offer this.

6. In such a situation of relative balance in both the strategic and weapons positions, the only chance of peace is to recognize that neither party can dictate terms to the other. That is some kind of negotiated settlement and a recognition of live and let live. Probably the Soviet Union and China are well content to accept this position because they think time is in their favour. For the Americans, this is hard to swallow. In the past they have often said that the People's Government of China must be liquidated and they have encouraged Formosa to think so. Suggestions have also been made that some of the smaller Eastern European Communist countries should also be helped to throw off Soviet dominance. Now it gradually appears that this is no easy matter and indeed is hardly possible except in terms of a highly risky adventure and war.

7. Mr Dulles at one time perhaps thought that the threat of massive retaliation and of military combinations in Europe and in Asia against the Communist countries might frighten these countries and induce them to surrender. It did not frighten them and then the question arose whether the threat should be acted upon. Other countries like the UK were not prepared for this and so the US also had to hold back.

8. As you know, Mr Casey, the Australian Foreign Minister passed through Delhi a few days ago on his way to Geneva. I had a long talk with him. Casey began by expressing some apprehension in regard to American policy which, he said, was wholly unrealistic. He told me that Australia had privately exercised as much pressure as they could to restrain the aggressive tendency in America. Of course, publicly they could not do so and, in the final analysis, they would have to support America. What was American policy?, he asked. It was influenced by so many extraneous factors that it was impossible to answer this question with any precision. The American Constitution, according to him, was



wholly out of date and provided so many checks and counter-checks that no firm policy could develop. Indeed, this Constitution was a continuation, with some variations, of the old colonial Constitution of the 13 States prior to Independence. At present, no clear line could be adopted by the American State Department because of the elections that were coming in November next. Casey said that he was convinced that there could be no real settlement of the Far Eastern questions so long as the People's Government of China was not given a place in the UN. He had mentioned this to Mr Dulles, who had replied that, whatever the merits of that question might be, he could not possibly go against the strong opinions held in America and certainly not before the November elections.

9. As a matter of fact, the question of China's admission in the UN has not been directly discussed at Geneva. But it is perfectly true that this has been the basic question and affects Chinese reactions powerfully. Dulles, just before the Geneva Conference, made some contemptuous references to Chou En-lai and China<sup>4</sup> and yet, it is with Chou En-lai that he and the other countries have to deal in Geneva and, what is more, Chou En-lai is in rather a favourable position.

10. Mr Casey thought that probably the only way out would be for a Partition of Vietnam. Some people even in America think that the whole of Vietnam should be written off and Laos and Cambodia and, of course, Siam, should be protected. All this indicates that there is no clear policy or clear thinking. The rapid succession of events has gone beyond the thinking of many of these statesmen and they are in a state of confused frustraion.

11. In the course of the discussions in Geneva, Mr Eden drew attention to an interesting fact. He pointed out that there was a great difference between Vietnam and Laos and Cambodia. That was the dividing line between two great civilizations, the Chinese and the Indian. Vietnam has been far more powerfully influenced by China in the past, while Laos and Cambodia had still greater evidences of Indian influence.

12. As you know, Shri Krishna Menon has been in Geneva for a good

4. Reacting to Molotov's proposal at the Berlin Conference for inviting China to the proposed Geneva Conference, Dulles said on 15, April 1954: "Who is this Chou En-lai whose addition to our circle would make possible all that has for so long seemed impossible? He is a leader of a regime which gained de facto power in China through bloody war; which has liquidated millions of Chinese, which diverts the economic resources of its impoverished people to military efforts, so that they starve by the million, which became an aggressor in Korea and was adjudged so by the UN; which promotes aggression in Indo-China by training and equipping the aggressors and supplying them with vast amounts of war munitions."

many days. Some people have said that his going there, when India was not invited to the conference, was hardly consistent with India's dignity. It was a kind of "gate-crashing" which did not enhance our prestige. As a matter of fact, India's prestige had seldom been higher than it has been in Geneva during these fateful days. This, of course, was not due to Krishna Menon being there, but to a variety of facts and circumstances. In fact, everybody who has been to Geneva says that India, though not represented in the conference, almost filled people's minds and everyone was asking as to what India thought about any proposal. Far from India's prestige or dignity suffering, they have been enhanced very greatly and much to the annoyance and discomfort of those who are not our friends. People have realized that we take a calm and objective view of the situation, that we are not partisans and that we are devoted to peace. Also that we do not go about begging for favours or even for an invitation to the Geneva Conference. And yet, we are prepared to help in such ways as we can. Krishna Menon went to Geneva at our request for four or five days to explain India's views to the principal representatives of the Powers there. There was a good deal of misunderstanding and it was desirable to make our position clear to them privately, so that we might not be entangled at a later stage owing to some misunderstanding. Also there had been the Colombo Conference and we wanted to explain what this conference meant in regard to Indo-China especially. Of course, Krishna Menon did not go on behalf of the Colombo Conference. He went on behalf of our Government. Even before he reached Geneva, he received a message from Mr Eden at Cairo requesting him to meet him in Paris first which was done. Later, in Geneva he played an important role in breaking through somewhat the rigidity that prevailed there at that time between the different delegations. Mr Eden sent me a message appreciating the help that Krishna Menon was giving. When Krishna Menon went away to London after a few days, he received a message from Mr Eden requesting him to come back to Geneva. I had given him discretion in this matter and he went back. Again, after a few more days, he was on the point of leaving, when Mr Casey saw me here and expressed a wish to see Krishna Menon in Geneva. So I asked him to stay on for another two or three days. He left Geneva yesterday. His stay there was helpful in many ways during these delicate negotiations and many a petty obstacles was surmounted. Oddly enough our standing with nearly all the delegations continues to be high, in spite of all that has happened. This includes not only the big Powers but also the Viet Minh, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

13. We shall await with some apprehension the course of coming events. This course is not likely to be a smooth one. Probably the war in Indo-China will continue and Hanoi and the surrounding region will fall to Viet Minh. The French have lost their morale completely and the defeat of the French Government has made matters worse both for the war in Indo-China and the



continuation of the Geneva Conference. Whatever may happen, the situation is a serious one and perhaps, in spite of every desire to avoid the final catastrophe of war, the world may gradually be pushed into it. I do not suppose this will happen in the near future but the chances of peace have receded, and, if that is so, some time or other the conflict we have feared will begin. I remember being told by eminent statesmen of the West that a war now will be very different from any previous war. It will not begin slowly and gradually develop, but will begin at the highest pitch, and the aim will be utter destruction of the enemy's cities, industries, administrative centres and, in fact, everything that represents the organized life of a nation. The atomic bomb and the hydrogen bomb also will come into play. Each party will be afraid of the other getting the lead and so it will do its utmost. If this happens, then a force will have been let loose which no one can control. It will have an impetus of its own and may go on almost indefinitely. It is not easy to imagine a quick victory or even a victory after some considerable time. Death and devastation on a colossal scale will spread throughout the world.

14. All this leads one to think that the only possible policy for India, as well as for other countries in Asia, is to adhere strictly to the policy of non-alignment and of keeping out of the war. Both from the larger point of view of the world and from the narrowest selfish motives, that is the only possible way for us. We talk of the Colombo Conference powers, but it is clear that all of them do not hold the same opinion. Pakistan certainly does not; it is definitely committed. Ceylon anyhow is not very important in this context. Indonesia and Burma are very much nearer to India's policy, though in some matters, they might differ because of their internal or external situations.

15. This brings me to Pakistan. Just as the general elections in East Bengal were quite unique, the subsequent happenings there are equally without precedent. East Bengal is being treated like a colony of Western Pakistan and a colony under military domination. Considerable armed forces have been sent from the West to the East. The story of how this decision was taken at Karachi is an extraordinary one. Mr Fazlul Huq was deliberately trapped, through an American newspaper man, to say something about the independence of East Bengal. Immediately this particular sentence was broadcasted by the Pakistan Government, regardless of the context. Mr Fazlul Huq denied it and then Prime Minister Mohammad Ali sent for him and the American correspondent, made them sit in front of him, and got the American correspondent to contradict Fazlul Huq. Making this the basis of their charge, they declared Fazlul Huq a traitor and put an end to his Government.

16. Even before Fazlul Huq had gone to Karachi, he had been asked by the Karachi Government to arrest a number of persons, including some of his own colleagues and elected Members of the legislature. Fazlul Huq refused to do so and he was summoned to Karachi. He continued to refuse. It is stated

that the then Governor of East Bengal, Choudhury Khaliquzzaman<sup>5</sup> was asked by Karachi to take charge of the Government. Khaliquzzaman refused to do so and pointed out that this would have dangerous consequences. Thereupon, Iskander Mirza was sent.

17. At the present moment, there is not much outward evidence of opposition to the Governor's rule in East Bengal. Petty incidents have occurred, students' strikes, etc. But, on the whole, the people of East Bengal have not done much. They are stunned and perhaps a little frightened. It is obvious, however, that there is deep resentment all over East Bengal. The economic situation is very bad. The Karachi Government have announced that they will throw in supplies there and spend six or seven crores of rupees in helping East Bengal in various ways. It is doubtful if this will make any marked difference.

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20. Our negotiations with the French Government about Pondicherry, etc., have failed. There is no immediate talk of their resumption, but it is quite possible that some such attempt might be made on the part of France. This is the fall of the French Government. Meanwhile, the liberated areas.

21. I am deeply distressed at the turn the linguistic States controversy is taking. In spite of all our attempts of reason and good sense, people tend to become more and more passionate and aggressive. The most fantastic claims are sometimes made. At this particular juncture of the world's history, this is especially unfortunate. I do not know what we can do about it except to impress upon our people and, more especially,

5. (1899-1973); Governor of East Bengal, 1953-54; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. I, p. 330.

6. Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani (1886-1976); East Bengal politician, religious leader and an outspoken advocate of militant methods to make East Bengal an independent nation; headed the pro-Beijing faction of the National Awami Party.



our Governments, that we should deal with this problem in a friendly and dispassionate way. Some people produce fancy schemes on the basis of logic, but totally devoid of common sense. We cannot uproot all our history just because some abstract logic requires it. Necessary changes should certainly be made, but the fewer the changes the better.

22. Another matter that has troubled me is the controversy about missionaries. It would be unfortunate if this is considered on the religious level. Apart from that being, I think, not in line with our Constitution and our being a secular State, it might encourage all kinds of aggressive tendencies in our people. I have, therefore, endeavoured to deal with it on the political level only, that is, how far we can permit foreigners to come here on political and like grounds and where we should permit them to go, such as frontier areas, etc. I think that it is unsafe for us, on political grounds, to have large numbers of missionaries about. I have no objection on religious grounds, except that personally the evangelical activities of missionaries do not appeal to me. It must be remembered that, even under British rule and with everything in favour of foreign missionaries, their success in India was not great. Now conditions are totally different. Most of our Governments do not look with favour on such activities and public opinion generally is much opposed to them. Therefore, nothing much can happen, and all this fear and apprehension of what the Christian missionaries might do seems to be grossly exaggerated. It is true that in some of the tribal areas, trouble might be created. We can guard against it.

23. It is no sign of tolerance, or if I may say so with great respect, of any high culture to get excited over such matters. It is not the foreigner who will injure as much but our own wrong actions and intolerance. Even Hinduism, which has not been a proselytizing religion, has now developed certain aggressive wings which convert and re-convert. One hears of the shuddhi movement and all its effects. The Hindu Mahasabha and the RSS organization are aggressively Hindu and dislike non-Hindus, and indeed consider them as some kind of aliens in India. It is this that is dangerous for us because Hindus are the dominant element in India. If they do not show the fullest tolerance to the minority groups, then it will be bad for us.

24. I have drawn your attention previously to the condition of the minorities in India, more especially the Muslims, who are still in large numbers. In the Services and elsewhere, their opportunities are progressively limited. If we are to be secular, stable, and strong State, our first consideration must be to give absolute fairplay to our minorities, and thus to make them feel completely at home in India. We are apt to preach to them too much as to what they should do and some condemn them. That does not help. We have to deal with the psychological reactions of large numbers of people. If by our activities we produce the wrong reactions and fear and apprehension, then we have failed, whatever logical justification we might give. Indeed, the only right attitude is

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

to show generosity to these minority communities, who should be considered as a trust by us.

25. I have written to you previously about the fuss that is often made about my tours, the special arrangements made for security and comfort and the like. I would beg of you to help me by reducing this fuss to the least possible. Not only in regard to me but in regard to others also I think we are getting tied up in too much show and ceremonial. I do not mind big impersonal ceremonial on occasions such as the Republic Day and the like. But, I do not think it is becoming for all our Ministers, whenever they travel, to insist on too much ceremonial. The less of it the better. We shall come nearer to the people then and not be considered a class apart.

26. Vijayalakshmi Pandit has been invited by the UK Government and also Yugoslavia. She is going to pay these visits soon.

Yours sincerely,

Jawaharlal Nehru

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### III

New Delhi  
22 June, 1954

My dear Chief Minister,

For a change, I am writing to you before time. My last letter was sent to you just a little over a week ago. Certain developments have recently taken place to which I should like to draw your attention. To some extent you are acquainted with them from the press. But that is, perhaps, not enough.

1. This morning I was to have gone to Mashobra for a week's stay. I had fixed this up long ago and had made all necessary arrangements about my work, etc. I had conditioned my mind to go there. Suddenly, almost at the last moment yesterday, I had to switch off my mind and to give up this visit.

2. You know now the reason for this. Mr Chou En-lai, the Prime Minister of China, is paying a short visit to Delhi. He is due tomorrow and is likely to stay for about three days. He is on his way back from Geneva to China. Nearly two months ago, I had conveyed informally an invitation to Mr Chou En-lai to visit India on his way back from Geneva. He informed me yesterday that he had accepted this invitation. At his request, we have arranged to send an Air India International co-



4. This visit of the Prime Minister of China to India is a matter of considerable significance and historical importance. It will be followed with the close interest in other countries. There is nothing very special about it and it is really in line with various developments that have taken place in recent years. During the last two years I have been invited on more than one occasion by Chairman Mao Tse-tung to pay a visit to China. The invitations have been informal because a formal invitation only comes when matters have been otherwise fixed up. On every occasion, when this invitation reached me, I expressed my appreciation of it and my desire to go to China. But I pointed out then that I could not pay this visit so long as war was going on in Korea. When a settlement came, I would gladly think of such a visit. After the Korean truce, we got tied up with the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission and again it became rather embarrassing for me to go there. Later, the Indo-China war flared up and became a world issue, and again it was not very suitable for me to go.

5. Although Mr Chou En-lai's visit might be considered to be in the normal course and quite natural on his way back from Geneva, it is, nevertheless, both in the context of history and of present-day politics, a very special event. The future of Asia depends upon many factors. One of these is the relationship between the two great countries of Asia—India and China. In our internal and external policies there are great differences. Nevertheless, we have endeavoured to come closer to one another without in any way varying our own particular policies. We have in fact proceeded in this matter, as in regard to other countries, on the basis of live and let live and non-interference. Our agreement with China in regard to Tibet laid down certain principles to which I have already drawn your attention. These principles are important not only as between us and China, but also in a wider field, whether that is Asia or even the world. It is clear that in no other way can peace be secured in the world in our generation. The alternative is conflict and war and destruction. Neither of the groups of Great Powers opposed to each other is so strong as to impose its will on the other. Neither is prepared to surrender to the other. The only way, therefore, is some kind of a negotiated settlement of the problems that face us. Such a settlement eases the tension and lessens the bitter hostilities that consume the world. But, what is even more necessary is the development of a feeling of tolerance and a realistic appreciation of the facts of life in the world today.

6. We have not proceeded on the assumption, as some countries do, that one country or one group is full of virtue and the other country or group is full of evil. We are, all of us, a mixture of the two. And, in any event, an attempt to remedy what we consider evil by force is likely to lead to infinitely greater evil. This, the broad policy we pursue is, externally, to tolerate other countries' views and policies and not to interfere with them and, at the same time, not to tolerate their interference with us; internally, to pursue our own policy and not

to be deflected from it by external pressures. This is not a particularly easy matter and difficult situations continually arise. But it is the general approach that counts. If this approach was a little more widespread among other countries, the whole atmosphere of the world would change and peace would be more assured.

7. What I really wished to do in this letter was to give you some information about recent happenings in Geneva. A few days ago, it appeared almost certain that the Geneva Conference would break down completely. As a matter of fact even then the way out of the impasse was appearing to a considerable extent. India, or rather our representative there, Shri V.K. Krishna Menon, was responsible for this. One of the big stumbling blocks to an agreement was the issue of Laos and Cambodia. It was in regard to this that a middle way was suggested and after long and separate arguments with representatives of the UK, China, and the USSR, this was broadly accepted. In such matters individual approaches are often more effective than a conference. Thus the general lines of an agreement were accepted by Eden, Molotov and Chou En-lai. It was this proposal that was brought forward by Chou En-lai at a somewhat later stage and which created some little sensation in the conference. At the beginning the reaction to it was uniformly good; even General Bedell-Smith, the US representative, described it as a reasonable proposal. Later, the US viewpoint changed in regard to it.<sup>1</sup>

8. However, the result has been that the Geneva Conference has adjourned for the time being<sup>2</sup> in an atmosphere of hope. There already appears to be a broad agreement about a ceasefire in Vietnam and the latest moves have brought promise of a similar agreement in Laos and Cambodia. One might say now, therefore, that a general ceasefire in Indo-China is almost assured. This is only a step towards a settlement: it is very far from a settlement, but it is a very big step forward. The next question would be to fix up the procedure for neutral machinery. Even here, the differences have been narrowed, but they still persist. You will have noticed that in all the proposals India is mentioned and is a common factor. It is highly likely, therefore, that we shall have to shoulder a good deal of responsibility in this matter.

9. A very important development has been the appointment of M. Mendes-France as Prime Minister of France. M. Mendes-France has gone so far as to state that he will resign if he cannot secure a ceasefire in Indo-China within four weeks.

1. While on 16 June 1954, Walter Bedell-Smith termed the proposals as "reasonable and "very moderate", on 18 June, Walter S. Robertson described them as "nothing new" and therefore "unacceptable".
2. On 19 June 1954.



10. For the first time, during these difficult months, we can feel that there is no likelihood of a world war in the near future. We came very near it. Many worked hard for staving off this world war III and we should give credit to them all. I think it is right to say that the part India played, quietly and unobtrusively, made in a great measure, these developments possible. Shir V.K. Krishna Menon has played a remarkable part at Geneva and both Mr Eden and Mr Chou En-lai have expressed to me their appreciation of his help. Although Krishna Menon's part has been very great, and in such situations personal contacts count for a great deal, we really should consider this success of our basic approach to these problems in the context of our foreign policy. This policy and our general mediatory role in world affairs has been vindicated again by these far-reaching developments at Geneva. It is conceivable that without our informal and unobtrusive help the balance might well have tilted in the direction of war. Our policy has to be understood in all its aspects. It is an integrated policy seeking and working primarily for peace and then for certain other objectives. Because of this broad approach, we have often to be restrained in other matters, and we refrain from condemning much that we dislike. Thus in regard to the French establishments in India, we have shown considerable restraint. In fact, we have often been criticized for our passivity. As a matter of fact, even the Paris negotiations yielded much. It is now accepted by France that these establishments must go to India. They have given up the idea of a referendum though, for constitutional requirements, they repeat that some kind of a consultation with the people should take place. We are agreeable to all this. The talks broke down about arrangements for a certain transitional period and, chiefly, regarding the police. You will observe, therefore, that we have made a good deal of progress though several hurdles remain. The French took up an unrealistic attitude and we were completely justified in asking for the control of the police.

11. We have tightened up some of our measures in the French enclaves, such as the issue of permits and the export of petrol, but, generally speaking, we have not taken any major step since this breakdown of our talks, even though the French have brought in some soldiers from Indo-China. We have viewed this whole problem in its larger context and not allowed ourselves to be swept away because of some incidents in Pondicherry. There is a new Government in France and a Prime Minister whose whole approach is likely to be different from the old approach. Then there is the problem of Indo-China with which, rather indirectly, we have become connected. Therefore, we do not wish to take a step in regard to Pondicherry, etc., which, instead of helping, might become a hindrance in many ways. We are convinced that these French settlements must come to us before long.

12. I have often written to you about our Community Projects and National Extension Service. I propose to write to you rather fully about this a little later.

I have to draw your special attention to the recent Development Commissioners' Conference which was held at Ootacamund.<sup>3</sup> This conference was rather remarkable and indicated the dynamic nature of this great movement. Recently, a UN mission published a report which has been quoted extensively in the press.<sup>4</sup> This report is rather old and deals with a period of over a year ago. Since then great progress has been made in these Community Projects and National Extension Scheme. Even so, the report of the mission is interesting. The members of the mission travelled not only in India, but in some other parts of Asia. They came to the conclusion that these projects in India were "the most significant experiment in economic development and social improvements in Asia at the present time." They laid special stress on the fact that the guiding principle is participation of the people in their own improvement. They have gone on to state that independence has had a profound effect in revitalizing national life and activity in India. "There is a sense of urgency and responsibility among the Indian leaders with which they are endeavouring to enthuse the people and capitalize upon to provide the motive power for economic development and social progress. The administrative structure, which was inherited, may not be entirely suited to the requirements of the process of rapid growth, but it provides certain canons of integrity and efficiency which, if sustained, will prove of value, provided that the administration is made more resilient and is adjusted to the needs of rapid change." Further they say that: "We regard community programme not as isolated phenomena but as integral part of a wider and more comprehensive process of development as exemplified in the First Five Year Plan of the Government of India. Not to regard them thus is to miss their real significance." Then they give a necessary warning. "It is our opinion that the awakening in recent years of villagers to their lot and their needs, and the unrest which the accompanying dissatisfaction have brought about necessitate that the tempo of improvement must be quickened if the democratic process is to succeed."

13. I have given these quotations from the UN mission report because it is sometimes good to see ourselves as others see us. Their report deals with the position as it was about eighteen months ago. Since then the community and national extension programmes have abundantly justified themselves and have taken root.

3. From 27 to 29 May 1954. For Nehru's message to the Conference, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 25, pp. 80-82.
4. The Mission reviewed the progress till the end of 1953 mainly in terms of physical achievements in 55 community project centres where work had started in October 1952. It noted that the villagers gave preference to increasing agricultural production, improvement of communications and provision of more educational facilities.





2. From another point of view, the timing of this visit, though entirely accidental, was very appropriate. It came at a critical moment in the life of the Geneva Conference, when it had taken a turn for the better, in so far as the Indo-China problem was concerned. And yet, everything was very delicately balanced and no one could say with any certainty which side of the balance would be weighted down in the end. Also, it so happened that Chou En-lai's visit to Delhi took place at exactly the same time when Sir Winston Churchill and Mr Eden were visiting the President of the United States to discuss more or less the same problems.<sup>2</sup>

3. This coincidence was entirely accidental in so far as we were concerned and yet it became significant. In the same way, the holding of the conference of South-East Asian Prime Ministers in Colombo also fitted in with the beginning of the Geneva Conference. That too was completely accidental and the dates had been fixed long before. That Colombo Conference, in spite of a number of difficulties we experienced there, was not only important in itself but had a considerable effect on the Geneva Conference which followed. The fact that no Asian country (except China and the Indo-China States) had been invited to the Geneva Conference made the Colombo Conference play an important role at Geneva. Thus, even though these Asian countries were not represented at Geneva directly, in another sense, they were very much present. The Colombo Conference had practically reiterated the stand taken by India in regard to Indo-China.<sup>3</sup> It was, of course, well recognized in Geneva that, in this matter, India's role was the important one. Shri Krishna Menon's visit to Geneva, which was meant to be brief and informal, again became more significant in the circumstances. The visit continued to be informal but was prolonged, chiefly at the desire of some of the important members of the conference. There is no doubt that he played an important role behind the scenes and was partly instrumental in certain decisions that were finally taken. In effect, therefore, the lead that was originally given by India in a speech I delivered in Parliament here before these conferences met, was largely followed. Our neutral position enabled us to deal in an informal and friendly way with the parties concerned and thus get over the rigidity of the conference procedure. In fact, it was

2. After four days of discussions, in a joint statement on 29 June 1954, Churchill and Eisenhower announced that they would continue their "united efforts for world peace and world disarmament," and "press forward immediately their plan for South-East Asian defence."
3. The Colombo Conference of Prime Ministers resolved that they considered that the solution of the problem of Indo-China required that a ceasefire agreement should be reached without delay. They proposed that France should declare at the Geneva Conference that she was irrevocably committed to the complete independence of Indo-China.



probably all to the good that India was not a formal member of the Geneva Conference.

4. The visit of Mr Chou En-lai, even apart from the surrounding circumstances, was an historic event of significance. The mere fact of the two major countries of Asia meeting in this way naturally drew the attention of the world. It was evident that the Indian public sensed this significance. The welcome that Mr Chou En-lai got in Delhi and during his brief visit to Agra was warm-hearted and affected him greatly. There was something in the air which not only the press and the politicians but even the public realized. The coming together of India and China, in spite of their differences, was a major event for Asia and, perhaps, even for the world. Few people thought that this was an attempt of either India or China to subordinate itself or its policy to the other. The point was whether, with our different approaches, there was a possibility of cooperation in many aspects of international affairs. It was clear that the future course of events in Asia, not to mention the world, would be powerfully affected by the future relationship of India and China. Was this to be one of hostility, or of passive toleration in a spirit of isolation, or of some measure of cooperation for certain common ends? This was not merely a matter of today, although today's problems were important, but rather of the long stretch of years to come. There was the fact of our being neighbour countries with a vast stretch of common frontier. There was also the fact of both these countries having recently emerged into freedom, though their methods and their policies had been different, each of them having rid itself of foreign domination was trying in its own way to find itself and to recover its own individuality. There was further the obvious fact of their largeness and the inevitability of their playing an important role in the future of Asia. Both in different ways, were trying to improve themselves, gain internal strength and to develop politically, socially, and economically. All these are common factors. The uncommon factor is, and it is a major one, that China had adopted very largely the Communist way and India the parliamentary democratic way. Even though there was this major difference, there was again a common factor of both thinking in terms of raising the under-privileged and removing the big inequalities that had existed in their social structures. Another and major uncommonness in the two, which really flowed from the other common factor, was India's stress on peaceful progress and China having followed a harsher and more violent course.

5. It became a major question, to which only the future could give an adequate reply, as to whether these two great and vital countries could adjust themselves to each other without coming into conflict, and could even co-operate in some measure, or was this not possible and we had to face active or passive hostility. The future of Asia was to depend on the answer to this question. Of course, there could be no unilateral answer. With all the goodwill

in the world, and the desire for cooperation on the part of India, there could not be this cooperation unless China came at least half-way.

6. This realization came to me soon after the success of the Chinese revolution and the formation of the new Chinese Government on the 1st October 1949. I visited England and the United States in October-November that year and I discussed this subject particularly with the British Foreign Minister and Mr Dean Acheson, the then Secretary of State of the United States. The question before us was the recognition of the new Chinese Government. The British Foreign Minister, Mr Bevin, agreed with me but said that we should try to function jointly in this matter. Mr Acheson partly agreed with me but pointed out that he could not go against American public opinion in regard to the recognition of the new China. Of course, the United States was tied up with Chiang Kai-shek also.

7. We did not know then how the new Chinese Government would develop and whether it was possible to have friendly relations with it. In any event, it seemed to me desirable that we should, for our part, go half way to meet it, making it perfectly clear what our own position and policy were, internally and externally. That is, our approach to China was to be friendly as well as firm. We recognized the new Chinese Government on the last day, I think, of 1949 and the UK and some other countries followed soon after. The Chinese Government treated us much better than they did other countries, excepting the Communist countries. Our Ambassador got on well with them, but there was always some uncertainty in my mind as to what the Chinese Government might do. There was the Tibet question. It was clear that China would establish its sovereignty over Tibet. This had been China's policy for hundreds of years, and, now that a strong Chinese State had been formed, this policy would inevitably be given effect to. We could not stop it in any way, nor indeed had we any legal justification for trying to do so. All we could hope for was that a measure of autonomy would be left to Tibet under Chinese sovereignty.

8. It must be remembered that we had succeeded in Tibet to certain special privileges which the British had acquired there. In effect, therefore, we were successors to certain expansionist policies of the old British Government. It was not possible for us to hold on to all these privileges because no independent country would accept that position. Thus we had a small number of troops in some towns of Tibet to guard our trade routes. We could not possibly keep these troops there. Our other privileges were in regard to trade matters and communications. The real influence of India, however, was something insubstantial but important. This was the reliance to some extent of the Tibetan Government on the advice of the Indian representative, whose position was also rather vague and not wholly justifiable by treaty. The Tibetan Government relied on our man partly because this tendency was a relic from the old days of



British dominance and partly because they were afraid of China coming more firmly into the picture. In the new circumstances that had arisen, this influence could not possibly be exercised. All that we could do was to use our diplomatic influence in favour of Tibetan autonomy. We did that as tactfully as we could, knowing that we could not make very much difference. I think, however, that our efforts had some influence and somewhat delayed the Chinese invasion of Tibet.

9. It is patent that we could not help Tibet in any way to resist the growth of China's power in Tibet. This was wholly outside the range of practical politics and it would have been of very doubtful legality. We explained this position to the Tibetan Government and assured them of our friendliness and of our wish to help within the obvious limitations. Gradually, the Chinese established themselves at various strategic points in Tibet and were in a position to control the Tibetan Government and its activities. They have taken care, however, not to interfere with the domestic set-up much and have not interfered at all with their social conditions, although these are very feudal. They have naturally built roads, etc., and established airfields because communications in Tibet were very bad. There has been much talk of Chinese troops' concentrations on our frontier with Tibet. There is not much truth in this except that some Chinese troops are present on the frontier and in various parts of Tibet. The total numbers are not great and are spread out. Indeed, the chief defence of Tibet is its very difficult terrain and the inhospitable nature of the climate. It is no easy matter for very large numbers of people from outside to live there. We get news often from Kalimpong about these Chinese military preparations in Tibet. It must be remembered that Kalimpong is a nest of all kinds of spies and the information these people gather is utterly unreliable. It usually comes from some emigres' who leave Tibet.

10. Being clear in our minds as to how far we could go into Tibet and how far we could not, we concentrated on one matter which was important to us. This was our frontier with Tibet. It took weeks and even months for our forces to reach that frontier. However, on this matter we were not prepared to parley with anyone, and I declared publicly in Parliament and elsewhere that this frontier, including the McMahon line was a firm one and was not open to discussion. Indeed, I went further and said that, from the defence point of view we considered the Nepal frontier with Tibet also our defence line. I said all this deliberately so that the Chinese Government might have no doubts about our attitude. I did not think it necessary to address the Chinese Government on this question because that itself would have shown some doubt on our part.

11. The behaviour of the Chinese Government towards us was, during the first two or three years, on the whole, good, though there were a number of petty instances which we found rather irritating. To begin with also there was

the usual Communist condemnation of some things in India. At the back of their minds they thought that we were tied up still with British policy. Gradually, however, the realization came that we were following an independent policy of our own and we took orders from nobody. This change may be dated from the date when we refused to sign the San Francisco Treaty. Since then, the behaviour of the Chinese Government was much better. So far as our Ambassadors in Peking were concerned, they were always treated with some consideration.

12. Then came the Korean war and later the armistice in Korea and the part we took in the post-armistice period. Much that was done by our representatives in Korea was not liked by the Chinese at all. But, on the whole, they did not challenge our bona fides. About this time, we started our talks about Tibet which ultimately led to the Agreement. Most people have recognized this Agreement as definitely a good thing. A few have criticized it on the basis that we have given up something which we should not have done. As a matter of fact, we have given up nothing which we held or could hold. Obviously, we cannot function within Tibet as if Tibet was under our influence. We have recognized certain obvious facts of the situation and come to understandings about trade, pilgrimage routes between India and Tibet, etc. There is no giving in at all. Two important aspects of this Agreement are:

- (1) that indirectly the question of our long frontier is settled; and
- (2) the principles of non-aggression and non-interference, etc., are laid down.

13. I have given this rather long history of our relations with the new Chinese Government since its inception because I want you and others to bear this picture in mind. Those relations have not grown up accidentally but have resulted from a set policy pursued right from the beginning. That policy, I repeat, was one of firm but friendly approach, of holding to our policy and preserving our interest, and at the same time, to cooperate where possible with China. This policy seemed to us not only the right one in the present but the proper one in the future. China and India were not only neighbours today but were going to continue to be so and we should lay, therefore, the foundations for that future also. From the point of view of Asia that seemed to be right and from the point of view of the world this appeared to be so also. Naturally, that policy could not be unilaterally pursued. It depended at every step on what China did.

14. The Tibetan Agreement was a solid consequence of that policy. It represented a friendly approach of both countries to this question. Previously, Korean truce, resulting from our initiative at the United Nations, was also a consequence of that policy. It is doubtful if there would have been a Korean truce but for India's initiative. In regard to Indo-China, I began by making



certain statements in Parliament and followed them up in the Colombo Conference. The resolutions of that conference became one of the major factors to be considered at Geneva. Because of the important part that India was playing in these matters, the informal visit of V.K. Krishna Menon to Geneva itself became a major event and in fact made a difference to the deliberations there. It may be said that the turn for the better that took place in regard to Indo-China towards the end was partly due to our efforts.

15. It was in this context of past and present events that Chou En-lai came to Delhi. We had long discussions daily. We talked through interpreters and everything had to be taken down so that it might be translated. This took time. Anyway, this had the advantage of our having a fairly full record of all that was said. Right from the beginning, there was a lack of rigidity about our talks and the atmosphere was friendly. He told me that he was not well-acquainted with most of the Asian countries—meaning thereby Burma, Indonesia, Ceylon, as well as the Western Asian countries—and would like me to tell him about them. He also said more than once that India was economically and industrially more advanced than China. I mention this to show that he took up no superior attitude at all in any matter. He was exceedingly receptive and wanted to know about India and these other countries. He was particularly anxious, of course, for the friendship and cooperation of India. He felt that India and China had an important role to play in Asia and that it was essential for them to co-operate for this purpose. He realized that in regard to some of the countries of Asia we were in a much better position to know about them and to have their confidence. I pointed out to him that many of these countries of Asia were a little afraid of these two giants, China and India. So far as we in India were concerned, we were anxious to remove all fears and apprehensions, even from Pakistan. Our people and our interests were spread out in many parts of Africa also, and the policy we had laid down for our people was that they must in no way exploit the people of Africa, they must help them and if they were not wanted in Africa by the Africans, they would have no place there. Chou En-lai said that that was exactly the policy he wanted to pursue in regard to all his neighbouring countries. He wanted to convince them that China had no aggressive designs on them and the Chinese living abroad must behave properly. In regard to these Chinese overseas he said something which was new to me. Previously, all Governments of China had claimed the Chinese overseas as their nationals, whether they wanted to be so or not. Chou En-lai said that he was quite clear that the Chinese living abroad should either accept the nationality of that country and cut themselves away from China, politically speaking, or if they remained Chinese nationals, they should in no way interfere with the politics of the other country. All this indicated to me his extreme desire to develop friendly relations with these various countries and to remove all apprehensions from their minds. All this can, of course, be clever strategy looking to the distant future. No one

can judge of inner motives. But it seemed to me that Chou En-lai was quite honest about what he said. His mind was concentrated on developing his own country industrially and otherwise and not getting entangled in any difficulties. In particular, he was always thinking of Asia and China's and India's responsibility to Asia.

16. His talk was wholly different from the normal approach of the average Communist, which is full of certain slogans and cliches. He hardly mentioned communism or the Soviet Union or European politics. I explained to him about our relations with Pakistan. I spoke to him at some length about our peaceful struggle for Independence under Gandhiji's leadership and how this had conditioned us. Our policies had developed from that struggle and we proposed to follow them. We avoided deliberately condemning any country or any people, even though we disagreed with them, because we felt that peace required a peaceful approach. We did not wish to interfere with other people or their policies which had developed under different circumstances and had been conditioned in other ways. I say no reason, however, why we should not co-operate in many matters with other countries. It is interesting to note that Chou En-lai said that it was a good thing that we had remained in the Commonwealth and that we should continue to do so, because it was good for us and good for world peace. That remark of his shows his realistic appreciation of the situation which many of our own people have not fully grasped yet, because they live in a world of out of date slogans and have little understanding of today.

17. I raised the question with him of "international communism" and the functioning of Communist parties in other countries, including India. I pointed out the fear of what was called "international communism" and how this was exploited by interested countries. I also indicated how Communist parties created mischief. He agreed with me, partly at least, and said that this fear and apprehension should go; and as for local Communist parties they were often very foolish and lacked understanding.

18. I have indicated a number of subjects which I discussed with him. As our conversations proceeded, they became more friendly and uninhibited and so I brought in other subjects also. We started, however, with the Geneva Conference and he gave me his version of what had happened there. About Korea there had been a complete deadlock. He had even suggested, he told me, that the conference should meet again to consider the Korean question. Several countries belonging to the United Nations group had agreed with him. But the United States had definitely negated any further consideration and so the matter had ended there. He complained of the US attitude, but there was no bitterness in his complaint. He said that the US had no positive proposals. Often, in regard to Indo-China, they neither said yes nor no to a proposal, but merely put in some reservations. It seemed to him that what the US wanted



was no settlement anywhere. The UK and France were certainly desirous of a settlement, but pressure was often brought to bear upon them by the US. The Bao Dai group was also rigid, but Laos and Cambodia were cooperative in search of a settlement.

19. In Indo-China the position now is that armistice talks are going on. There is a time-limit to them which will expire, I think within a fortnight or so. All the parties concerned, he said, had come very near to an agreement about an armistice. This included France. He was not sure, however, of the Bao Dai Government. But his real fear was from the US. He hoped, however, that the armistice would go through and then they could proceed to consider a wider settlement.

20. So far as Laos and Cambodia were concerned, he repeated that he wanted them completely independent, with no foreign intervention. His sole anxiety was that foreign bases, i.e., American bases, should not be placed there. In both Cambodia and Laos there are what are called resistance movements. In Cambodia this movement is not strong, but in Laos it is fairly strong and, oddly enough, it is under the leadership of some members of the Royal family.<sup>4</sup> However, the Chinese Government was willing to recognize the present Royal Governments of Laos and Cambodia. They hoped that internal settlements would take place peacefully with the resistance movements and, at later date, elections, etc., might be held.

21. The new Prime Minister of France, M. Mendes-France, has given an assurance that he will have an armistice in Indo-China within a month, that is by the 20 July, or else he will resign. That is a brave assurance to give. It is clear that the people of France want an armistice in Indo-China and are heartily sick of war there. The overwhelming majority that Mendes-France got in the French Chamber is evidence of this. It is highly likely, therefore, that an armistice will be arranged. The only real obstacle is the attitude of the United States. But, in view of the overwhelming French opinion, it is doubtful if the US will bring too much pressure to bear on the French Government. Indeed, the French Government would fall if it acceded to that pressure.

22. If there is an armistice, then the next question is that of having some kind of an international supervisory commission. Whenever this has been mentioned, India's name has always been there. Indeed, India's name has usually been mentioned as chairman of that commission. Our attitude throughout has been that we are prepared to take up responsibility in the cause of peace, but

4. Despite the recognition given to Laos as an independent State within the French Union under the Franco-Laotian treaty signed on 19 July 1949, the guerilla resistance had continued under the leadership of Prince Souphanou Vong who formed a rebel "Free Laotian Government."

we cannot give a definite answer till we see the full picture of the armistice and we know the obligations and responsibilities which we might have to shoulder. Also, of course, that the proposal must come jointly from the contesting parties and must be in the nature of a settlement. It is by no means clear to me yet, and Chou En-lai could not throw much light either, about these responsibilities of the commission. They will be different from those of the commission on Korea. There will be no question of prisoners of war as in Korea. Nevertheless, it will be a delicate and ticklish affair. I have made it clear also that we are prepared to cooperate with any other countries on this commission.

23. I pointed out to Chou En-lai that since the principle of armistice had been agreed to, it seemed to me undesirable for major operations and killing to go on. He said he entirely agreed and he hoped that there would be no major operations, but the French were continuing bombing in a big way and that itself was a major operation.

24. I suggested to Chou En-lai that it would be desirable for the Chinese Government to have closer relations with the United Kingdom and to exchange diplomatic representatives. He said that they had decided to send a *Chargé d'Affaires*<sup>5</sup> soon to London. Later, he might be followed by an Ambassador.

25. There has been a long argument going on between the United States and the Chinese Government, through other parties, about some hundreds of Americans, chiefly missionaries, who have been detained in China and not allowed to go back.<sup>6</sup> Chou En-lai's answer to this was that the Americans have detained several thousands of Chinese students who were in the United States and have refused to permit them to go back to their homeland.<sup>7</sup> There the matter stands. But the Chinese Government has now agreed to allow the Americans in China to correspond with their people in the United States.

26. Chou En-lai asked me what we could do about having some kind of agreement about future cooperation. He hinted at Burma and Indonesia also joining it. He did not specify exactly what he was aiming at and wanted me to suggest something. I told him that, for the present, we would be issuing a joint statement which would be a step in this cooperation as it would indicate our joint views. It might be possible for a similar statement to be issued from

5. Huan Xiang Huan Hsiang.

6. On 21 June 1954, the US Government claimed that there were 93 American civilians and 29 servicemen under arrest in China.

7. The Chinese, on 15 June, claimed that there were more than 5,000 students in the US who had been refused exit permits and told that if they violated this order they would be fined up to \$5,000 or imprisoned for a period up to five years or both.



Rangoon after he had seen U Nu there. Later, Indonesia might be approached diplomatically. Any further step at this juncture would not be advisable. We must wait for the settlement in Indo-China and then give thought to this matter. He agreed.

27. I mentioned to Chou En-lai Eden's proposal about an eastern Locarno. He did not know much about the Locarno Treaty and so I gave him a brief account of it. Details apart, it was an agreement between opposing and contesting parties for the maintenance of peace. I told him that this approach seemed to me a much better one than the American approach of having a South-East Asia organization of one group threatening the other. It might be difficult to make any commitment at this stage. But, I suggested to him, that it would be desirable to say that Eden's proposal deserved consideration. He agreed.

28. Chou En-lai asked me when I would go to China and said that he would like me to do so this year. I told him that I would love to go there. But it is difficult to fix any date at present. I would have to think of Parliament sessions and, apart from that, it was better to wait for an armistice and subsequent developments in Indo-China before I paid a visit to Peking.

29. I have given above a fairly detailed account of my talks with Chou En-lai because I am anxious that you should be in full possession of this background. We are playing, almost against our will, an important part in international affairs and, to some extent, the maintenance of peace in future might well depend on us. Therefore, we should be perfectly clear of the policies we are pursuing. These policies have been repeatedly stated in broad outline in Parliament and elsewhere and there is no doubt that they are approved of by the majority of the people in India. But, sometimes, there is what appears to me to be very unintelligent criticism. It is necessary, therefore, for us to be clear in our minds. Our policy externally is to prevent war because that is the primary consideration today. If war comes, then all other policies are swept away and we jump into a dark and unknown abyss. In furthering this policy, we seek to maintain friendly relations with all countries, but inevitably, support some action or oppose some other. What happens in Europe does not concern us so intimately, except that everything that may lead to war concerns us. What happens in Asia concerns us much more and we are part of it. Asia is in a state of turmoil and change, political, social, and economic. The only part of Asia which is at present rather dead from this point of view is Western Asia, and I would include Western Pakistan in this. Of course, the people are not dead and their minds too are agitated, but, for the moment, there is nothing important happening there. In Eastern Pakistan something did happen during the last elections, but it has been ruthlessly suppressed. Whether that suppression will succeed or not, the next few months or a year will show. It cannot, of course, ultimately succeed.

30. We may divide the world today, very roughly, in five parts:

- (1) The United States and some countries fully echoing its policy, such as Turkey, Philippines, Thailand, etc.
- (2) Some Western European countries like England and France, which are closely associated with American policy but disagree with it often and at present are unable to follow it fully.
- (3) The Communist countries, and chiefly the Soviet Union and China.
- (4) India and, to some extent, Burma and Indonesia, whose policy is basically neutral. Chou En-lai often referred to the South-East Asia pattern of countries, meaning countries following a neutral policy. He said that Laos and Cambodia should accept this South-East Asia pattern.
- (5) Other countries, such as those in Western Asia or South America, which have no fixed policy of their own and are inclined to function under pressure.

31. The policy of the United States during the past few years has been a record of repeated failure. The reason for this is obvious, because the United States refuses to accept facts such as the new Government of China. It is because of this chiefly that the Korean war took place and the Indo-China war has been prolonged. There is little doubt that there would have been a settlement in Indo-China at least a year or two ago, and a settlement more favourable to France than is now likely, but for American opposition. Mr Casey, the Australian Foreign Minister, asked me as to what American policy was. He said he did not know, neither did I, except for the negative fact of being opposed to communism. That negative policy had led to the strengthening of communism in many places in Asia especially, because it had made the United States line up with colonial and reactionary regimes. The staunchest supporters of American policy today are Chiang Kai-shek, Syngman Rhee and Bao Dai. In North Africa, in Morocco and Tunisia also, colonialism had been supported.

32. There is no American policy today as far as one can see, except war or an intensification of 'cold war' which itself would lead to shooting war. They do not want to accept a ceasefire in Indo-China except on the basis of surrender of Viet Minh. It so happens that Viet Minh is both politically and militarily dominant in Indo-China. And everybody admits that, if there was an election in Vietnam, Viet Minh would get 95 per cent votes. Obviously, Viet Minh is not going to surrender, much less will China surrender, on this issue. Therefore, the alternative to not having a settlement is war, and on a limited scale.

33. England and France have reacted against this American policy and, in spite of their close association with the US and their dislike of and fear of the Communist parties, they have refused to line up with the United States on this issue. The Western alliance, therefore, is, to some extent, cracking up. The United States are angry and feel frustrated. That is a natural result of following



a wrong policy. And yet, they cannot change that policy because of the public opinion they had themselves created. McCarthy, though an extreme case, represents that public opinion to a large extent.

34. In this conflict of ideas and policies, it is obvious that India cannot support the American viewpoint. It can, however, go some way in supporting the efforts and the approach of the United Kingdom to bring about a settlement. It is often said that it is no good relying on the Communist parties as they will not keep to any agreement. If that is so, then it is no good talking to them and one has to make up one's mind to destroy them. That, indeed, is the basic thought in the minds of certain dominant American groups. They still say that the People's Government of China must be destroyed and Chiang Kai-shek is their symbol for the attack on China. All this seems an emotional reaction which has little to do with present-day affairs or realities.

35. The recent developments in Guatemala <sup>8</sup> have not brought much credit to either the United States or the United Nations. We do not know all the facts. But there can be no doubt whatever that there has been aggression from outside on Guatemala and that this aggression has been encouraged by the United States. For some months past a violent campaign against Guatemala has been carried on in the United States on the ground that it was going Communist. What the strength of the Communist Party in Guatemala is, I do not know. But some well-known observers, including an American journalist, who went there, have said that it would be quite wrong to call the Guatemala Government Communist. What that Government has tried to do is to better the condition of its peasantry. The land in Guatemala is practically owned by the United Fruit Corporation of the US. This owns three million acres of concessions, apart from railways, steamships, etc. A great part of this land is deliberately kept fallow by the United Fruit Corporation. The Guatemala Government passed a law <sup>9</sup> which was far from drastic. This law applied only to uncultivated land and holdings over 225 acres. This land was to be given to the landless peasantry. This law, which is not very much different from what we are doing in India, was called communistic and the United Fruit Corporation, supported by the US Government, opposed it violently.

8. In the fight between the Communists and the "army of liberation" represented by the anti-Communist forces, the latter emerged victorious. The Government of President Arbenz Guzman was overthrown and the Junta Government, constituted on 29 June 1954, put all known Communists under arrest.

9. On 25 February 1953, the Guatemalan Government, after expropriating 234,000 out of 300,000 acres of land owned by the American United Fruit Company, began its distribution among 23,000 peasants in November 1953.

36. Apart from the merits of this dispute, the fact remains that there was aggression and that foreign aircraft coming from Honduras and apparently supplied by the United Fruit Corporation<sup>10</sup> bombed the civil population of Guatemala. The matter was taken up to the Security Council of the UN. This Council refused even to put the subject on its agenda. The voting in the Security Council was significant. Five, headed by the US, were against its inclusion in the agenda; four, including New Zealand, were in favour of this; and two, England and France, remained neutral. Their neutrality showed their disapproval of American policy in Guatemala. I had a telegram from the Foreign Minister of Guatemala asking for India's moral support. We could do nothing and we had no desire to get entangled in Central American politics. Privately, we asked our delegate at the UN to point out to the other delegates there that we viewed this aggression and bombing of civilian population with great concern and the prestige of the United Nations was involved. This is a far more obvious case of aggression on a small country than Korea or Indo-China. It will be difficult for the United States or for the United Nations to talk of aggression in future when they have, in a sense, connived at this aggression on a small country. Indeed, the whole purpose of the UN Charter is frustrated.

37. There has been a great deal of resentment in India over certain steps taken in Pondicherry by the French authorities there.<sup>11</sup> A small number, about fifty or so, of soldiers were landed there. Repression continues there and it appears that some kind of trenches have been dug on the borders. All this is very irritating. Some people have said that the talks which we had in Paris were just a device for gaining time to strengthen the French position in India. I do not think this is correct. These talks were sincere enough in the sense that a settlement was desired. But the position of the French Government has been very peculiar during the last few months. The result has been that the local authorities in Pondicherry have been given a free hand and the French colonial authorities are even worse than the British colonial authorities used to be in India. The landing of a few soldiers or the digging of trenches does not make too much difference to the situation, except that this might prevent an internal upheaval, or volunteers marching into Pondicherry, as happened at Yanam. The basic problem remains and will have to be solved before long. The new French Premier is naturally full of Indo-China at present. We, in India, are also

10. The Corporation owned about 600,000 acres of cultivated land in the five Central American republics, with its own network of railways, radio communication and tramway system.

11. The arrival on 16 June 1954 of fifty-six French armed military personnel led to protests on the following day by the Bharat Yuvak Sangh and the All India Peace Council.



indirectly concerned with possible developments in Indo-China. Looking at this picture, therefore, in broad perspective, it would be unwise to come into direct conflict with France at present, without making another effort at a settlement. For the moment, therefore, we have tightened up our permit system and reduced our petrol supply.

38. I have given you a broad review at some length of world developments and tried to indicate India's part in them. It surprises me greatly that in this context some groups and parties in India cannot think of anything except some petty opposition to Government. They talk of *morchas* and no-tax campaigns and so-called satyagraha and the like. Apart from all this being singularly out of place in a democratic State, it shows how very limited is the outlook of these groups. They can neither understand the present nor have any vision of the future. They are frustrated and engrossed in their petty complaints and in finding some way or other, whether it is justified or not, in creating trouble for Government. That is not the way democracy functions.

39. I have written this letter at Mashobra in the Simla Hills. I am sending this to Delhi for despatch. If copies of this letter are sent back to me here for signature, that will mean some days' delay. Therefore, I am suggesting that this letter should be issued from Delhi without my signature. My Principal Private Secretary<sup>12</sup> will sign it. I hope you will forgive me for this.

Yours sincerely,

12. Bhagirath Nath Kaul.

## V

New Delhi  
16 July, 1954

My dear Chief Minister,

Since I wrote to you last, much has happened which deserves notice. But the outstanding event, from our point of view, has been the inauguration of the Bhakra-Nangal canal system. The importance of this event was recognized by the vast number of people who gathered at Nangal and who rejoiced at the prospect of the life-giving waters spreading out over parts of East Punjab, Pepsu and Rajasthan. This became a symbol to us of the gradual fulfilment of the great plans that we have laid down and the mighty projects for which we have laboured. Thus it became an event of significance in the present and of promise for the future. East Punjab, Pepsu and Rajasthan will profit by this,

but the whole of India can well rejoice at this further stage in our journey being reached.

2. Our joy and sense of fulfilment have been marred somewhat by the virulent propaganda in Pakistan over the canal water issue.<sup>1</sup> I do not propose to give the long story of our negotiations on this subject here. I spoke at some length in Nangal itself and my speech was reported.<sup>2</sup> I should like to say, however, that in this matter we have proceeded with extreme patience and far greater caution than I myself am perhaps capable of. It has never been our desire to injure Pakistan, much less to make large numbers of people there suffer. Soon after the Partition, we made this clear and there was an Agreement with Pakistan dated the 4th May 1948 which was supposed to govern our subsequent activities and approach to this problem. According to this, East Punjab was entitled gradually to take more water from the Sutlej, giving time to Pakistan to make good the deficiency by constructing various links joining up their canal system. It was obvious that there was plenty of water in the Punjab rivers for both India and Pakistan and that most of it was not utilized and poured out into the Arabian sea. There was thus no lack of water if only proper arrangements could be made for its utilization. So far as India was concerned, however, there was only one possibility for us and that was the Sutlej. If the Sutlej water was denied to us, then there was no hope for East Punjab or Pepsu or Rajasthan. We proposed, therefore, right from the beginning, that we should approach this problem in a human and reasonable spirit and decide it with the help of the engineers from both countries. Pakistan did not cooperate. Ultimately, the World Bank came into the picture and we accepted its mediation. We agreed not to exercise our right as agreed upon in the Treaty of May 4, 1948, to reduce the supply of waters of Pakistan so long as we were discussing this matter with the World Bank. At that time, we expected these preliminary discussions to last six months or so. As a matter of fact, they lasted two and a half years.

3. Ultimately, however, the World Bank produced a scheme<sup>3</sup> which cast a heavy burden on us in terms of money, but, at any rate, it was a reasonable scheme dividing the waters of the Punjab rivers and avoiding disputes in the

1. It was suggested by the Pakistan Government and the press that India, by reducing suddenly the flow of water down the Sutlej, Beas and Ravi would convert the food-producing areas of Bahawalpur and the Punjab into a vast and arid desert.
2. For Nehru's speech at Nangal on 8 July 1954, see *ante*, pp. 131-143.
3. According to the plan submitted by the World Bank on 5 February 1954, the waters of the Indus, Jhelum and Chenab rivers were to be made available for the exclusive use of Pakistan, while the waters of the Ravi, Beas and Sutlej rivers could be used by India. India was also asked to bear the cost of construction of link canals in Pakistan amounting to Rs 40 to 60 crores.



future. We accepted this scheme and we were prepared to shoulder the burden which might have amounted to Rs. 60 crores or so. Pakistan at first practically rejected this scheme. Under pressure from the World Bank, they modified their attitude slightly without accepting the scheme.<sup>4</sup> It was clear that Pakistan, as usual, was following delaying tactics. We had waited already for six years. And, meanwhile, the Bhakra-Nangal project was progressing rapidly and one stage had been completed. We informed the Bank and Pakistan that we considered ourselves free now from the assurance we had given previously about not reducing the supply of water to Pakistan. We would, however, gladly have any further talks about a settlement. Thus, we freed ourselves formally from the assurance we had given.

4. Under pressure of events, Pakistan then said that they accepted the principles of the World Bank proposal but could not give their final answer till they saw the entire picture as it emerged from them. Again, under the guise of acceptance, they kept the door open to reject. That is the position now.

5. As a matter of fact, we have even now, not reduced the supply to Pakistan, though we are entitled to do so. Because of the failure of rains for some time the water level of the river was low and both India and Pakistan suffered proportionately. Now the level has risen again and there is no lack of water.

6. Pakistan has taken up a wholly unreasonable attitude and the press of Pakistan has been full of threats, including mention of war.<sup>5</sup> Because of their own internal difficulties, evidently they wish to divert their people's minds towards hatred of India. That has been the basic policy of Pakistan throughout these years. Instead of trying to build up their country and their own strength, they have relied on this negative attitude and have sought military aid from the United States of America. A very large number of American experts and advisers are now in all parts of western Pakistan.

7. In East Pakistan, there is outward quiet but bitter resentment and sullenness. East Pakistan is governed now practically as a colony of the West.

8. While Pakistan becomes more and more entangled in its internal problems

4. In May 1954, on being asked by the Bank either to accept or reject the proposals within a week so that India may be free to develop and utilize her own water resources, the Pakistan Government replied that before they finally accepted or rejected the scheme, detailed technical study was necessary to understand the full implications of the plan.

5. Karachi's three English daily newspapers, the *Dawn*, the *Morning News* and *The Times of Karachi*, wrote on 9 July in protest against the opening of the Bhakra-Nangal canal system and called for action against India.

and relies on help from outside, in India the sensation of self-reliance, of progress and building up becomes stronger from day to day. Bhakra-Nangal was a symbol of this. A few days ago, I went to the UP to open a new railway line<sup>6</sup> and to see the beginnings of the Rihand project<sup>7</sup> in Mirzapur district. This is going to supply hydro-electric power as well as water for irrigation. There is going to be in these hilly regions a large and very lovely lake about 30 miles in length. That area of UP is a peculiarly backward area which has been neglected in the past. I was, therefore, particularly happy that at last this was going to be developed.

9. Another important development has been our decision to decontrol rice.<sup>8</sup> This indicates the great progress made in our food position. Only two or three years ago, our position was almost desperate and we had to import four and a half million tons of foodgrains from abroad. It is true that good harvests have helped us. But it is equally true that our normal production has increased considerably, chiefly from more intensive work. Last year when I was in England, I said that we had turned the corner in so far as the food question was concerned.<sup>9</sup> I was criticized for this in the English newspapers. As a matter of fact, we have done even better than I expected. We have definitely come out of the wood, but that does not mean we can be complacent. We have to be wary and wide awake and continue our efforts to increase our food production. Among the favourable factors, which are seldom taken into consideration in calculating increased production in food, is the work being done in community projects and national extension areas. We are now at work in this way in about 50,000 villages with 36.5 million population. The results being obtained here are good and the productivity per acre is increasing.

10. We have to remember that the targets we aim at have to be such as to be adequate even when seasonal conditions are adverse. We have also to remember the growth of population. Further, our people should eat more than they have thus far done. Under the Plan, we provided only 13½ ozs. per head of the population. We should provide 16 ozs. per head and increase the production and consumption of protective foods, that is, foods other than cereals.

6. Nehru inaugurated the Chunar-Robertganj-Churk railway line on 12 July 1954.
7. Inaugurated on 14 July, the Rihand project, expected to be completed by 1960, was estimated to produce 2,40,000 kilowatts of hydro-electric energy.
8. From 10 July, the control on rice was removed except in Jammu and Kashmir. The inter-State movement of rice was also allowed.
9. Nehru had said in London on 10 June 1953 that in the past few months India's balance of payments position had improved and she had also done well on the food front. "We hope to be practically self-sufficient within a measured period of time."



At present our diet is not balanced or health-giving. We have also to increase the production of industrial raw materials for our expanding industries, such as cotton, jute, oil-seeds, etc.

11. Prices of foodgrains have fallen <sup>10</sup> and we should welcome this. This fall has brought relief to a vast section of the population. About a year ago, there was no appreciable fall in spite of the increase in production. This was a bad sign and made us a little anxious. The present downward tendency must therefore be welcomed. This brings not only relief but increased purchasing power for most of our people and the cost structure of our industries, both big and small, will ultimately show a reduction. There will be expanding internal markets.

12. Some apprehension has been expressed on behalf of agriculturists because of the fall in prices.<sup>11</sup> There does not appear to me to be any adequate reason for this apprehension. There is not likely to be any greater fall and agriculturists will gain by increased production and an increased demand for their produce. The fall in prices will also affect some articles consumed by them, such as cloth.

13. It has to be remembered that we intend to spend large sums in this and the next year on developmental projects. More than fifty per cent of the expenditure of the Five Year Plan will be incurred during these two years and this will no doubt create increased demands for food and other articles.

14. Some people have suggested that Government should keep up prices of foodgrains by purchasing larger stocks of them and offering them at specified prices. But such price support policies are difficult and burdensome in any country, much more so in an agricultural country like India. The obvious course appears to be to increase developmental expenditure greatly when prices fall. We must, therefore, aim now at an increase in developmental expenditure, that is, an addition to what has already been provided. This can safely be done now without any fear of adverse results.

15. I have often referred to the Community Projects and the National Extension Service. Last month there was a conference of Development Commissioners at Ootacamund. This conference was an outstanding success and showed the consistent progress that was being made in a great part of the country. The Commissioners came to the decision that the entire country should be covered with the National Extension Service by the end of the second Five

10. The wholesale price index of foodgrains fell from 470.3 in the middle of May to 338.0 in the third week of June.

11. For example, on 24 June. Algurai Shastri, President of the UP Congress Committee, asked the Government to evolve some method by which the prices of agricultural produce would not fall below the fixed minimum as this would hurt the agriculturists.

Year Plan. This is a tremendous undertaking. It means that we should cover about 75,000 villages every year from now onwards.

16. It must be remembered that the Five Year Plan is not merely a Plan for some schemes of development but represents an integrated outlook for the overall development of India. The Community Projects and the National Extension Service, even more so, represent this integrated outlook in so far as our rural areas are concerned, that is, 80 per cent of India. The success of these schemes depends entirely on the quality of the workers employed there and therefore their training becomes important. Officials are taking an important part in these schemes and their work has been good. But the entire scheme depends upon the cooperation of non-officials or rather of the people at large. It is because this cooperation has been forthcoming that we can look forward with hope. It is necessary, however, to train the non-officials.

17. In all planning a measure of centralization is inevitable. But in the community schemes and the national extension service we have to aim at a great deal of decentralization so as to make local agencies responsible for implementation.

18. In view of the progress being made in this national extension service, the need for proper co-ordination at all levels has become more important than ever. I drew your attention some days ago to a circular issued by the Government of Bombay providing for this co-ordination. In this circular it was pointed out that the community development and the national extension service programme is a programme for all the welfare departments and not of a single department. Indeed it is the basic programme to convert India into a welfare State, working from the bottom upwards. I hope that your Government will also integrate all these activities from this point of view and have frequent reports from all your various departments to indicate the progress made in this integration. This applies of course to the Central Ministries also.

19. In Geneva, the various conferences have again begun to function at a high level. The Foreign Ministers have gathered there and almost last minute efforts are being made to find some way out. M. Mendes-France, the French Prime Minister, took the brave step of declaring that he would resign from his prime ministership if there was no ceasefire in Indo-China within a month. That month expires in another four days. On the whole, there appears to be hope that there will be a ceasefire and the present arguments and strong statements are meant to get the best terms possible. But there can be no certainty till we have actually seen the final result. The real difficulty in the way of a ceasefire and a settlement in Indo-China has been the attitude of the USA. It appears that this has been somewhat toned down as a result of discussions with Mr Eden and M. Mendes-France. The American attitude now is that they will not come in the way of such a settlement, although they might not themselves be parties to it.



20. Meanwhile, some developments have taken place in Indo-China<sup>12</sup> and the new Vietnam Government is adopting a somewhat aggressive line.<sup>13</sup> In Vietnam there are at least two large private armies belonging to some sectarian organizations. There is thus some possibility of trouble.

21. In the French settlements, the position grows more tense. The French Administration in Mahe has practically collapsed and the Administrator has decided to hand over authority to representatives of the people there. Thus nearly all the isolated enclaves have shed French rule and only Pondicherry and Karaikal remain. There has been a good deal of repression there. In view of the very delicate situation at Geneva and Indo-China, it was not very easy for the French Government to pay attention to other problems.

22. In Goa, there has been intense repression by the Portuguese authorities and a considerable number of prominent citizens have been arrested.<sup>14</sup> There has been mounting resentment against this all round Goa, more especially among the emigre Goans. The Government of India have taken a number of steps to restrict movement into and from Goa and other steps are in contemplation.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

12. There was a change of government in South Vietnam. Prince Buu Loc resigned on 16 June and Bao Dai invited Ngo Dinh-Diem, a leading Roman Catholic, to take office as Prime Minister.
13. Both Bao Dai and Ngo Dinh-Diem strongly criticized on 18 June the proposals put forward by the Vietminh delegation at the Geneva Conference.
14. Many Goan nationalists were arrested on 18 June and their houses searched.

## VI

Dalhousie  
5 August, 1954

My dear Chief Minister,

I am writing this letter from Dalhousie, a hill station in East Punjab, not far from the Pakistan border. This is one of the loveliest places I have been in the Himalayas, though it is not so well-known as some others and is not a resort of the fashionable. It has suffered a good deal from the partition, but it is now trying to make good again and, I am glad to say, succeeding in doing so.

2. I have come here on the occasion of the centenary celebrations of the

founding of Dalhousie,<sup>1</sup> at the invitation of Raizada Hansraj, the leading and probably the oldest citizens of this mountain resort. He is an old comrade in our struggle for freedom and advanced years sit lightly on him. Approaching 90, he still walks up and down these hills and is a standing testimony to the invigorating climate of Dalhousie.

3. I have come to Dalhousie after 29 years. In the middle twenties, my father and the rest of our family came here and I paid them a visit. We went from here to Chamba by bridle path, passing a place named Khajjiar, which is one of the loveliest spots I have seen, and then on to a ledge on the mountain side overlooking the valley of the Ravi, several thousand feet below, with the town of Chamba nestling on a plateau by the side of the river. That visit of mine, nearly 30 years ago, impressed itself powerfully in my mind and I have carried those mental impressions to this day. One of the reasons for this was the fact that it was in Chamba that we heard the news of Deshbandhu C.R. Das's death. This news put an end to our holiday and my father and I rushed back by mountain path, automobile, and railway train to reach Calcutta.

4. I visited Chamba again on this occasion and was there day before yesterday. A motor road has been built and it took us a few hours to get there, when previously it had taken us two full days, on foot or on horseback. The new road followed the winding Ravi and the changing scene was pleasant enough. Yet I remembered with regret our previous trip when we walked and rode through the dense forests, passing Khajjiar lake on the way. It is essential that the interior of these mountains should be opened out by roads and I am pressing for it all the time. But at the back of my mind there is a feeling of sadness at the motor bus or lorry coming, puffing and hooting, and somehow desecrating the virgin forest, and perhaps interfering also in other ways with the charm of this mountain country.

5. This charm is not merely that of the mountains. I have always had a rather special feeling for the Himalayas. Whether this is merely a sentimental attraction, or some half-forgotten memories of far off days, or the invigorating atmosphere which comes from the nearness of snow-covered mountains, I do not know. I like these mountain folk with their song and dance and their evident wish to enjoy themselves in spite of their poverty. You know that we have been encouraging folk dancing and our Republic Day celebrations are gradually becoming a folk dance festival in Delhi. Troupes of folk dancers come from all over India. On the last occasion in January 1954, there were as many as 700 folk dancers and others who came to Delhi for this purpose. The various troupes were judged and the President's prize, a huge shield, went

1. Celebrated from 2 to 5 August 1954.



to one of the troupes that came from Himachal Pradesh. This itself showed the excellence of these folk dancers from the Himalayan valleys. As a matter of fact, there are any number of these dancing troupes in the different valleys of Himachal Pradesh. None of them are professionals. They are all amateurs, working in the fields and practising dancing and singing in their leisure hours. Some of them are so difficult of access that they cannot easily come to Delhi.

6. During my present visit to Chamba, I had the privilege of seeing many varieties of Himalayan folk dancing. There were those who had won the trophy at Delhi and many others; some perhaps even better than the champions. These could not travel to Delhi because it was not possible for them to come over the high passes in winter. They live about 80 miles from Chamba, in the Pangi Valley, and it takes a full week normally to go there from Chamba. The route goes over a pass of 14,500 ft. This pass can only be crossed for about six or seven months in the year. It was in the Pangi Valley last year that owing to food scarcity, we had to arrange for food droppings by air.

7. All these dancers from various parts were clad in beautiful artistic colours. Usually they were handsome with clear-cut features, especially the women, and they were full of grace. They sang as they danced and the songs were of old legend and story, or of the beauties of their mountainside with its flowers and streams, or of the joy and sorrow of love, or of topical happenings. One of the songs indeed was about the aeroplane coming and dropping food for them. I must say that I enjoyed this folk dancing greatly. It was first class in its own way, and even sophisticated to some extent, and yet of the soil and fitting in with the entire environment of mountain and forest and snow and river.

8. I am anxious that these people of the hills should have opportunities of advancement thrown out to them—communications, schools, hospitals, small industries and the like. They are bright and clever and do well when opportunity comes to them. But a certain fear seizes me, lest these contacts with the more sophisticated people of the plains might not affect them to some extent in the wrong way. I am anxious that they should not lose their innate charm and straightforwardness, their artistry and their joy in life. I am anxious, above all, that they should not be exploited by the so-called clever people coming from below.

9. I came away from Delhi to Chamba and Dalhousie after inaugurating the meetings of the representatives of Canada, India and Poland, the three countries chosen to form the International Supervisory Commissions in Indo-China. These meetings are going on and others have now arrived in Delhi representing France, Viet Minh and the Associated States, namely, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. We have undertaken a heavy and very responsible task in Indo-China. But I was happy to sense a desire to cooperate in the people who

are gathering in Delhi. This is a good omen and, though the difficulties facing us are formidable, I think we shall overcome them. It has been decided to send an advance party<sup>2</sup> consisting of representatives of the three member countries of the Commissions to Indo-China. We shall have to follow up by sending a large number of officers, civil and military possibly 150 or so. We may have to appeal to you to lend us the services of some of your officers for this purpose.

10. The work to be done in Indo-China is essentially different and, in a sense, less difficult than in Korea. It is less difficult because perhaps there is not that background of intense bitterness and hostility which existed in Korea and prevented even a straight talk between the parties. Here, at least, people face each other and talk to each other. There is no question of prisoners here as in Korea. In fact, the Korean argument about choice being given to prisoners to go back or not, has not been raised here. All prisoners will automatically go back to their homelands. The responsibility for maintaining the truce has been cast squarely on the parties concerned. Our Commissions will merely watch and control and supervise. We shall thus not have to send any large number of troops. Possibly, we might have to send some for watch and security duties. They should not exceed some hundreds.

11. While the Indo-China settlements have been recognized almost all over the world as a tremendous step towards peace and, indeed, as a turning point in world affairs since the last World War ended, the situation is none too easy. Only a few days ago, an unfortunate incident in the China seas brought out these passions and hostilities and, for a moment, there was danger of bigger conflicts. That moment passed and there has been a return to relative normality, but this incident itself has shown how explosive the entire situation is.

12. In India, the situation in the French and Portuguese possessions is developing rapidly into a state of acute crisis. There is hope of a settlement in Pondicherry, etc., and the new Prime Minister of France, M. Mendes-France, evidently desires a settlement. He has tackled bravely the Tunisian problem,<sup>3</sup> immediately after his success at Geneva. The news, appearing in the papers, that the French will withdraw from Pondicherry on August 14 is not correct,

2. The advance mission led by Subimal Dutt, during his visit to Phnom Penh and Hanoi between 7 and 22 August 1954, met the representatives of the French, South Vietnamese, North Vietnamese (Vietminh), Laotian and Kampuchean Governments who assured their Governments' support and cooperation to the commissions.
3. On 31 July, Mendes-France announced "complete internal autonomy" to Tunisia with France retaining responsibility only for Tunisian defence and foreign affairs.



so far as I am aware. But it is true that M. Mendes-France has sent me a message proposing fresh talks on a new basis, which appears to be satisfactory.<sup>4</sup> These talks may well result in a settlement before long.

13. In the Portuguese possessions, there is little hope of a settlement, and the Portuguese Government is busy with all kinds of warlike arrangements. More troops have been brought and an intense and virulent propaganda against India is being carried on not only in Goa but also in Portugal itself and in Portuguese African possessions.<sup>5</sup> Meanwhile, some villages in the northern Portuguese area have been taken possession of by Goan volunteers. This does not indicate that the Portuguese are withdrawing. All it means is that they are concentrating their forces in certain areas, especially in Goa. They have made it clear that they will not leave Goa peacefully, and, if they are compelled to leave, they will destroy everything and leave a desert.<sup>6</sup> This is a difficult situation for us. It is, of course, not difficult from a military point of view. But we wish to avoid recourse to arms. I am a little worried over these developments lest killing should start as that would complicate the situation greatly. We, as a Government, have thus far proceeded with all caution and even discouraged any aggressive action by volunteers. It may, however, become difficult for us to be quite passive in this situation if the Portuguese start shooting. We are taking other kinds of action, such as permits for people coming into India from Goa and certain economic measures. These economic sanctions will no doubt have a powerful effect on Goa, but that will take some time. Meanwhile, the situation develops with some rapidity.

14. We have had to face again two kinds of disasters. Swarms of locusts have come over Rajasthan, Punjab, Delhi and the UP and done much damage. The other and greater disaster is the unprecedented floods in Assam, Bihar, West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh and some other places. To some extent, floods have become normal occurrences, but that does not lessen the shock that they give and the harm that they do. This year these floods have been on an even larger scale, more especially in Bihar where the Kosi and the Gandak have played havoc. We must, of course, give all the relief that we can, but the major question is how we can stop them or at least control them. It seems a confession of weakness that we cannot deal with them because of financial or other reasons. Recently, two of our topmost engineers visited China<sup>7</sup> on behalf of our

4. The negotiations were resumed in New Delhi on 5 August 1954.

5. There were violent anti-India demonstrations in Lisbon on 25 July, and in Lourenco Marques, capital of Portuguese East Africa (Mozambique), on 30 July 1954.

6. This was stated by the Governor of Diu on 4 August 1954.

7. K.L. Rao and Kanwar Sain were in China from 4 May to 4 July 1954.

Government to examine for themselves what had been done there for flood relief. They have come back much impressed by what they saw. China is far less industrialized than India is. They are today almost entirely without big machinery. And yet, with hand labour alone, they have succeeded in creating huge dams and embankments running for hundreds of miles. What is more impressive is that this has been done in record time and apparently at less cost than might have been the case if big machines were used. In one such major work, 1,200,000 people were employed between two harvest seasons and, in the course of 90 days, they completed it. This was so because of very fine organization and the capacity for hard work of the Chinese.

15. Our engineers told us that they were particularly struck by the enthusiasm of the people working on these projects. The Chinese Government took great pains to rouse up this enthusiasm and to make these people feel that they were working for the nation and for themselves. Probably, the wages paid to them were not high. But the Government provided all kinds of amenities for these workers—theatres, music and dancing, club houses and full information about the work that was being done so that they could understand it. They sang while they worked and so the work appeared lighter than it was.

16. Why should we not be able to learn from this example and succeed in getting big works done without relying too much on machinery imported from abroad. There is no harm in getting the machinery and, in some cases, it is obviously necessary. But, situated as we are with our large number of unemployed, it is obviously desirable to use manual labour, unless this is not feasible for some reason or other. The Chinese example has shown that it need not be expensive, if properly organized, and that it need not even take more time. Perhaps our engineers are getting a little too much machine-minded.

17. I think we should revise our ideas and think in terms of rapid and effective action to control some of these floods. This question arises especially in Bihar and Assam. The Kosi river has become a curse for vast numbers of people and we have made scheme after scheme to do something about it. We have, I believe, approved of a certain scheme<sup>8</sup> now which does not include at present the building of the big dam near the Nepal border, but which nevertheless can bring a good deal of relief. I think that our engineers should immediately think of undertaking this work, keeping the Chinese example in view and trying to use organized hand labour to the largest possible extent. That will also bring

8. The new project aiming at protection against floods replaced the earlier proposal of constructing a multi-purpose 783 ft. high dam at Barakheta in Nepal.



relief to the vast numbers who have suffered during the floods. In Assam also, we have to tackle the problem much more effectively than we have been able to do thus far.

18. Floods have not only descended upon us in India, but they have surprisingly even descended upon Gyantse in Tibet. Apparently these floods came suddenly and with great rapidity and the old fort collapsed<sup>9</sup> bringing death to many of our civil and military personnel there, as well as our Trade Agent.<sup>10</sup>

19. I wrote to you in my last letter about the marked change that has come over the Indian people and the sense of gradual fulfilment that is evident all over the country. I do not wish to exaggerate this, but I have no doubt that there is satisfaction among our people at our achievements. I sit in an office most of the time, but fortunately I move out also among the people and many come to see me. Thus, to some extent, though not adequately, I try to retain the common touch. I have noticed, more particularly, a feeling of satisfaction in regard to three events, and this satisfaction goes right down to the people in the fields and in the marketplace. There is a sense of exhilaration at the part that India has played in helping to bring peace in the world; there is marked satisfaction at the great progress we have made in regard to the production of food and the abolition of controls and, in the north especially, Bhakra-Nangal has become a symbol of achievement. We must rejoice at this new climate of achievement. Nevertheless, there are many who do not share it because of their own troubles and difficulties. It is difficult for them to imagine that they are sharers in this when they get no benefit from it at all and their present misfortune continues. It is true that we cannot change the face of India suddenly or bring relief to all those who suffer. And yet, we are continually faced with this problem, which in the main may be said to be that of unemployment.

20. There is the land problem and we have taken credit for having done much to put an end to the zamindari and jagirdari systems, even though they continue to some extent still in parts of India. But a doubt creeps into our minds about the progress of this land reform. Undoubtedly, we have done good and a certain type of major intermediary has gone. But, many intermediaries still remain. It has been our long declared policy that all intermediaries should go and the peasant who tills the land himself should become the proprietor of his patch. We have not succeeded in that yet and we find that the laws we have framed have left many loopholes and there is a great deal of evasion.

9. Gyantse fort on the bank of river Namchung was washed away on 17 July 1954.

10. Raisaheb Pempa Tsering.

Indeed those laws themselves permit much that we thought we were avoiding. In particular, it comes as a shock to me that numbers of tenants are still being ejected. This is often done, I believe, by land being declared *khudkasht* or reserved for personal cultivation. Many States place no limit to the quantity of land which could be retained as *khudkasht*. The result of all this has been wholesale eviction of tenants. It is a fact that even now people hold many hundreds of acres of land, sometimes even a thousand acres or more. This result has not been what we had looked forward to.

21. Tenants who have been ejected come to me with their tale of woe. What am I to tell them? What answer am I to give? All our achievements in other directions, all our plans for the future, mean nothing to them if they are driven out of the land they tilled sometimes for scores of years. Instead of bettering their condition, our new land reforms have actually worsened it. Surely, this is something we cannot accept willingly.

22. The whole policy of land reform, apart from removing the burden on the actual tiller, was to spread the income from land more evenly among the peasantry and thus giving them more purchasing power. In this way, the internal market would expand and the productive forces of the country would grow. We cannot go on increasing our production unless we increase our consumption. We cannot increase our consumption unless there is the wherewithal to buy among large numbers of people. I remember having a talk with the Ford Foundation experts who had come here to advise us about cottage and small industries. Some of these experts told me how exciting the prospect was of having such a vast market as India provided or should provide. Once this wheel of greater purchasing power, greater consumption and greater production got going, there is no limit to it. This applies, of course, not only to land but even more so to industry. It applies especially to small industries which should produce many of the articles needed in our villages.

23. We are making a determined effort to improve our rural population through our community development and national extension service schemes. I have already mentioned to you the progress we are making through these schemes. The progress is, I think, deeper and more widespread than is imagined. But that progress itself requires something more both in regard to land and in regard to the development of small industry. It requires more purchasing power to be thrown to the people by such means as may be at our disposal. Mere technological progress by itself will not help, although it is very necessary.

24. Our land legislation was based on certain theoretical approaches as well as such data as we possessed. That data was wholly inadequate. It became clear that any organized and methodical approach to this problem must now be based on fuller particulars and data. The Planning Commission proposed therefore, a census of land holdings. There has been quite extraordinary delay



in tackling this urgent problem and I would particularly invite your attention to it.

25. There appear to be two developments on the land which have resulted from our legislation and which are obviously producing results which we did not aim at. One is the conversion, in some places, of the old rent-collecting landlord into some kind of a farm operator or a capitalist farmer. Often enough, he continues to be an absentee farmer sometimes engaged in other occupations in cities. But, by some device of having a relative or other connected with the farm, he continues to hold on to it. Another curious development is what is called cooperatives in farms. These so-called cooperatives have nothing to do with the cooperative system. They are really partnerships of some farmers.

26. It seems to me that the right aim for us on land must be to make the actual cultivator the owner. Further that a number of cultivators join together for real cooperative purposes both in field work and in subsequent operations. The form of these cooperatives might vary and it is not necessary to be rigid about them. The first process of the removal of all intermediaries and the cultivator becoming the owner will produce a psychological change and will have some definite practical advantages also. The second process of cooperative farming will help in bringing about greater production through advantage being taken of better methods.

27. Whether it is land or industry, we have to face a major problem. Are we definitely aiming at a change in the social climate of the country and do we think of each one of our measures in that context or not? It must be admitted, I think, that the change in the social climate in India has not been very marked in practice, although many of us talk about it. And yet, it is this change that is so necessary to bring about that wider enthusiasm and co-operation, that joining together for great ends that we aim at. The Planning Commission rightly laid stress on agriculture in the First Five Year Plan. That did not mean that industry was given second place. It meant that a sound agricultural system was the basis for industrial advance.

28. I have referred on several occasions to the growth in our production. I think it would be desirable for us to give more publicity than we have done to the actual figures of production. We have in fact, achieved our national plan targets in regard to food and cloth within three years instead of the five aimed at. Somehow, we fail to take advantage of our own achievements and our critics are constantly shouting about the other side of the picture. Our rice production in 1953-54 has gone up to 27.1 million tons and the wheat production has risen to 7.2 million tons and our other cereals to 21.2 million tons. Thus, our production in 1953-54 of all cereals together has been 3 million tons more than the target fixed for 1955-56. This is something very definitely to be known by our own people and by the world.

29 In regard to cash crops, we produced in 1953-54, 39.4 lakh bales of cotton. This is only 2.3 lakh bales less than the target for 1955-56. In jute, the progress has not been so marked, partly because of Governmental policy. In sugarcane and groundnut, there have been significant achievements. We have in 1953-54 12 million acres more under cultivation than the target for the fifth year.

30. Cloth is the next important item. We had fixed the target for 1955-56 at 15 yards per capita. We have, in fact, reached in 1953-54 a per capita availability of 14.7 yards, leaving out export figures. The actual figures of textile production are interesting:

	1950	
Mills		3,665 million yards
Handloom		636 million yards
	1953	
Mills		4,905 million yards
Handloom		1,200 million yards

The increase in handloom production is especially interesting and satisfying.

31. In the community project and national extension service schemes, the following States continue to do well. Bihar, Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Hyderabad, Madhya Bharat, Punjab, Orissa, Rajasthan, Saurashtra, Bhopal, Coorg, Cutch and the North-East Frontier Agency. The other States functioning tolerably well are Madras, Pepsu, Himachal Pradesh and Assam. The UP has done well in patches but is not keeping up the pace. Ajmer, Andhra, Vindhya Pradesh, Travancore-Cochin and Manipur are beginning to move. Mysore, Tripura and Jammu and Kashmir remain static and at the bottom of the list.

32. As our work in the community projects and national extension schemes is technical, the need for technical personnel is becoming more and more important and urgent. It is therefore necessary to have advanced planning in this for the overall needs of each State. Otherwise, all progress will stop.

33. I have written a long letter to you and yet there are many other things in my mind which I should like to share with you. We stand on the threshold of the atomic age. There is little doubt that, given peace in the world, atomic energy is going to revolutionize the world as we know it. This is no distant prospect now. It is quite possible that in the next five years or so atomic energy will be used for power. It is estimated that in another ten or fifteen years, it will be widely used. I need not point out to you what great changes this will lead to.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru



## VII

New Delhi  
15 August, 1954

My dear Chief Minister,

I am writing this to you on Independence Day, soon after the ceremony at the Red Fort in Delhi. Though our principal national day has been fixed, and rightly so, for January 26, Independence Day on August 15 has a special significance. It was on that day that the great change took place from foreign control to independence it was that day that marked the triumph of our struggle for freedom. It is right therefore, that we should remember this day and observe it with some solemnity all over the country.

2. The Delhi celebration, connected intimately with the Red Fort, has a particular significance and every year a vast concourse of people gather below the ramparts of the Red Fort to see the flag of India unfurl there, symbol of our past struggle, symbol of our independence and symbol of the future that we are building and looking forward to. The passing of years has not made this simple ceremony stale or commonplace. There is still a great thrill attached to it.

3. This year, in spite of our manifold problems and difficulties, we met in that historic place with a new vitality and with a sense of achievement and fulfilment. Everyone realizes that the goal we aim at is not near and there are many difficulties and pitfalls on the way. But there is also the realization that we are marching confidently towards that goal. There is a feeling of self-reliance and confidence in our people. Perhaps that feeling is even more in evidence in our countryside and in our innumerable villages than in the cities. It is because this vast countryside of ours is vibrant today with a new hope that India has this feeling of assurance in her future.

4. There is no question of complacency. In fact, nothing is more misplaced or more dangerous than complacency. When a person is riding a bicycle, he cannot stop or the bicycle topples over. The faster he goes, the straighter will be his path. So in our movement forward, we dare not slacken.

5. On this day, I think more of our internal problems than of international affairs. We are at peace with the world and our relations with other countries are friendly. The two possible exceptions are Pakistan and Portugal. Unfortunately, we cannot get out of that evil heritage which bedevils our relations with Pakistan. We wish it well and indeed a healthy Pakistan is necessary for our own well-being. We have no designs on it. But a conflict of ideals as well as some conflict of interests, in addition to the memory of past conflicts, come in the way of real friendly relations even though I am sure that the people of both countries desire such relations. Some time or other, we shall fulfil that desire. For the present, there is undoubtedly suspicion and distrust.

Even in the Independence Day broadcasts of the Governor-General<sup>1</sup> and the Prime Minister<sup>2</sup> of Pakistan, there were attacks on India and her policy. This is no occasion for me to deal with them.

6. Then there is the Goa situation which has become rather critical lately.<sup>3</sup> There has been an exchange of notes between our Government and the Portuguese Government and you must have seen them. On our part, we have laid the greatest stress on peaceful behaviour and our desire for settlement through negotiation.

7. In regard to the French settlements, there has been a good deal of progress made and there is every hope that this question will be settled in a friendly way between India and France. Owing to internal difficulties in France and the heavy preoccupations of her new Prime Minister, M. Mendes-France, we have for the present not issued any statement. This may be delayed. But it is possible that our talks may be renewed soon on a new basis.

8. Our main preoccupation at present is Indo-China, where we have undertaken a very heavy task which will strain us to the utmost. This task is of wider significance and more complicated than the one in Korea. At the same time it is a less difficult one. In Korea, there was a total absence of the cooperative spirit between the parties and we, as neutrals, were buffeted about by them. You will remember that ultimately there was no agreement about several important matters and we could do nothing to bring about agreement. In Indo-China, there is undoubtedly a desire on the part of every country concerned to cooperate and find a way out peacefully. That is a tremendous gain. This was evident enough in the little conference we had early this month in Delhi. The members of the International Supervisory Commission, Canada, India and Poland, met here and discussed matters in a spirit of full cooperation. They met also representatives of the warring parties in Indo-China namely, France, Vietminh, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. The approach of all these

1. In his broadcast on 13 August 1954, Ghulam Mohammed said that Pakistan had "several difficulties. We cannot say that an adjoining State has no hand in them." Hoping that the difficulties with India would be tidied over, he regretted that so far he had "met with complete disappointment in this regard."
2. Expressing surprise at "the most amazing and militant opposition to the idea" of Pakistan by receiving military aid from the United States, Mohammad Ali asserted that Pakistan would "refuse to be guided by the wishes of India" and would not change her "policies to suit India." He also blamed India for Pakistan's problems in regard to refugees, Kashmir and East Bengal.
3. In a bid to thwart the proposed peaceful 'march on Goa' on 15 August by the Goan nationalists, the Portuguese authorities took several measures on 7 August. These included closure of a part of the Indian border, ban on entry of Indian and foreign newspapers, expulsion from Goa of 4000 Indian residents who did not possess residence permits and declaration of a state of siege.



countries was friendly and co-operative, in spite of their past conflicts and present differences. It is for this reason that I say that the Indo-China task is both complicated and easy, compared to Korea.

9. Our advance party was sent to Indo-China under the leadership of Shri S. Dutt,<sup>4</sup> our Commonwealth Secretary. We have had reports from him to indicate both the difficulties and the common desire to overcome them. The Supervisory Commission was invited to meet Dr Ho Chi Minh, the President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (Viet Minh). Shri Dutt was greatly impressed by Dr Ho Chi Minh as a leader and a man.

10. So much for foreign affairs. But, as I have said above, my mind today is full of India and, more particularly, of our constructive and developmental activities in this country. More and more I feel that the pace of these activities must increase. That can only be done by the closest cooperation between governmental agencies and the public and the public having a sense of partnership and a feeling of enthusiasm in this great task of building up the new India. I referred in my last letter, I think, to the visit of two of our leading engineers to China recently. They saw the great river projects which had been constructed in China and were greatly impressed by them. China lacked machinery and these huge tasks were undertaken and completed practically by manual labour alone in record time. That is a great lesson for us and I hope we shall profit by it.

11. Shri Kanwar Sain, who went to China and saw these projects, has told us of the enthusiasm of the people working there. They were singing at their work and were encouraged to do so. While their daily wage might not have been much, the amenities provided for them were considerable and every effort was made for them to understand what they were doing and the benefits that would accrue to them from it. Thus they felt as if they were working for themselves and their own advancement and not merely for some Government which paid them a wage. There was also the organisational aspect which was very effective. Vast numbers of people were made to work together in a smooth way and the speed of their work exceeded the normal work which might have been done by big machinery.

12. We have had recently vast and unprecedented floods in a great part of our country. They have caused tremendous damage and suffering and immediate relief has to be given. But the major question before us is how to deal with the prevention of these devastating floods in future. It is here that we might profit by the Chinese example. They have river valley commissions which deal not with a particular project but with a broad planned scheme for the whole or a

4. Subimal Dutt (1905-1992); Commonwealth Secretary, June 1954-September 1955; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 7, p: 644.

large part of the river valley. I think we should also think in these terms, more especially in Bihar and Assam. Indeed, to some extent, we did that in this way in Bihar and a special organization<sup>5</sup> was built up for this purpose. But this organization has apparently not made any great progress thus far. We shall have to speed this up.

13. It has seemed to me that we have not paid enough attention to the provision of what might be broadly called amenities for our workers. They are really much more helpful both from the practical and psychological points of view than some increase in wages and probably they cost less. With these amenities and social services, provided for community living and entertainment, the whole status and outlook of the worker changes and his effectiveness at work increases. He becomes not merely a hard worker, but a colleague and a partner in an undertaking. We talk of industrial peace and we made laws and regulations for it. Those laws are no doubt necessary. But the essential thing in this, as in other matters, is the human relationships that we build up. In effect, it is our social outlook that counts. If it is a social outlook of superior and inferior, of definite class barriers, then inevitably we have the sense of social conflict.

14. It is true that in our present social set-up there are these big differences and barriers. We say that we shall remove them, but the process is slow. At least, we can minimize them psychologically and otherwise by these community centres for workers where they can feel that those barriers do not exist. Thus we can provide them not only with better housing, which is so essential, but also with decent clubs, rest houses, sanatoria, games, libraries, reading rooms, places for entertainment, etc.

15. Yesterday I met the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, Dr J.C. Ghosh.<sup>6</sup> You may have seen or read about a recent report of a survey of undergraduate life in Calcutta. This is a revealing and rather painful document showing how a large number of undergraduates live in Calcutta. They have practically nowhere to go to. The classrooms are terribly crowded and for the rest they wander about in the streets. Surely no education can be profitable in these surroundings. The problem is a big one, but one immediate step towards ameliorating it was suggested by the Vice-Chancellor. This was to have some kind of student homes, each one catering for 500 or more students. These homes not to be residential, but places where students could spend the day in proper and healthy surroundings, read books, newspapers and periodicals at ease, have healthy and cheap food from canteens, have some entertainment

5. An advisory committee for the Kosi project was set up in 1950.

6. (1893-1959); Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, 1954-55; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 3, p. 418.



and lectures and games and bathing places, etc. Such a club would at least provide a decent resting and study place to the students. I think the idea is a very good one not only for Calcutta but for elsewhere also and should be pursued.

16. The building up of new India has always seemed to me not merely a question of improving agriculture, industry, etc., important as that is. The social, economic and the community aspect of it is equally important. In fact, we cannot go ahead on the economic plane without changing some of our social background and breaking through some of our restrictive social customs. Caste, of course, is one of the major hurdles that have to go. It is separatist, destructive and it perpetuates inequality, apart from the other social evils that it leads to in the case of Harijans and the backward classes. The position of women is important. We cannot go ahead if women do not play a full part in national progress. In fact, we cannot build up the unity of India unless there is this emotional awareness of not only political, but economic and social equality. When we talk about a secular State, this does not simply mean some negative idea, but a positive approach on the basis of equality of opportunity for everyone, man or woman, of any religion or caste, in every part of India.

17. While we work for this, I am particularly concerned about our children and young people, for they represent the India of tomorrow. I am greatly distressed to see them uncared for or not properly cared for, and growing up with an almost total lack of opportunity. I think that we should especially concentrate on these children from the earliest age. It is a mighty task but, unless we do this, we do not lay the foundations of tomorrow properly.

18. I have been reading a report on the reasons for delays in the execution of our river valley projects. Various factors are mentioned: the first is the lack of proper planning at the beginning. We have sometimes started on a project without full investigation in detail, with the result that changes are frequently taking place in design and otherwise and upset both our estimates and our work.

19. The second reason for delay has been the cumbrous procedure for the acquisition of land under the Land Acquisition Act. Some way has to be found to get over this difficulty, for this delay is very expensive. Indeed, it must always be remembered that delay in a major project, which is costing us vast sums of money, is more financially harmful to us than almost anything. Where we are spending at the rate of lakhs of rupees a day, every day's delay means that much loss. We do not adequately realize this, sitting in our offices and allowing matters to remain undisposed of for some time.

20. This leads us to the third reason for delay, that is, sometimes delay in sanctions and in permission being given for even relatively small thing. An argument goes on about the purchase of some stores. Meanwhile, work stops or is delayed. This excessive centralization of authority comes in the way of

both effectiveness and speed. It also comes in the way of the procurement of machinery and spare parts.

21. Then there is the delay caused by our old rules for recruitment through the employment exchanges and the UPSC. The UPSC is an essential organization, but it was not originally thought of in terms of these big engineering and like projects and its rules are not very applicable to them.

22. These are some of the major reasons for delay and we should try to avoid them and lay down a procedure which, while providing full checks and scrutiny, avoids too much centralization and delay.

23. There are two other aspects of these projects which sometimes are not fully borne in mind. There should be no time-lag between the completion of a project and the utilization of the benefits flowing from it. Every such time-lag is utter waste. Therefore, while the project is taking shape, full thought should be given to other aspects, such as, if electric power is being created, provision for its use.

24. The second aspect, which has to be thought of right from the beginning, is the social aspect of developing that area. It was this that was stressed by the Tennessee Valley Authority and which has changed the whole of that area under the TVA. We are apt to ignore this aspect and think only of the project by itself, not realizing that the project is meant to supply human needs and it should begin by improving the quality of the human beings round about and the opportunities available to them for progress.

25. If we have to go ahead with public works, as we should, housing and roads are always there for us to take in hand. Both are important. The housing problem in India is acute. Indeed, it is acute in most parts of the world. In Delhi a large number of houses have been and are being built. Many of them are on behalf of Government. Indeed, one of the notable changes that has taken place in housing policy all over the world is the great increase in governmental or municipal building compared to private building. Private enterprise in this respect has been losing ground everywhere. In our larger cities, a good deal of private capital is being used for the purchase and sale of land, chiefly for speculative purposes. In Delhi this speculation in land has grown greatly. Not many houses have been built and even most of these people are just not interested in building or in laying down these services. They are merely interested in making money by resale of land. They buy land cheaply from agriculturists, parcel it out into small plots and sell it back to land-hungry townsmen without even developing it.

26. This is obviously undesirable. In other countries special laws have been made to prevent this happening and we should follow their example.

27. The Government policy in regard to land is to sell it to the highest bidder and thus make a profit out of it. Not much thought is given to the social side. I think this is an entirely wrong approach and this way of selling



Government land just to the highest bidder cannot form part of any social scheme for housing. The result has been high land values for private land, increasing speculation and fantastic rents. The average man is simply nowhere in the picture.

28. Our municipal authorities have sometimes interested themselves in building houses for the people but not enough. The development of land and building should be undertaken normally by the same authority and this should usually be a municipality or a cooperative organization. In regard to slum clearance, we have to face a heavy cost of acquiring not only the land, but the wretched slum itself. In England, I am told, the law does not allow any compensation for the slum structure. It is a slum, it is the business of the slum-owner to clear it at his own cost. We should also have some similar law. Some of the slums in India are a disgrace to any kind of community.

29. Housing should be considered, therefore, as a social problem in which the State or the municipality is intimately interested. Certainly let us encourage private building, provided it fits in with that social policy. In particular, we should encourage cooperative efforts, and insurance companies and banks might well help in this process.

30. You must have seen today the so-called honours list. Three very eminent countrymen of ours have become the first Bharat Ratnas.<sup>7</sup> We can give no higher honour to anybody. The other list is that of Padma Vibhushan.<sup>8</sup> This is the first list of the kind and most of us are not used to appreciate its significance. These are, of course, not titles and cannot be used as titles. But, merely for purposes of comparison, I might say that Padma Vibhushan—*pahla varg* may be said to correspond to a GCSI of the old order; *dusra varg* would correspond, in the same way, to a KCSI or a knighthood; and *tisra varg* to a CSI.

31. You will observe that these lists have honoured not servicemen as such, but rather distinguished people in science, engineering, medicine, in art, literature and social work. This indicates the way India looks today. We honour the creative and the developmental activities of the nation and we wish people to honour them.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. S. Radhakrishnan, C.V. Raman and C. Rajagopalachari.

8. There were forty-two recipients of Padma Vibhushan.

## VIII

New Delhi  
3 September, 1954

My dear Chief Minister,

Since I wrote to you last, Parliament has begun another session and has already done considerable work. There have been statements and debates on foreign affairs to which I would draw your particular attention. An important Bill has been passed dealing with food adulteration,<sup>1</sup> and the Special Marriage Bill<sup>2</sup> is now before the House. This Bill is one of several dealing with social reform. This particular Bill is not confined to any one community. The others will deal particularly with certain aspects of Hindu Law.

2. As you know, we attach great importance to these social reforms and Hindu Law measures. Unfortunately, they have been held up for a long time past and it is a matter of considerable satisfaction to me that we are now moving at last. The progress of a nation can only take place on all fronts, political, social and economic. We have laid stress on the political aspect in the past and are now thinking more and more of the economic aspect. But the social aspect is at least as important. Indeed, the economic aspect cannot go far without adequate measures of social reform. I am glad also that we have had a Bill<sup>3</sup> relating to untouchability.

3. The tremendous floods in Assam, Bihar and parts of UP, and West Bengal have produced a very serious situation in these vast areas. This is serious enough in the present as millions of people require relief and assistance. But an even more important aspect of this is prevention in the future. It is no easy matter to deal with these effectively, though much can be done. Our mighty mountain barrier, the Himalayas, have their great advantage for us and they are woven in our country's story and legend. But sometimes they have their terrible aspect also as in the case of floods and earthquakes. This is a test for our nation. From all accounts, the people concerned in these flooded areas have behaved splendidly. In spite of the disasters they have had to face, they have

1. The Prevention of Food Adulteration Bill passed by the Lok Sabha on 26 August, came into force with effect from 29 September 1954. It replaced all local laws, and laid down uniform provisions for the prevention of adulteration of foodstuffs.
2. The Special Marriage Bill provided for marriage by registration, laid down the minimum age at the time of marriage, and provided for nullity of marriage and divorce by mutual consent.
3. The Untouchability (Offence) Bill stipulated the imposition of disabilities arising from practice of untouchability as a punishable offence. The Bill was welcomed by all sections in the Lok Sabha when it was debated on 27 and 30 August and then referred to the Joint Select Committee.



not lost their morale and are prepared to face these with determination. It is up to all of us, however, to help them and I would draw your particular attention to the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund in this connection. I am paying a brief visit to these areas soon.

4. The decision of the Government of India in regard to the Appellate Bank Tribunal's award has met with much criticism.<sup>4</sup> I would invite your attention to the speeches delivered by the Finance Minister<sup>5</sup> and by me<sup>6</sup> in Parliament on this subject. I can well appreciate the strength of some of the arguments used in criticism and the general labour reaction. But, nevertheless, I feel that this does not take into consideration many of the facts that we have to face. It was not without a great deal of discussion and much painful thought that we came to our decision. That decision can by no means be called a final decision settling this matter for a long time. We have clearly said that we shall go into this question thoroughly again in the course of the year and take such steps to change it as we might consider necessary. The award is after all only for a year and we have made it clear that during this year there is going to be no reduction of the present payments to the employees of banks. Therefore, in effect, there appears to be little reason for this heavy criticism.

5. I suppose this criticism is due not so much to what we have done but to some kind of suspicion as to what Government might have in mind. I regret this very much. It is important that we carry large sections of the community with us and more particularly labour which plays a vital part in the nation's economy. Opinions may occasionally differ about a certain matter, but there must be a basis of confidence and faith. If that is lacking, then the best of arguments fail.

6. I realize that these questions have not only a practical aspect but a psychological one. If we do not win on the psychological front, then we have failed, however much we may be able to convince ourselves about the rightness of our action. We have always to deal with labour in a spirit of perfect frankness as well as equality. If we carry in our minds some relic of old ideas about the working classes being some kind of inferior grade citizens, who trouble us from time to time, then we are bound to produce adverse reactions.

4. On 17 August, the Government while accepting the new pay-scales for bank employees, as recommended by the Appellate Tribunal, varied the formula for payment of dearness allowance and exempted banks in smaller towns from its application. This measure was criticized by the trade unions and members of the Opposition.
5. On 30 August 1954, C.D. Deshmukh stated in the Lok Sabha that the Government's decision to modify the Award had been "in public interest and to ensure social justice", as otherwise it would have led to closure of a large number of banks.
6. For Nehru's statement in Rajya Sabha on 2 September 1954, see *ante*, pp. 147-149.

Unfortunately, our social structure is still far too uneven and there are too many differences between those at the top and those below. When we discuss the salaries of bank employees, it does come as a shock that the Presidents and Chairmen of Banks are paid very large salaries. It is very difficult to justify reductions of the lower paid staff when the people at the top continue to get themselves large salaries. It is true that by reducing some of the top salaries, we shall not make much difference to others in financial terms. But psychologically that would produce a great effect. So long as there is not a feeling of a burden being equally shared, there will be discontent and a lack of that enthusiasm which is so essential for rapid and effective work.

7. How are we to get rid of this class consciousness which introduces itself in every step in our lives? Probably it is more obvious in the city of Delhi with all its gradations of status and class than elsewhere. If we could succeed in this matter, more than half our battle would be won.

8. I have written to you previously about communal troubles and conflicts. There have been a number of such incidents recently in Hyderabad and in UP, and I have been deeply pained by them. The incident by itself might not have been big or important. But the mere fact of such incidents occurring indicates our inner weakness and backwardness. It does little good to blame anyone for it. From the very nature of these incidents, or most of them, it is obvious that some mischief-makers are about. The distressing part is that large numbers of people are misled and get excited and misbehave. There is hardly a country in the world where these religious conflicts occur and it is a matter of shame for us that we still live in this climate of religious intolerance and conflicts in spite of our proud boasts to the contrary. I would draw your attention to these matters because they strike at the very root of national unity and progress.

9. I shall not write to you much on the subject of foreign affairs because I have dealt with these in my recent speeches in the two Houses of Parliament. World affairs become more and more intricate and inevitably we get more and more entangled in them. It may be some consolation that the prestige of India is high and that large numbers of people in all parts of the world look up to India as a nation working for peace for which they crave. But this prestige brings its responsibilities and burdens. Indo-China is a heavy burden to us and we have to remember all the time that the settlement of Geneva is no final settlement. The whole of the Far East of Asia as well as the South-East remain in an explosive condition and it is always possible for some ill turn to unleash all kinds of disasters. So, we have to be careful and to watch every step that we take.

10. Politics, more especially international affairs, no longer consist of making brave declarations, but of having a clear idea of intricate and developing situations and then trying to make the best of them. It is true that we must



always keep our basic principles in mind because, without them, we shall have no anchor. We cannot function on a purely opportunist basis which is bad not only from a moral but a practical point of view. But, keeping those principles in view, we have to adjust our activities as well as our statements to the particular situation. Our influence thus far is largely due to our good fortune in taking right steps at the right time. Not to do so would be failure. To go beyond the necessities of the situation would be adventurism, also leading to failure. We have, therefore, to balance all this every day and at every step.

11. Goa is an instance where our feelings are roused and our national interests demand action. The Portuguese Government often address us offensively and produce strong reactions in us.<sup>7</sup> But we cannot act on the basis of sudden reactions or of emotional behaviour. We have to take not only the right steps, but also in the right way. We have also to keep in view our general world policy because we cannot isolate one action from another. I have no doubt that we shall win in Goa. But I am anxious to do so without giving up in the slightest the basic policy that we claim to pursue. That policy is likely to yield satisfactory results before long in Pondicherry. In Goa it might take a somewhat longer period, but the result will be the same.

12. Within a few days, the so-called South-East Asian Conference will be held at Baguio in the Philippines. We have kept away from it and we have expressed ourselves clearly against it. So have Indonesia and Burma. The South East Asian Conference thus is really and principally a European and American Conference without much of Asia in it. And yet, the problems they deal with will be Asian. A remarkable feature of this Conference is that some countries are not only anxious to protect themselves against possible aggression, but also lay claim to protect other countries, even though the others do not ask for such protection. This approach is perilously near to the old spheres of influence.

13. You may remember that an essential part of the Geneva decisions was to keep the Indo-China countries, namely, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, as neutral States unaligned to the power groups. Any attempts to tie them up with one group inevitably produces reactions in the other group and tension increases. The question is how far we can extend what we have called the area of peace in Asia, that is, the area of countries which are not aligned to the power groups. A new phrase has come into existence, the South-East Asia pattern of countries,

7. On 30 August 1954, the Portuguese Foreign Minister accused India of acting as an "accomplice" of the Goan nationalists and said that "the same expedients and narrowness" had preceded "the violent occupation" of Hyderabad.

meaning countries which are not aligned to these power groups and intend to pursue independent policies in favour of peace. This conception again is tied up with the idea of coexistence of countries having different political and economic structures. There is really no alternative to coexistence except, as I said in Parliament, co-destruction. This is not a happy one, but it does convey what we have in mind.

14. This idea of coexistence is being appreciated and more, but there are strong forces still opposed to it, and I fear the Baguio Conference is encouraging these forces.

15. The EDC or the European Defence Community, has suffered a severe shock by the refusal of France to join it. That has upset all the carefully laid plans of the last few years and it is not quite clear what this will lead to. The situation is fluid all over the world, both in Asia and Europe. One of the principal factors that prevents settling down is the American elections which are going to be held in November.<sup>8</sup> Because of these elections, the US Government cannot adopt a clear policy, and because of the great importance of US, this affects the policies of other countries.

16. It is likely that I shall go to China on a brief visit in the second half of October. I have been repeatedly invited to go there during the past year and a half. Ultimately, I promised to go if there was a settlement at Geneva. So, now I have to keep that promise. I shall, of course, gladly go there because the new China is one of the vital places in the world today. For us in India it is of special importance.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. Elections were held on 2 November 1954 for the House of Representatives and Governorships of 34 States and for over one-third membership of the Senate.





WITH ALI SASTROAMIDJOJO, PRIME MINISTER OF INDONESIA,  
NEW DELHI, 22 SEPTEMBER 1954



AT THE ANNUAL SESSION OF THE ALL INDIA NEWSPAPER EDITORS CONFERENCE, NEW DELHI,  
13 AUGUST 1954



IX

New Delhi  
15 September, 1954

My dear Chief Minister,

Since I wrote to you last, I have paid a brief visit to the flood-affected areas in the UP, Bihar, North Bengal and Assam.<sup>1</sup> Much has been said and written about these floods and therefore I do not propose to say much here. But I would like to draw your attention to some aspects. The first, of course, is the need for adequate relief to those who have suffered. Millions of people are involved and we must make every effort to help them as fully as we can. While the floods in most places are subsiding, the Brahmaputra has not lost its fury and is slowly eating up parts of Dibrugarh town.

2. We have formed a Central Board for the prevention of floods<sup>2</sup> and also two River Valley Commissions,<sup>3</sup> one for the Ganga and the other for Brahmaputra. These will be permanent organizations and I hope they will tackle these problems both from the short-term and the long-term points of view. Many people criticize us for delay in dealing with these problems. The criticism may be justified here and there, but I doubt if the critics realized the nature of the problems. The floods this year were not due to local rain but something that happened in the higher mountain valleys. The result was a tremendous rush of water from numerous tributaries of the Ganga and the Brahmaputra. In the Ganga, many of these rivers come down from Nepal and the distance between the mountains and the Ganga is not great. In Assam, the distance is often even less between the Brahmaputra and the mountains. We have little knowledge of the upper reaches of these tributaries as Nepal and Bhutan have not been surveyed and little is known about them. One of the smaller rivers coming down from Bhutan brought large numbers of big trees which had been suddenly uprooted. Any real scheme to meet these sudden and overwhelming floods must be based on some knowledge of the areas in Nepal and Bhutan from which these rivers come. No local protection can adequately prevent such floods.

3. We have to consider this matter as an essential part of our planning. We hope that in erecting barrages and embankments etc., we shall be able to use

1. From 4 to 6 September 1954.
2. It was set up on 8 September 1954 to draw up a programme for flood control, including detailed investigation and preparation of specific schemes in various States.
3. The Central Flood Control Board decided on 15 September 1954 to set up two committees to prepare an integrated programme for control of floods and development of the two river basins.

manpower to a very large extent, to a far greater extent than we had ever thought of before. This will also be in the nature of relief and employment. We made a suggestion the other day to one of the States to arrange for 200,000 person to work in this way. To my surprise, we were told that they could not find so many persons and the most they could supply was 50,000. This hardly fits in with the cry of widespread unemployment, or with the need for large-scale relief in the flood-affected areas. It seems to me that we have got into a groove of thought from which we find it difficult to emerge. We shall have to think differently if we want to function in a big way and we shall have to find manpower for such works, not in thousands, but in lakhs.

4. Probably when manpower is required, the average peasant is not thought of and only the landless labour is considered. That is not a correct approach. We must think of the present population of that area and give them inducements to work. The biggest inducement is to make them feel that they are doing something to protect themselves, their fields and their villages, apart from getting a normal wage. It is difficult to get away a peasant from his field when his land requires his labour. Therefore, the time for this should be during the slack season for the peasant when, in fact, he is largely unemployed. No one proposes that lakhs of persons should be employed continuously throughout the year for this purpose. But we can employ them for a few months at a time and then they can go back to their fields.

5. In spite of our vast population and the constant complaint about unemployment and underemployment, it is surprising that we should be unable to get almost any number of persons to work for a wage. This is not *shramdan* or voluntary labour.

6. We had a meeting yesterday of our Planning Commission where we discussed for several hours various basic problems connected with planning. In this connection, we considered Professor Bettelheim's <sup>4</sup> report which you may remember, I sent you some months ago. We did not wholly agree with Bettelheim, or rather we thought that his suggestions did not take into consideration the conditions existing in India. Nevertheless, what he said was thought-provoking and helpful. He had drawn attention especially to four points:

- (i) the necessity of a more direct linking between the problems of employment and the problems of productivity;
- (ii) the need of identifying, locating and utilizing the resources at present unutilized;

4. Charles Bettelheim (b. 1913); Head of UN Mission for Technical Assistance to India, 1955-56; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 25, p. 65.



- (iii) the necessity of facing the problems of demand; and
- (iv) the necessity of adapting the structure of foreign trade and of balance of payments to the purposes of the Plan.

7. He had laid great stress, you will remember, on what he called physical planning as opposed to financial planning and he was of opinion that the possibilities of the Indian economy were considerably greater than what the Plan had envisaged.

8. The first question that arises, of course, is the objective, that is, the social objective that we are aiming at. That aim is not likely to be reached in five years or even ten years or more. But we should be clear about it because only then can we take the necessary steps in that direction. I take it that our objective is to have ultimately a socialist economy. I am not using the word in any doctrinaire sense, but in its broad meaning. That economy as well as any planning require an organized approach based on adequate data with definite targets. It requires various kinds of controls at least at strategic points. It is clear that we cannot proceed along authoritarian lines, such as in the Soviet Union or even as in China. The problem for us, therefore, is how far we can achieve our objective through democratic planning without too much compulsion. It may be that this kind of planning does not yield those spectacular results which might be obtained by an authoritarian approach to this question and a great deal of compulsion. Even so, we prefer the democratic approach because of certain values and standards we cherish. But even that approach is only adequate if it takes us to the goal we aim at.

9. We must remember that the major examples of authoritarian planning that we know of have proceeded from very big upsets, such as in the Soviet Union and China, and a complete shattering of the old system. Also from the fact that the Soviet Union was largely cut off from the rest of the world for two or three decades and was thus compelled to rely on itself. They paid a very heavy price in suffering but they did succeed in achieving what they were aiming at. In China also, the position was a very special one after several decades of civil war, etc. We have to face a different situation in India. Nevertheless, we can profit by much that has been done in the Soviet Union as well as in China, without adopting all their methods and policies.

10. The comparison with the Soviet Union and China is in some ways more helpful to us than the comparison with Western industrialized countries. We have to think in terms of an under-industrialized and under-developed country and the problems in such countries are different from those in the Western industrialized countries.

11. I am convinced that anywhere, and more especially in India, the peaceful democratic approach is the best in the long run. In India, I would say it is the best even in the short run because any other approach would lead to conflicts

and great friction and this comes in the way of constructive work. Therefore, our approach has to be on these lines, but our ideal has to be a socialist economy. Meanwhile, we have to work for greater production as well as greater employment and the two have to be linked together. We have also to remember that we cannot rely too much on external help. As Bettelheim says, foreign investments can be accepted in the measure they fit into the framework of the Plan and do not imply excessive financial obligations. In addition to this, of course, there is the political aspect. Foreign aid brings political complications and ultimately perhaps a measure of economic control. The question, therefore, arises about our capacity for saving and investments, this investment being not primarily based on the profit motive but in our fulfilling the demand of our Plan.

12. There is one aspect which is of great importance and that is our having an adequate supply of trained personnel. Unless we have these trained people for all the various activities that we wish to take up, our progress will stop. Training takes time, sometimes years. We have, therefore, to train our people in sufficient numbers from now onwards so that they can be available as our Plan develops. We have paid some attention to this already, but I fear it has not been enough. We shall require hundreds of thousands of such trained people. In order to find out approximately the numbers necessary in the various sectors of our national economy, we cannot make just a wild guess. We have to approach this question, as others, from the expert statistical point of view.

13. We have, therefore, decided to have a special wing in our Central Statistical Office to deal with planning. For this purpose, that Office will have to be enlarged. The CSO will also have to enquire into and gather various other types of essential information necessary for planning. We are taking steps to that end and I hope that your Government will cooperate in full measure with this.

14. We have been talking and writing about planning for the last three years or so and we have made the country planning-conscious. That is a gain. But I sometimes doubt if many of us, whether at the Centre or in the States, have fully appreciated the vital necessity of planning and the statistics necessary for it. Indeed, sometimes there is criticism of the Planning Commission as if it came in the way of our other work. I think that one of the biggest things we have done during the past few years is to develop this planning habit. It may be said that we have been rather slow about it. Perhaps that is so. But in the context of India, this vast and varied country, I think that we have made some impression and laid the foundations of future work. It is now up to us to proceed at a fast pace. That can only be done if we recognize the necessity of planning and cooperate with it to the fullest extent. When I say planning, I do not mean just a list of programmes, projects, and priorities but rather what is called real planning.



15. As a part of our planning, we have started the National Extension Service in the rural areas. This is a vast conception, covering as it does about 75 per cent of India. In these national extension blocks, we have to try to link production and employment. The ultimate test here and elsewhere of our progress is going to be employment. The problem of unemployment or under-employment in India is a very big one. But, under a planned approach, I have little doubt that we can attack it successfully. Certainly we should succeed in solving it, say in ten years' time from now or a little more.

16. In this attack on unemployment, small and cottage industries have to play a great part, both for those who are wholly unemployed and for those who are under-employed. The second Five Year Plan, it has often been said, is going to lay much greater stress in the development of industry, both big and small.

17. In the international field, the major event has been the South East Asia Treaty signed at Manila. Ever since there was a talk of this, we have made our position perfectly clear. We have not only kept away from this treaty, but have expressed our opinion that it is harmful to Asia as well as to the cause of peace. We adhere to that opinion. In South-East Asia, three of the principal countries, namely, India, Burma, and Indonesia, have kept away from this treaty. That makes it rather unreal. It is essentially a treaty of Western Powers in regard to South-East Asia. The habit of the West to carry the "white man's burden" in the East still continues, even though conditions in the world and in Asia have changed greatly.

18. Severe bombing has recently taken place in some of the islands off China. This is a dangerous development though I do not think it will lead to any extension of the conflict.

19. The Prime Minister of Indonesia, Dr Ali Sastroamidjojo, will be coming to Delhi in about a week's time as our guest. It will be a pleasure to welcome such a distinguished guest. But, apart from this, his visit is of importance because it will enable us to discuss these recent developments. He is very anxious to hold an African-Asian Conference. We would welcome such a Conference, but we have pointed out that any such Conference requires a good deal of preparation. Indeed, it is no easy matter to decide as to who is to be invited to it.

20. I have accepted the invitation of the People's Government of China to go there and I propose to leave about the middle of October. I shall spend about ten days in China and about four or five days en route both ways. I shall thus be away from India for the latter half of October.

21. The Lok Sabha is at present considering the Special Marriage Bill which has been passed by the Rajya Sabha or the Council of States. I am anxious that this Bill should become law before this session ends. It is the first of our social reform measures for which we have waited for so long. The

various parts of the Hindu Code Bill are also ready for consideration. One of them, dealing with marriage and divorce,<sup>5</sup> is being considered by a Joint Select Committee.

22. It has always seemed to me that political progress by itself, though important, has little meaning unless it is accompanied by economic progress. I would add that both political and economic progress cannot take a nation far without social progress. Thus there has to be an integrated advance on all these fronts, political, economic and social.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. The proposed Hindu Marriage Bill prescribed the minimum essential conditions for a Hindu marriage, rules regarding restitution of conjugal rights, judicial separation, the grounds for divorce and punishment for bigamy.









## (i) General

1. Planned Growth of Delhi<sup>1</sup>

I am sending you a letter from the President of the Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee and a representation from some residents of Delhi regarding a proposal to build a new market etc., for refugees in front of the Red Fort, presumably in a part of the Parade Ground. I do not know the exact place where this is going to be built, but, *prima facie*, it seems to me very undesirable that that open space should be utilised for building purposes. Apart from this, there is no doubt that there is strong opposition to this among Delhi citizens.

2. I have often complained about the lack of planning in Delhi and how this great city is expanding in a most unmethodical and sometimes unattractive and unhealthy way. There are a large number of authorities concerned in this matter, and no one of them seems to know what the other is doing. I do not know who is responsible for this proposal. I am quite convinced that Delhi will be spoilt completely if there is no overall planning of the city and if we do not stop odd structures going up without paying attention to larger considerations of planning, health, sanitation, keeping of open places and the future growth of the city. The more I go about Delhi and see the large number of new structures being put up the more alarmed I become. There seems to be a complete absence of planning or farsight. Some immediate need is sought to be satisfied without regard to other needs or to what the future may require.

3. In particular, I am distressed at the prospect of any invasion of the Parade Ground in front of the Red Fort. I think that this matter should be considered by all these various authorities concerned together from the point of view of planning.

4. Will you please, therefore, write to these various authorities and send them a copy of this note? In particular, you should address the Home Ministry, the Rehabilitation Ministry, the Delhi State Government, the Delhi Municipality and the Improvement Trust. You should also acknowledge Shri Krishnan Nair's<sup>2</sup> letter and say that I am giving consideration to it.

1. Note to the Principal Private Secretary, 18 June 1954. JN Collection.

2. An eminent Congressman from Delhi.

## 2. To Abul Kalam Azad<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 22, 1954

My dear Maulana,

You know that I am greatly interested in the growth of sports and athletics in India. I think that this should be an essential part of our National Planning. Most other countries pay a great deal of attention to it. Some countries, like the Soviet Union and China, spend large sums of money and make elaborate arrangements for training, etc. The result is that these countries have gone right ahead and have captured numerous Olympic awards. The health of the country and the stature of the people has improved.

Both in sports and in athletics we are very much a second grade nation although our potential is great. Except for hockey, our standards are far below international standards. Generally speaking, Asian standards are below international standards except to some extent, for Japan. Our standards are below Asian standards except in a very few matters.

Sports training has to have its base in our schools and colleges and, in the higher stages, must have the best coaching and practice. We are not good at either and the progress we are making appears to be slow. Recently some coaches were brought from abroad and, I believe, they have done some good.

Every year the question of sending our athletes to the Olympic Games comes up before us. We have not only the International Olympics, but also the Commonwealth Olympics and the Asian Olympics. Last year we gave some financial assistance to our Olympic team which went to Europe. I was told that the management of this team was not good and proper accounts, etc., were not produced. Therefore, this year when the question of our sending our team to Manila arose,<sup>2</sup> we insisted on proper management and accounting. Gopi Handoo<sup>3</sup> was sent as the Manager. So far as I know, the managerial part was well done and actually a part of the money allotted was saved.

Before our team went to Manila, I mentioned to the Maharaja of Patiala<sup>4</sup> that there should be a reorganisation of our Olympic Council, etc. He said that he was himself thinking of this. The other day I read about a meeting of this Olympic Council, but I could not quite make out as to what happened and I

1. File No. 40(58)/49-PMS. Extracts.

2. The Second Asian Games were held at Manila from 1-9 May, 1954.

3. Gopi Krishna Handoo (b. 1905); joined the British Indian Police service, 1927, and Indian Police Service 1944 and served in various capacities and places: Deputy-Director, Intelligence Bureau, 1948-57.

4. Yadavendra Singh (1913-1974); Rajpramukh of Pepsu, 1948-56; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 3, p. 263.



wrote to your Ministry about it.... I had also sent a copy of my note to the Maharaja of Patiala. He has now sent me a reply....

This reply relates the sorry story of inner conflicts and jealousies. What I am rather concerned with, however, is what he writes about some letters received by him from the Ministry of Education. He implies that the representatives of the Ministry have not been cooperative.

I have no particular suggestions to make as to what we should do in the future. All I can say is that I am very anxious that something should be done, and properly done. As the Maharaja points out, thus far most of our athletes have come from the Punjab and Patiala. The rest of this vast country is not being given a chance to develop properly.

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, as President of some associations, has taken a good deal of interest and I believe it was she who got some coaches from abroad. I think that what is required is some plan to be drawn up for future work. We should put this forward to the Planning Commission and make this an essential part of our second Five Year Plan.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 3. A Memorial to Bal Gangadhar Tilak<sup>1</sup>

Please acknowledge this letter and say that I think it will be desirable to put up a memorial tablet in the barrack at Mandalay Jail where Lokamanya Tilak lived.<sup>2</sup> It would not be at all proper or desirable to erect any other kind of memorial in the prison or have a library there. This would be wasted there and anyhow a functioning jail is not a proper place for this kind of thing. But it does seem to me desirable to have a suitable tablet put up there.

1. Note to the Principal Private Secretary, 30 July 1954. JN Collection.
2. Tilak (1856-1920), who championed Indian self-rule, was charged on 22 July 1908 with contempt, disloyalty and enmity towards the Government for writing two articles in *Kesari*, his Marathi weekly, in which he pleaded with the Government to appreciate the changed psychology of the people. He was sentenced to transportation to Mandalay jail in Myanmar, where he spent six years. He was released on 17 June 1914.

You might draw the attention of the Commonwealth Secretary to this matter and suggest to him that he might write to our Ambassador in Rangoon who should enquire from the Burmese Government if they have any objection to a tablet being put in the Mandalay Jail on our behalf in memory of Lokamanya Tilak's residence there. If the Burma Government agreed, then a suitable tablet should be prepared with a proper inscription, etc. We shall have to find out the dates of Lokamanya's residence in Mandalay Prison.

#### 4. To S.S. Marisami<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

August 12, 1954

Dear Shri Marisami,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 10th August which I have read with great interest.<sup>3</sup>

I have known Dr Buchman<sup>4</sup> and about him and his movement for many years. I first met him when he came to India in 1924-25. I subsequently met him two or three years later in London, Paris and Geneva. At that time, the MRA as such had not started. It was called the Oxford Movement. Dr Buchman and some of his colleagues tried hard to influence me but did not succeed at all.

After that, I lost touch with him. But sometimes I read about this movement and my reactions were adverse to it. Also I came in contact with many people in Europe who thought it was a very reactionary movement from the political point of view. Just before the last World War, Dr Buchman said, 'Thank God for Hitler'. This made him unpopular. After the War, however, he tried to live down that rash statement and has concentrated on this MRA.

1. JN Papers, NMML.
2. A member of the Tamilnad Pradesh Congress Committee and editor of two Tamil weeklies. He also wrote several books in Tamil on politics and literature.
3. Marisami, who, along with 44 other Indian delegates, had attended the World Assembly of the movement for Moral Re-Armament (MRA) at Caux, Switzerland, for a fortnight in July 1954 at the invitation of MRA, observed that the movement, under the facade of religion, was doing great harm to Asian and African countries. American money was freely used and the latest techniques were employed to indoctrinate innocent young people of these countries in order to make them their stooges, he added.
4. Frank Nathan Daniel Buchman (1878-1961), American evangelist, founded the Moral Re-Armament Group in 1938, also see *Selected Works* (second series). Vol. 22, p. 182.



He came to India, as you know, last year or so with a large crowd. I did not wish to be discourteous to him personally, but I kept away from them and did not encourage them in the least. Privately, I told other people to do so also. So you see that I have not held a favourable opinion about him and the MRA for a long time past.

I am not surprised, therefore, to read what you have written, though I confess I did not imagine they went quite as far as they did when you were in Caux.<sup>5</sup> I am glad you have written to me all this in detail because that will help me and others to understand the true position.

You can certainly give publicity to your views. But that will be your personal experience. In writing anything, I would suggest to you to write in a restrained manner because that has a greater effect than if the writing is unrestrained. It would be better if you did not say anything about writing to me on this subject in public. Of course, you can say in private that you have written to me.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Marisami wrote that he was misled to go to Caux by a statement of Gulzarilal Nanda on MRA, and prayed to Nehru to do something to stop the MRA from spoiling the minds of the Indian youth.

## 5. Jallianwala Bagh Memorial<sup>1</sup>

The Jallianwala Bagh Memorial Fund Trustees met this morning to consider the question of a memorial in the Bagh.<sup>2</sup> This matter has been in a sense under some kind of consideration for 35 years now. Owing to various circumstances, no decision could be taken.

1. Note to the Cabinet Secretary, 18 August 1954. JN Collection. Also available in File No. 2(433)/49-PMS. A copy of this note was sent to Amrit Kaur.
2. The work on the memorial which was started in 1957, was completed by 1960 at a cost of Rs. 9,25,000. The design of the memorial, prepared by T.R. Mahendru, a Delhi architect, and Benjamin Polk, an Italian artist working in Delhi, was selected for its simplicity and grace. It was inaugurated by Rajendra Prasad in 1961.

2. Some months ago, I suggested that we might invite competent architects to put forward their suggestions for such a memorial. Le Corbusier,<sup>3</sup> the famous French Architect, was consulted. He paid a visit to the Jallianwala Bagh. Later he made some extravagant demands on us and we decided not to pursue this matter with him. We then asked a new firm in Delhi, Messrs. Mahindru and Polk. This firm has produced a scheme for the Bagh, which was first considered by some of the Trustees and then today at a formal meeting of the Trustees.

3. At this meeting general approval was given to their proposal and they were asked to prepare and submit more detailed plans and estimates. It is proposed to invite tenders later.

4. The tentative estimate given by these architects to give effect to their proposal amounts to about Rs 6 lakhs. This includes not only a memorial column, etc., but numerous changes and improvements and constructions all over the Bagh. I do not think the estimate is too high for such a purpose. It can of course be examined more thoroughly later.

5. In view of the importance of this national memorial for an event of historic importance, I think it is desirable that the Cabinet should also see it. I think also that the Government of India will have to provide funds for this memorial.

6. The Jallianwala Bagh Trustees have got some invested funds which give them an income of Rs 10,500 a year. This money is not enough for their annual expenditure and the question has arisen about some help from Government. This question is, however, a separate one. I mention it merely because the funds at the disposal of the Bagh are obviously inadequate for the building of the memorial.

7. The Health Minister, who is one of the Trustees, has got the various plans and charts made by the architects. You can get them from her when this matter is put up before the Cabinet. I would like this to be done without much delay, but after the Minister for Works, Housing and Supply has returned to Delhi.

8. This note might be put up before the Cabinet with other papers.

3. Le Carbusier (Charles Edouard Jeanneret) (1887-1965); adviser to the Government of Punjab for Chandigarh, also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 18, p. 115.



## 6. To G.B. Pant<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
September 16, 1954

My dear Pantji,

The enclosed cutting from *The Leader*<sup>2</sup> has distressed me a little. It appears from it that the UP Government actually issues astrological forecasts in their *Panchang*. It is bad enough for any Government to do this, but for a Government to predict calamities is to depress the morale of the people and encourage all the wrong tendencies.

For some time past we have actually considered if it was possible for us to stop by law these astrological predictions by private persons. What are we to do if a State Government actually indulges in them?<sup>3</sup>

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection.
2. *The Leader*, of 10 August 1954, published a report that *Soochna Panchang*, an annual publication of the UP Information Department, indulged in astrological predictions like: 1954 would be a year of calamities and internecine warfare in the Middle East; that fire would play havoc in the world; food prices would continue to soar high and rains would be scarce; there would be disunity amongst kings, and an atmosphere of fear would prevail and so on.
3. In his reply of 22 September 1954, Pant wrote that he was giving directions that the astrological forecasts which were an inevitable feature of a *Panchang* should be omitted from all future publications.

## 7. To Bhimsen Sachar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
18th September, 1954

My dear Sachar,

Complaints have reached me from several sources about large numbers of Punjabis going to the United Kingdom with the intention of working as hawkers there. They neither know the language nor the customs and, sometimes, create difficult situations. In fact, I am told that even in our air service, Air India International, to London, a number of these people go and their behaviour on the aeroplane itself is not liked by the other passengers.

1. JN Collection.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

I am further told that there is a regular market in the Punjab for the sale of passports. Persons are prepared to pay as much as Rs 1,500 for a passport.

I wonder if you could enquire into this. We should check people from going abroad unless they have some special work. A number of them get stranded there and create difficulties for our Mission. Apparently many of them evade the rules we have framed and go under some kind of bogus passports.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### (ii) Personal

#### 1. Rehabilitation of an Accident Victim<sup>1</sup>

Some time ago, my attention was drawn to the serious accident which occurred at the Khadi and Village Industries Exhibition on the 5th April this year when a young man named Dharmendra Pratap had both his legs cut off by some tree cutting instrument called Tip-saw. I remember that, at that time, I sent a note probably to your Ministry suggesting that every help and full compensation should be given to this young man.

2. I understand now that this matter is held up somewhere and the Law Ministry have been asked to give their opinion. I do not think that this has anything to do with Law. Whether we are legally bound to pay or not, every moral consideration compels us to give him this compensation.

3. I understand a proposal was made that Government should bear the cost of medical treatment, should make arrangements to have the young man fitted with artificial limbs and should give him a monthly subsistence allowance of Rs 100. This seems to me the least we can do.

4. I do not know whether any step has been taken yet for his medical treatment and for him to be fitted with artificial limbs. Delay in doing this would ruin this man's life still further. Therefore, this must be undertaken immediately. The question of the subsistence allowance may be considered at leisure, though even that should be decided soon.

1. Note to the Minister for Food and Agriculture, 9 June 1954. JN Collection. Copies of the note were sent to T.T. Krishnamachari and C.C. Biswas.





WITH MEMBERS OF THE FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS ASSOCIATION OF INDIA, NEW DELHI,  
28 SEPTEMBER 1954

When I die I should like my body to be cremated. If I die in a foreign country, my body should be cremated there and my ashes sent to Allahabad. A small handful of these ashes should be thrown into the Ganga and the major portion of them should be disposed of in the manner indicated below. No part of these ashes should be retained or preserved.

My desire to have a handful of my ashes thrown into the Ganga at Allahabad has no religious significance, so far as I am concerned. I have no religious sentiment in the matter. I have been attached to the Ganga and Jumna rivers in Allahabad ever since my childhood, and as I have grown older, this attachment has also grown. I have watched their varying moods as the seasons changed, and have often thought of the history and myth and tradition, and song and story, that have become attached to them through the long ages <sup>in</sup> ~~last~~ and become a part of their flowing waters. The Ganga, especially, is the river of India, beloved of her people, round which are interwoven her racial memories, her hopes and fears.



5. Please let me know immediately what you are doing in this matter. So far as the cost of medical treatment or the supply of artificial limbs are concerned, I shall make myself personally liable for it to avoid any delay.

## 2. To Udham Singh Nagoke<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 11, 1954

My dear Jathedarji,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter. I agree with you that what you call "recommendation" is a bad thing. It is an old evil that we suffer from and we have to fight it for it leads to nepotism and deterioration in public standards and governmental activity. I have always tried to fight it and I shall continue to do so. I am glad you attach importance to it.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Udham Singh Nagoke (1894-1966); Congress member of Rajya Sabha. April 1954-60; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 5, p. 19.

## 3. To Abul Kalam Azad<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 20, 1954

My dear Maulana,

I hope that your stay in Srinagar has done you good and that you are not thinking of coming back here too soon. You should wait at least till the rains begin in Delhi.

I am going away from Delhi day after tomorrow morning to Mashobra, near Simla. I expect to spend about seven or eight days there and then return.

I met Dr B.C. Roy yesterday and he was talking to me about you and he felt that it would be a good thing if you reduced your smoking. I have myself begun to feel that the smoking I have been indulging in is not too good for me. I have, therefore, reduced it very considerably. If necessary, I shall almost stop it. I hope you will also reduce your smoking.

1. JN Collection.

You have gone to Kashmir for rest and I do not wish you to trouble yourself with affairs of State there. But you will no doubt form some appraisal of the situation there and give advice to the Ministers there.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

#### 4. Will and Testament<sup>1</sup>

... I have received so much love and affection from the Indian people that nothing that I can do can repay even a small fraction of it, and indeed there can be no repayment of so precious a thing as affection. Many have been admired, some have been revered, but the affection of all classes of the Indian people has come to me in such abundant measure that I have been overwhelmed by it. I can only express the hope that in the remaining years I may live, I shall not be unworthy of my people and their affection.

To my innumerable comrades and colleagues, I owe an even deeper debt of gratitude. We have been joint partners in great undertakings and have shared the triumphs and sorrows which inevitably accompany them.

I wish to declare with all earnestness that I do not want any religious ceremonies performed for me after my death. I do not believe in any such ceremonies and to submit to them, even as a matter of form, would be hypocrisy and an attempt to delude ourselves and others.

When I die, I should like my body to be cremated. If I die in a foreign country, my body should be cremated there and my ashes sent to Allahabad. A small handful of these ashes should be thrown into the Ganga and the major portion of them disposed of in the manner indicated below. No part of these ashes should be retained or preserved.

My desire to have a handful of my ashes thrown into the Ganga at Allahabad has no religious significance, so far as I am concerned. I have no religious sentiment in the matter. I have been attached to the Ganga and the Jumna rivers in Allahabad ever since my childhood and, as I have grown older, this attachment has also grown. I have watched their varying moods as the seasons changed, and have often thought of the history and myth and tradition,

1. 21 June 1954. JN Supplementary Papers, NMML. Extracts. This copy of the last Will and Testament of Jawaharlal Nehru was sent by the Special Assistant to the Prime Minister to Allahabad Bank Limited, New Delhi, for its safe custody there.



and song and story, that have become attached to them through the long ages and become a part of their flowing waters. The Ganga, especially, is the river of India, beloved of her people, round which are intertwined her racial memories, her hopes and fears, her songs of triumph, her victories and her defeats. She has been a symbol of India's age-long culture and civilization, ever-changing, ever-flowing, and yet ever the same Ganga. She reminds me of the snow-covered peaks and the deep valleys of the Himalayas, which I have loved so much, and of the rich and vast plains below, where my life and work have been cast. Smiling and dancing in the morning sunlight, and dark and gloomy and full of mystery as the evening shadows fall, a narrow, slow and graceful stream in winter, and a vast roaring thing during the monsoon, broad-bosomed almost as the sea, and with something of the sea's power to destroy, the Ganga has been to me a symbol and a memory of the past of India, running into the present, and flowing on to the great ocean of the future. And though I have discarded much of past tradition and custom, and am anxious that India should rid herself of all shackles that bind and constrain her and divide her people, and suppress vast numbers of them, and prevent the free development of the body and the spirit; though I seek all this, yet I do not wish to cut myself off from that past completely. I am proud of that great inheritance that has been, and is, ours, and I am conscious that I too, like all of us, and a link in that unbroken chain which goes back to the dawn of history in the immemorial past of India. That chain I would not break, for I treasure it and seek inspiration from it. And as witness of this desire of mine and as my last homage to India's cultural inheritance, I am making this request that a handful of my ashes be thrown into the Ganga at Allahabad to be carried to the great ocean that washes India's shore.

The major portion of my ashes should, however, be disposed of otherwise. I want these to be carried high up into the air in an aeroplane and scattered from that height over the fields where the peasants of India toil, so that they might mingle with the dust and soil of India and become an indistinguishable part of India.

## 5. To Govind Ballabh Pant<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 9, 1954

My dear Pantji,

For some months past, there has been vague talk about Vijayalakshmi being

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

sent as our High Commissioner to London. Balasaheb Kher<sup>2</sup> has definitely said that he will not go because of his wife's illness. I had not at first thought of Vijayalakshmi for another such post. But, some of our people in our Ministry brought her name up to me and said that no other suitable person was available. I told them that, if Vijayalakshmi was agreeable, I would have no objection.

There the matter has rested. We have taken no formal steps yet. But the time is coming when we have to decide finally. Vijayalakshmi is agreeable. In fact, when she was in London recently, it was almost taken for granted by the British Government that she was coming. Churchill asked her when she would come and expressed his pleasure at it.

I think that she had better go there for a year or two. This would involve her resignation from the House of the People and a by-election for you....

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

2. B.G. Kher (1888-1957); High Commissioner of India in the UK, 1952-54; also see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 8, p. 279.

## 6. To Abul Kalam Azad<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 12, 1954

My dear Maulana,

I shall be grateful if you will let me have your decision about the matter we have discussed so often recently regarding Krishna Menon.<sup>2</sup> I have been working under great strain for some months. To this has been added mental anguish during the past two weeks. The issues before me are far-reaching and involve my future life. It is becoming difficult for me to concentrate on my work till I know clearly what I shall have to do.

Should you so wish it I can come over to see you again.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection.

2. Nehru wanted to include V.K. Krishna Menon in the Cabinet. But A.K. Azad was strongly opposed to this until Menon's name was cleared in the jeeps scandal case. Azad apparently threatened to resign from the Cabinet on this issue.



## 7. To Padmaja Naidu<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 21, 1954

Bebbee dear,

...But it is true that throughout this period, and even more so subsequently, I have been carrying on under great stress and finding it rather difficult to behave as a normal human being.<sup>2</sup>

Very few people know it but I have actually toyed with the idea of resigning from the Prime Ministership. And this at a time when perhaps my reputation in India or abroad is at its highest. No great question of principle is involved and perhaps I have been influenced by some quixotic notions. I have not given up the idea and it is still resting at the back of my mind.

You will appreciate that even the idea of my resigning from the PMship must have a disturbing effect on me. It means fashioning my life anew. Having some discipline I do not show my mental agitations but nonetheless this affects me greatly and comes out in odd ways....

Please do not mention about my PMship to anyone—not even Indu.

Love  
Jawahar

1. Padmaja Naidu Papers, NMML. Extracts.
2. See the preceding item.

## (iii) Reflections

### 1. To A.A.A. Fyzee<sup>1</sup>

Camp: Mashobra  
June 30, 1954

My dear Fyzee,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of June 24th and your article on Islamic Law and Theology in India. It is not for me to express an opinion on matters beyond

1. JN Collection.
2. (1899-1981); author of several works on Islamic jurisprudence; member, UPSC, 1952-57; also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 12, p. 294.

my ken. But on glancing through your article, and more especially your plea for a reinterpretation of the Shariah, it seems to me that the only way that any religion can survive in future is for it to separate its inner core from its outer accretions and local adaptations. I entirely agree with your basic principle of separation of law and religion and a re-examination of the secondary factors of religion from time to time. Indeed, if this is not done, the basic core of religion suffers.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 2. Politicians and Emotional Awareness<sup>1</sup>

Reverend Abbe Pierre <sup>2</sup> has been good enough to send me some questions which he wishes me to answer. I shall not deal with his questions separately, but I am indicating my own reaction to them.

It is true, I think, that those who hold political or economic power are not always fully conscious about the unhappiness and misery of vast numbers of individuals. This would not apply to all of them and I think some of them are conscious of this. All of them are intellectually aware, but it is doubtful how far they are emotionally aware of it, as they would be aware of some personal calamity.

People react easily to something that they see or that affects them. But a distant calamity, however big, produces little impression upon them, because it does not affect them.

It would certainly be worthwhile, in so far as it is possible, to make people aware of this and thus induce them to think of this basic problem of the world. Till this awareness comes, our politics are, to a large extent, unrealistic.<sup>3</sup>

1. Message to Abbe Pierre, New Delhi, 5 July 1954. JN Collection.

2. Abbe Pierre, originally Henri Antoine Groues (b. 1912); priest; committed to helping the homeless of Paris, he formed his band of Companions of Emmaus, providing shelter for hundreds of families.

3. Nehru asked the Foreign Secretary to send the message through the Indian Embassy in France and gave Abbe Pierre consent to use any extracts from his speeches or statements.



### 3. Tolerance and Understanding<sup>1</sup>

... Obviously, we live in the present; we cannot live in the past. That is foolish. Our living in the future is to get cut off from the present. We have to live in the present, act in the present, think in the present. I only refer to the past, or a possibility of the future, as conditioning factors, balancing factors. Now, different countries have been conditioned as they have been by generations of thinking along certain lines. Their actions, activities are governed by that, and if you want to understand why they are acting in a particular way, which might be different from your way of acting, to some extent you have to get at the back of their mind into those conditioning factors. The important thing is not whether you agree with a person or not, but rather that you try to understand him. Otherwise, it is very frustrating to dislike the other fellow's views or activities and you come to the conclusion that this person must be the greatest scoundrel. Now, that does not help any understanding at all. Therefore, this business of understanding, apart from agreement or disagreement, is important.

Again, when you are dealing with an individual, you may judge an individual as good or bad. But when you are dealing with masses of humanity—the whole country and the people of the country—it is rather absurd, if you permit me to say so, to say anything about a whole country, good or bad. It has no meaning to me. The whole country may be excited, the whole country may be emotionally roused up. It may be right or wrong. But every country, more or less, contains people who are not so terribly different from those of another country. There are good people as well as bad people. Sometimes they function heroically in a common job and sometimes mistakes take place. Those very people who are very heroic today may be very bad the next day. So, while we may perhaps assume sometimes to judge an individual, it is dangerous to judge a people or to condemn them or to praise them too much either way. The best is, I suppose, to realise that there are just average people like all of us, with their good points and bad points—maybe their good points are different from ours. We should try to understand them and, even if we do not understand them, to tolerate them. Toleration is a virtue which is not so much practised today. And yet, if I go back to Indian history or Indian thought, toleration was the outstanding feature. While I am not praising India thereby, I am only pointing out that, it arose from various conditioning factors. India has been in the past a mixture of various races, various types of people, various cultural developments

1. Speech at a luncheon in his honour by the Foreign Correspondents Association of India, New Delhi, 28 September 1954. File No. 43(13)/48-PMS. Also published in leading newspapers including *The Hindu*, 29 September 1954. Extracts..

from the highest to the lowest. However, all these mixed types had to live together. It is a difficult job.

Aryans came to India. They settled down. How did they settle down? They could only settle down by tolerating each other. It is too big a job, and so by sheer necessity this business of tolerating each other and influencing each other, and evolving some kind of a joint pattern of society arose, and even in the matter of thinking,—it is not right word but I use it—even in the matter of religion, a great toleration of any belief from the highest to the lowest. That is a recognition of the fact that people were different, and people should not be compelled or forced to do something or believe something which, though they might be incapable of believing, or they were not adequately developed to believe or act. Therefore, while the door was open to people, they did not interfere with any people. Possibly that is a pagan attitude of life—in a sense. I use these words in not any scientific sense—so that conditions in India, because of the great variety of people in India—a great variety also climatically—and that makes a great difference. And other causes too compelled Indian society, then, to develop a tolerant attitude to each other in the realm of thought, religion and social customs.

Now, one of the worst things we had and have is the caste system and we have to do away with that. It is admitted, and yet we must try to understand the caste system also. Nobody was forced to give his own caste to anybody. Any group of persons can say, "Well, we are this and that." A certain conformity was observed within the caste; but it was open to any individual to leave it to start his own show. Of course, there are social patterns. So India developed not because of any special virtue, but because of circumstances which have happened, both in the domain of thought and to a certain extent social living, and all that. Big countries, which have these varieties, have to develop that or the big countries cease to be big, or they split up into small countries. It is an inevitable consequence. India was split up politically, but throughout a long period of history it had also very largely a cultural unity. A man right down from the South (Cape Comorin), if he had a new gospel to preach, would travel all over India and would then come even to the cultural centre of India, in the religious sense, say, Banaras, right from Cape Comorin or from Kashmir. So, that is the point which I should like to stress, because, I think, that toleration is the essential quality of the democratic way of life.

We talk about democracy, but somehow some of the basic essentials of democracy are being weakened today unfortunately. Taking the history of Europe, how did democracy develop in the West? Consider, what is called, the Age of Enlightenment in Europe. The French Encyclopaedists did arise and others who were fighting against feudalism, Kings' powers, and intellectually attacking them. They were appealing for tolerance, for the democratic approach to life and social and other conditions. In Europe, as you know, there were a



series of religious wars—horrible wars—30 years' war—between Protestants and Catholics, exterminating each other—100 years' war—and through all that turmoil Europe developed into a very high class social structure of society, etc., and, possibly, of course, all the countries of Europe participated in that development, and they had to practise toleration and democracy followed that development.

Europe passed through that bitter experience and got this grip of the democratic way of living. Of course, it had previous sources, if you like, from ancient Greece and the like. In India, oddly enough, through all this long period, there were no serious religious conflicts. Occasionally, there might have been a few conflicts. Even those few conflicts were not religious conflicts but rather political conflicts, political rebellions or revolt of some group. Essentially, there were no religious conflicts although these occurred in recent years to some extent. My main point, that I am driving at, is the business of understanding each other and the approach of tolerance. Obviously, when you talk about the approach of tolerance, you do not mean tolerance to a person who agrees with you. It is being tolerant to a person with whom you do not agree. That is tolerance surely, and not the other thing. It has become more and more difficult to be tolerant to those with whom we do not agree or even to make a right effort to understand the background and the conditioning factor of the individual or group or country, whatever it may be, and hence perhaps the solution of problems also has become more difficult. We are all apt to oversimplify problems whatever they may be. No problem affecting large masses of humanity, whether it is political or social or economic, is a simple problem. It is a frightfully complicated problem, and until you understand some of its complicating features, you will not understand it. Of course, oddly enough, both the hidebound reactionary and the firebrand agitator simplify the problem. Of course, the strength of a real revolutionary agitator is that he only sees one way; he cannot see to the right or left. He goes like an arrow from the bow. Because of the enormous force he has put into that, he may succeed or not. Anyhow, he produces a big change. And the strength of the reactionary is also that he does only in one way. Both fail to look at a problem in its complexity. It is true if you adopt the philosophical outlook on life, on life's problems, you can never make up your mind. A true philosopher sees too much. He cannot make up his mind. He becomes useless for practical purposes. He is always balancing things so much. Anyhow, we have arrived at a stage when it is important that we should understand at least the other fellow's point of view. To agree or not to agree is another thing. I think that would be a big step towards reaching that aim in a more rational way than if you were merely to deal with each other with passion and prejudice and strong language. That does not help either. You may overawe the other party, you may frighten the other party but normally that does not solve a problem.

Many of you, ladies and gentlemen, are here in Delhi and, well, you watch the play of various forces here, political, social and economic, and you have considerable opportunities of observing and understanding much more than probably the busy politicians here or in other countries. I would suggest to you—I have no doubt you have your own ideas, firm ideas—I would suggest you to try to get at the back of the mind of the other party. There is so much to be seen and you can make your choice. Suppose you go to Banaras. I do not know what your reaction is to Banaras. Some friends from America went there and came back greatly disturbed and disgusted over smells which were disturbing and distressing. It is in a way right reaction, but there are other reactions to Banaras. Try to find them if possible. But my reaction to Banaras is a panorama of history of a few thousand years. I see 2,500 years ago the Buddha coming down to Banaras to preach his first sermon at the Deer Park, next to Banaras. I see all kinds of events happening after that. The picture in my mind becomes a picture gallery of thousands of years, of the great men who have passed through Banaras, of the great ideas which were spread from there. I do not mean to say I ignore the smelly part of it. Fundamentally, it occupies a lesser space in my mind than the other. In a country like India, you have your choice. You can choose very easily the evil and the smelly part of India. Choose them, or you can choose other things which have made India somewhat worthwhile, or you can have both as far as you can. It depends so much of course on your own mental approach in what you are interested in, what you are not interested in, and what you have been previously conditioned by, and how far you are receptive.

Now, receptiveness is both a good quality, and it may not be so good. That is, receptiveness helps you, makes you aware of things much more easily than otherwise you can with a closed mind. That is, making yourself emotionally aware, which is a very different thing from intellectually or superficially being aware of some facts. You cannot understand an individual unless you are emotionally aware of that individual. You may know a person for 30 years and not understand that person. You may get to understand a person in half an hour if you are emotionally inclined that way, and there is some union or some common element in your two minds. So is this receptiveness but at the same time no receptiveness to the extent of being rushed away from your own mooring. Then you are neither here nor there. And thus you are becoming emotionally aware of events and approaching these difficult problems, which affect people, with a certain tolerance, understanding and sometimes even respect.



## GLOSSARY

acharya	a reverential term
adivasi	aboriginal, tribal
basti	settlement
Bharat Mata ki Jai	victory to Mother India
hundi	a bill of exchange
Jai Hind	victory to India
khudkasht	land cultivated by the landowner himself
mai-baap	paternal authority
manpatra	address of welcome
maulvi	a learned Muslim well versed in Arabic and Persian literature
mohalla	locality
morcha	picketing
pahla, dusra, tisra varg	first, second and third category of the national awards for the year 1954
panchang	almanac
panchayat	village council
panchsheel	five basic principles of international conduct
pinjra pol	a cow-pen
rajpath	highway
rashtra	nation
satyagraha	truth force or soul force
shramdan	voluntary labour for a public cause
udankhatola	flying throne (of folk tales)





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The present volume of the *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru* covers the period 1 June to 30 September, 1954. We are in this volume, therefore, located in the middle of the 1950s; a climacteric decade marked by seminal initiatives in the social, political and economic transformation of Indian society; and characterised also by a decisive Indian role in shaping global events and ensuring world peace in a context in which the prospect of a nuclear war haunted humankind more seriously than it had ever done since the horrific devastation wrought in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945...

While the dialogue between Jawaharlal Nehru and the people of India constitutes an important feature of the present volume, it would be a mistake to imagine that his creative energies were wholly expended in oratorical activity. Indeed, there is in this volume a solid body of documentation on organisational matters: on questions pertaining to the Congress; and on issues concerning governance; to which we would like to draw pointed attention. There has over the years grown a belief that Jawaharlal Nehru, whatever be his other strengths, was not necessarily a gifted organiser, when he turned his attention to the Congress Party, or a specially talented administrator as a Prime Minister. We have only to turn to the immense corpus of biographical literature on Nehru to appreciate the validity of this contention.

As a corrective to this belief, we would like to state that a Prime Minister and Congress President who piloted his Party successfully through three consecutive General Elections; in the largest democracy in the world, could not have been other than an able organiser and a capable administrator, acutely sensitive to issues of strategy as well as of tactics. In support of our assertion, we would draw attention to the notes, letters and memoranda in the present volume (or earlier volumes), that reveal Nehru's proactive stance towards problems within the Congress Party, or vis-a-vis issues relating to the governance of the country...

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